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THE WORLD'S WORK

VOLUME XXXI

NOVEMBER, 1915, to APRIL, 1916

A HISTORY OF OUR TIME

GARDEN CITY NEW YORK
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1916

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The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. J. P. MORGAN AND BARON READING

THE HEAD OF THE ENGLISH DELEGATION WITH THE HEAD OF THE AMERICAN SYNDICATE WHICH FLOATED THE 500 MILLION DOLLAR LOAN — THE FIRST BRITISH LOAN PLACED ABROAD IN HISTORY AND THE FIRST LARGE EUROPEAN LOAN EVER FINANCED IN THIS COUNTRY

THE WORLD'S WORK

NOVEMBER, 1915

VOLUME XXXI NUMBER 1

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

FROM one end of the land to the other there is a call for a national defense. National defense means men and money, ourselves and our money, personal service and higher taxes (unless, perhaps, we shall find the courage to abolish the pork barrel).

There is no short cut to an adequate army. A standing army of professional soldiers is a fine nucleus, a good police force, but under modern conditions no country can afford to hire enough regulars to defend itself. We must have citizen soldiers and they must give their time to be trained.

There is no short cut to an adequate navy. It would be fortunate for us if a fleet of submarines were all that were necessary, for they are comparatively inexpensive. But if we relied on them we could be cut off from the outside world even as Germany is now. If we are to have an adequate Navy we must be willing to pay for it.

Let us realize just what adequate national defense means—personal service and greater expenditures—and then let us show that we really appreciate our citizenship in the United States by doing our full duty toward its defense.

There is no reason to be stampeded into military training as an end in itself. There is no reason to fashion armies on a scale out of keeping with what any possible enemy can bring across the ocean, for we are talking of defense, not of aggression.

On the other hand an unnecessary fear of the word "militarism," a belief that even universal military service is un-American or contrary to the spirit of a democracy, a feeling that volunteer armies are essentially Anglo-Saxon—none of these things is founded on historical fact.

The danger of tyranny from a trained citizen army is no greater than from a mercenary army like our regulars or the British army in peace times. Compulsory military service is not essentially un-American. It was adopted in principle by the Continental Congress in 1778 and was actually put in practice by the Confederacy. Such service is not contrary to the spirit of democracies, for it is in use in France and Switzerland. Nor do Anglo-Saxon states necessarily depend mainly upon the voluntary system: witness New Zealand and Australia.

We are, then, free to adopt any plan of national self-defense that seems to us to be adequate. We can get men to take the necessary military training as volunteers, or make it a compulsory part of a citizen's duty. Any method is open to us that will bring the desired result. But we must have the result.

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DEMOCRACY AND WAR

THERE is much talk in certain circles that the present war is a war of autocracy against democracy, and this leads many people to believe that the Allies are fighting our battles—a phrase which insinuates that our neutrality gives us somewhat the position of a shirker.

How far is this true? To begin with, is this a war of autocracy against democracy? On the one side Germany and Austria are certainly autocracies. England, France, and Italy are essentially democracies. But Russia, of course, belongs to the other category. But despite this, it is certain that an Allied victory would tend to put the democratic forces in Germany and Austria in control, and that a Teutonic victory would mean autocracy wherever the Germans could succeed in imposing their kultur. It is, then, essentially a struggle between autocracy and democracy.

Does it follow that the Allies are fighting our battles? This much is true: autocratic governments like those of Germany and Austria can prepare for war and start war suddenly. They are well fixed, therefore, to make offensive war. A democracy, on the other hand, can prepare for war only after thorough and open discussion, and democracies consistently refuse to prepare for anything but defense.

It is not conceivable that a French Administration would plan to start a war against Germany, because it would lose office before it could declare an unprovoked war. It is not conceivable that either party in England would deliberately start an unprovoked war against Germany, for such a move would cause the loss of the control of Parliament. But the Teutonic kaisers have power over their governments which enables them to start wars without the risk of being thrown out of office. It is true, then, that an Allied victory would tend to abolish the dangerous autocracies, and a Teutonic victory would strengthen the war makers of the world,—which would be a disadvantage to us.

The existence of autocracies is a menace to the world's peace. How does this affect us? Russia is an autocracy, but Russia holds no menace for us, for her abilities at sea are small and her ambitions in the East and Far East are so great that she would have no object in envying us anything we possess. Austria, too, though having a government that is capable of anything from forgery, as in the Friedjung trial, to starting a world-wide war, does not disturb us. Germany has a government which in the last fifty-five years has deliberately started three aggressive wars and pushed Austria into beginning a fourth. We have Bismarck's testimony for the first three and sufficient documentary evidence for the fourth. Along with this kind of a government Germany has a fleet larger than ours and the strongest army in the world. Moreover, she has world-wide ambitions.

Japan, also, has an autocratic government. Her wars with China and Russia show that she is capable of picking a quarrel at a convenient time and striking quick. Her recent demands on China show a disposition to take advantage of a neighbor's weakness. Japan has an army infinitely stronger than ours and a navy not much smaller, and her progressive programme of building for the next four years includes four superdreadnaughts, twenty-four destroyers, two scout ships, eight submarines, and an aero depot ship. We have islands in the area in which Japan would like to be dominant, and we have offended the Japanese by our racial feeling against them.

If we have little to fear from the democracies of the world because they prepare only for defense and because they give long warning in talk before they can go into offensive action, we are for other reasons in a position of relatively little danger from the autocracies of the world except perhaps two: Germany and Japan. One is on one side of the present war, the other on the other. Of the two, of course, Germany is the more dangerous, and she is allied entirely with autocratic governments. Japan is of itself less formidable and is allied with countries which we feel would not back any Japanese moves against us.

If, therefore, we should wish to take a purely cynical view of the situation we might accept the opinion that the Allies are

MR. OCTAVE HOMBERG AND MR. ERNEST MALLET

THE MEMBER OF THE FRENCH TREASURY AND THE REGENT OF THE BANK OF FRANCE, THE FRENCH DELEGATION WHICH NEGOTIATED THE ANGLO-FRENCH LOAN, WHICH MOST UNIQUE IN ALLOWING PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTIONS WITHOUT ANY UNDERWRITING PROVIS

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N RESPONSIBLE FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE IN CONGRESS

IVE LEMUEL P. PADGETT, OF TENNESSEE, CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

III. MEN RESPONSIBLE FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE IN CONGRESS

SENATOR BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

IV. MEN RESPONSIBLE FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE IN CONGRESS

SENATOR GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, OF OREGON, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

TELEPHONING 4,600 MILES BY WIRELESS

ON SEPTEMBER 29TH, PRESIDENT THEODORE N. VAIL, OF THE AMERICAN TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH COMPANY, SPOKE FROM NEW YORK THROUGH THE WIRELESS STATION AT ARLINGTON TO THE MARE ISLAND NAVY YARD AT SAN FRANCISCO. LATER A WIRELESS MESSAGE WAS SUCCESSFULLY TELEPHONED TO PEARL HARBOR, HAWAII, 4,600 MILES AWAY

fighting our battles and join them in trying to defeat Germany, justifying the action on the ground that if Germany were not defeated she might attack us later. That justification would rank on a par with the German reasons for violating Belgian neutrality. As a decent democracy, of course, we cannot act on such principles.

We could properly go to war on account of actual German injuries to us, but not on account of possible future injuries. One of the great values of democracy to civilization is that it has a strong tendency to prevent such premeditated preparation for aggressive war as preceded the Prussian declarations against Austria in 1866, against France in 1870, and the German move against the Allies in 1914.

On the other hand, one of the greatest dangers of democratic civilization is that it will not be ready to resist the sudden onslaught of prepared autocracy. By the persevering efforts of a few men France was prepared in this great emergency, but even a little less preparation would have been fatal. England was magnificently prepared at sea but very poorly prepared on land. Italy, too, was unready and had to wait. While the Italians and British prepared under cover of the French defenses the other ally, Russia, lost a kingdom and a million men, and Gallipoli, which might have been taken bloodlessly by an Allied army in the fall of 1914, costs thousands of lives a year later.

Nor do we have to look abroad to find the blood toll of unreadiness. There is proof enough in our own past—proof so painful that our historians have omitted it or glossed it over. But it can be seen in illuminating and sanguine detail in such authoritative works as Upton's "Military Policy of the United States" or Frederic Huidekoper's "The Military Unpreparedness of the United States."

The events of the last two years cannot help but fix more firmly than ever in the American mind that the future of civilization lies in democracy, and fix indelibly, also, the somewhat newer conception to us that so long as there are irresponsible autocracies in the world democracy must be thoroughly able to defend itself at a moment's notice.

CLOSING THE "ARABIC" INCIDENT

THE attack of the submarine was undertaken against the instructions issued to the commander. The Imperial Government regrets and disavows this act, and has notified Commander Schneider accordingly."

"Under these circumstances my Government is prepared to pay an indemnity for American lives which, to its deep regret, have been lost on the *Arabic*."

In these words the German Ambassador disavows for his Government the sinking of the *Arabic*.

We have passed the acute crisis which that incident caused.

The *Arabic* disavowal is a guarantee for the future. It does not take account of the past — the *Lusitania*. Nevertheless, it is in itself a very great diplomatic success.

Whether or not the willingness of the German Government to make the disavowal was affected by its submarine losses does not alter the disavowal from our point of view. We are not concerned with the German Government's motives but with its acts. If it is more convenient for the German Government to have its Ambassador here frame the disavowal rather than have it sent from Berlin, as were other communications, it is no concern of ours, though we are glad of it, for we had come to believe that the German Foreign Office could not, even with the best intent, write a note to the United States that would not offend. What we wanted in the *Arabic* case was a disavowal and an indemnity. We have the disavowal and the promise of the indemnity. The President and Secretary Lansing are to be congratulated — and Ambassador Bernstorff.

Germany now admits that American ships have a right to sail through the war zone without danger of molestation, that American ships carrying conditional contraband are not to be sunk, that American citizens, even when traveling on merchant vessels of belligerents, are not to be put in danger—and these are the rights for which our Government contended.

FREEDOM AND THE LOAN

THE Allies have floated their loan in the United States, the rate of exchange has been steadied thereby, and this steadying of the rate of exchange has helped maintain our markets abroad for cotton, wheat, cattle, general manufactures, and munitions.

This loan will be a long-remembered incident in national finance, for it is the first great foreign loan ever placed in this country. It is the first time that our citizens have had European government securities offered them with the interest payable in this country in our currency. It is a most dramatic acceptance of the dollar exchange. It is the first time that Great Britain has floated a loan in a foreign country and it is one of very few loans in this country that have been offered to the public without syndicate profits. The only charge made was a charge of one-fourth of one per cent. for expenses.

The United States financially had come to be in the position of a bank with its treasury full of money and no borrowers. Then came Great Britain and France, the two best foreign credits in the world, and asked us to lend them $500,000,000 at a very favorable rate.

The United States commercially had come to be in the position of a manufacturer who had lost one good customer and whose other two best customers began to lack the kind of credit to which he was accustomed. Then came the loan and furnished these two customers with credit in this country.

Fundamentally the loan is beneficial to the United States.

II

It is likewise fundamentally beneficial to the Allies.

Certain German sympathizers here endeavored to block the loan because it was helpful to the Allies, despite the fact that it was helpful to the United States also. This is putting the Fatherland above the Union.

A German savings bank threatened to 'raw its deposits 'om any trust threat of this kind based upon the fact that the loan was insecure and might bring disaster on the trust company would be proper enough. But an attempt at a financial boycott in the interests of Germany is not tolerable in a free country. Moreover, such practices are likely to recoil against their originators, for the men who sell wheat, cotton, manufactures, and munitions know that attempts to block the loan are attempts to curtail their markets.

In addition to the Germans who opposed the loan because they prefer the Fatherland to the United States there are sentimentalists like Mr. Henry Ford who think to oppose it because it may furnish credit for the purchase of munitions of war.

Mr. Ford is quoted as saying: "If I find any of the banks in which my company or myself have deposits taking part in the loan I will immediately close our accounts."

It is doubtful if Mr. Ford thought this idea out thoroughly before making such a statement. A few parallel propositions may make it plainer:

Suppose the Steel Corporation were to announce that it would not deal with any bank that had a Democratic director.

Suppose Mr. Carnegie were to withdraw all funds from any institutions some of whose officers believe in woman suffrage.

Mr. Ford would probably see in these attempts an effort to buy men's opinions by an unjustifiable use of money. He would be right, and his plan is in the same category.

This is a country in which it is not considered proper for one man to try to buy and control the consciences of other people.

A GREAT CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE

THERE are events in the passing show that do not stir the present imagination which will grow in proportion as time goes on. Perhaps the least appreciated recent achievement of solid and enduring worth is the work of the New York State Constitutional Convention. No one supposes it to be a perfect instrument or that it is free from defects. But it has one constructive provision ir

h will make it stand out i

onal history of the country. It con-
the doctrine of direct responsibility.
hundred and fifty years ago our
thers had a very real dread of
ıy and also a profound distrust of
angers of graft and dishonesty in
ıment. An even casual study of
al events of that time will show that
listrust was well founded. To avoid
ıy and dishonesty they arranged our
ımental machinery so that it did
ve absolute power to any one man, or
of men. Two houses of Congress
one another and both check the
lent; the President, in turn, through
eto power, checks both branches of
egislature; the Senate, through its
of approving appointments and
s, checks the President in civil ad-
ration and in the control of our
n relations.

e that time the danger of tyranny has
passed and our political conditions
much improved. Moreover, the busi-
f government is far greater than it
to be. As this strain grows efficient
becomes more and more necessary.
ıt last, somewhat reluctantly, we are
l to admit that efficiency is impossible
our old system of checks and bal-
, for under it no one can put a finger
man responsible for success or failure.
make our officials efficient they must
both power and responsibility. By
olding unchecked power from any
official, we possibly prevent that
l from doing harm; on the other hand,
event him from doing good. Modern
ss proceeds on the directly opposite
ple. It gives a responsible head
ıte power to run the organization and
holds that head to a strict account-
y for results.

his idea is common sense as applied
vate business, why should it not suc-
ıs applied to public business? That
question which the makers of the
onstitution for New York asked them-
. Until the meeting of this conven-
no state has attempted to introduce
onception of responsible government
its fundamental law. That is what
s this new New York constitution a
nent of the utmost importance. It
is the first constitution ever framed in this country containing a provision for a budget. It is the first to provide that some official shall assume definite responsibility for the administration expenditures of the state.

Necessity produces most political reforms and necessity has produced this important one in New York.

Under the revised constitution the governor, on or before February 1st, must submit to the legislature a budget containing a complete plan of proposed expenditures. He must also submit details as to revenue, and a proposed legislative programme for raising the money required. He has the right to appear before the legislature and explain and defend his financial programme. The legislature can secure his presence for this purpose at any time. The law makers cannot increase the budget or any of its items: they can, however, reduce or wholly reject them. Under such a constitution no governor could take refuge for the wastes of his administration among the indistinguishable responsibilities of different legislators, and these legislators could not succeed in promoting wasteful projects, for the governor would know that whatever was passed would be held up against him.

Probably New York's proposed budget is not a perfect instrument; embodying a serious attempt, however—the first ever made in our state and federal systems—to centre responsibility for expenditures and so enforce efficiency in government, it is the greatest step forward American constitutionalism has taken since the meeting of the great convention in 1787.

ANOTHER BANK FOR SOUTH AMERICA

AT A time when so much attention is naturally being directed toward the extraordinary chain of events that has ended in the half-billion-dollar Anglo-French loan, to the new and important rôle which this Nation is destined henceforth to play commercially and financially among the nations of Europe, it is satisfying to see that we are also making substantial progress toward the estab-

lishment of closer business relations of the enduring kind with our Latin-American neighbors—relations of which there has been so much talk since the war broke out.

Ever since we began to take serious account of our neglected opportunities in the enormously rich field of the countries immediately to the south of us, the provision of banking and credit facilities has been recognized as the necessary forerunner of trade development there. The important beginning made by the National City Bank of New York—the first and so far the only institution to take advantage of the authority granted by the Federal Reserve Act for the establishment of branches of national banks in foreign countries—is well known. It now has, in addition to a recently acquired branch in Havana, Cuba, five active branches in South America—three in the coffee region of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, Santos, and São Paulo, one in the Argentine at Buenos Aires, and one in Uruguay at Montevideo.

To this same end of reciprocal trade relationship the National Shawmut Bank of Boston has lately established connections as agent and correspondent with the Banco de la Nación, Argentina, the government bank of that republic and the largest in South America.

A still more recent development, and one of as much economic significance, has been the opening in New York under the auspices of two large private banking houses—Messrs. Brown Brothers & Company, and J. & W. Seligman & Company—of the Mercantile Bank of the Americas, Inc. This new institution, which is adequately capitalized at $5,000,000, has chosen for its field of operations Central America and the northern republics of South America, where there is now relatively small need for general banking facilities, but very great need for capital to use in producing and marketing coffee, cacao, and hides, the chief articles of export from those countries to the United States.

In undertaking to meet the need for such capital and thereby not only to reduce the large toll which European bankers have heretofore exacted from this country for

ervice I facilitate the open-

nerica

manufacturer, the Mercantile Bank of the Americas will operate through control of an extensive chain of agencies. Such a system, the management of the new bank points out, is better adapted to the peculiar conditions prevailing in its field than that of directly operated branches, because the employment of native knowledge and talent is perhaps the first essential to successful trade.

THE SUCCESS OF WIRELESS TELEPHONY

PERHAPS the most striking aspect of the recent invention of long-distance wireless telephony is the coöperative endeavor among men of many callings that was involved in the production of it. According to Prof. Michael Pupin, of Columbia University, whose own work was one of the many elements that entered into the final result, credit must be given not only to the engineering staff of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, headed by Mr. J. J. Carty, but also to Mr. Colpitts, the chief of the Western Electric Company's research laboratory and to Dr. Whitney, the head of the research work of the General Electric Company. Dr. Lee De Forest, the inventor of the De Forest system of wireless telegraphy, claims credit for one part of the mechanism. And of course, without the pioneer work of Mr. Guglielmo Marconi, the achievement would long have been deferred.

Thus, one of the dreams of speculative scientists has come into reality—in the guise of a few seemingly simple instruments—through the coöperative work of an Italian scientist and the scientific staffs of three American corporations. It is an admirable example of the fine helpfulness and long-visioned patience of enlightened business working with pure scientists to achieve results that gratify both equally and that serve the public as well.

Both of two problems were solved be fore success with either was announce The first was the problem of aërial tra mission of the human voice. was the problem

item

ade possible not only for naval the Government wireless station iington City to talk to Mr. Carty are Island Navy Yard near San by wireless, but it was possible ent Vail of the telephone com- alk from New York to Arlington id to have his voice at Arlington the wire into the ether and span ent. This means that ultimately Cleveland, O., will be able to talk in London, England, and that rsation will travel by wire from to Sayville, Long Island, by rom Sayville to some wireless ar London, and from that wireless London by wire.

IT BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

New York Central, the Pennlvania, and other railroads are porting better business than last dge Gary reports the steel mills t full capacity and fair prices and actory orders ahead.

orts from the Federal Reserve show a hopeful tendency. There eat general improvement but ns to be a little more activity erywhere, and with that activity ing confidence. Crops are good est, and cotton prices are up l the producing of war supplies y manufacturers and others busy l otherwise be idle.

h for the physical conditions of The stock market barometer s is temporarily deranged. Specuthe so-called war stocks has creom" in Wall Street. Some people le fortunes in the speculation, ople have made money, a few and many more can assuredly rd to losses, for the public never ipated in a boom of this nature eing left holding the bag when was over.

ough as investors and workers ade of another in this great eed give little heed to the gyrathe war stocks, there is ample r us to pursue our accustomed activities with reasoned confidence. Those of us who sell our services or our products here at home have no reason to hesitate. The public here has money to buy. Those of us who sell our products to the Allied nations can work with a renewed confidence now that the loan has strengthened their credit here. Those of us who sell in South America and in the East must do so with confidence, for this is our opportunity to make friends and markets to increase our prosperity in the future.

The last year and a half has been a time of opportunity for men of courage and ability, for the shock of changing circumstances takes many of the timid out of the race. The foundations of most large successes are made in times of disturbance. In such times men develop a stride that carries them far in the easier times that follow. In those easier times when almost every one can succeed are bred the germs of disaster. But now is the time to build courageously and well for the future.

PLAYING WITH THE TARIFF

THERE is again being revised the old and commendable project for a non-political tariff commission to which, after the manner of the times, the word "scientific" is attached.

It is admitted on all sides that the committees of Congress which frame the tariff schedules do not have time to find out the facts on which to base their recommendations. It seems wise, therefore, to have a permanent tariff commission to find out the facts.

Under the present system Congress makes up its mind whether it wants a revenue tariff or a protective tariff, and then tries itself to write a bill that will carry out the policy wanted. Congress is and must remain the body that decides on what kind of a tariff we are to have. But that being decided, Congress can come much nearer getting what it wants by having experts translate its general programme into a specific bill. These experts might form a permanent tariff commission or they might form a part of the Department of Commerce, or they might be the members of the Trade Com-

mission. Any of these agencies could do the work for Congress better than Congress can do it for itself.

If Congress would use any of these agencies tariff legislation would be greatly improved. But whichever agency were used would have to follow Congressional instructions and at one time devise rates for revenue only and at other times for protection. Our tariff policy would change just as often as it does now, but each change would be the intelligent working out of whatever policy was for the moment being pursued.

This plan could work as well for a low tariff as it would for a high tariff. As a matter of fact, however, there is good reason to believe that the tariff commission plan is being agitated chiefly by believers in high protection. The evils of the protective tariff as passed by Congress received such wholesale public condemnation that the protectionists are looking for another way to get their measures adopted.

This fact ought not to drive any low tariff advocate to oppose the idea of relieving Congress of the details of schedule-making. It ought, however, to make them particularly wary of the wording of any bill ostensibly designed for this purpose.

II

Along with the non-partisan "scientific" programme there is a constantly expressed dread of a flood of European goods that will swamp us and a cry for some protection against this menace.

The theory is that wasting a nation's capital, ruining its markets, and killing its men make it a more dangerous competitor, because in its reduced condition it will be willing to accept any profit however small and its labor will be willing to work for minimum wages.

On the other hand European labor may prefer emigration to starvation wages, so that labor may be increasingly scarce. Capital is likely to be scarce and taxes are certain to be high. Perhaps all the advantages are not with the warring nations. It is even reasonably probable that we fighting and w Europe at peace who now cry f ction against the competition to come from the present belligerents would then be crying for protection against the competition of countries undisturbed by war.

Yet we should not let our discounting of the constant howl for help and protection blind us to a real and unfair hardship to which some of our industries are exposed. We have laws in this country against monopolies and unfair practices. In certain other countries the governments encourage and enforce monopolies and unfair practices, and these foreign monopolies use unfair means against our producers and in the long run to the detriment of our consumers. We should stringently prevent these abuses by foreign companies which we will not tolerate in domestic corporations.

THE EARLY BUYER GETS THE BEST CHOICE

IN THE next fifty-five days 95 per cent. of the Christmas presents in the country are bought. The pleasure of buying and the likelihood of buying what will give real pleasure grow progressively less the nearer to Christmas it gets.

The movement for earlier Christmas shopping originated several years ago in the humane desire to relieve in some measure the oftentimes cruel pressure of work on the girls who serve behind the counters during the week or two before the holiday. It has wisely received the support of the merchants, because they have realized the losses they have suffered through carelessness and haste in the confusion of their crowded stores. And many purchasers have coöperated because they have discovered the satisfaction that comes of unhurried selection from stocks of goods that have not been depleted of the choicest articles.

Nevertheless, there is still room for extensions of the efficient and gracious custom of early shopping. The wise thing to do is to buy between the f November and the 15th, when the mas stocks are new and the sa and women untired and when of shoppers is not hampering. And a good y generou y.

DIVIDING THE RISKS IN INVESTMENT

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *will publish in this part of the magazine an article on experiences with investment and the lessons to be drawn therefrom*

A MAN with whom the editor of this department has had occasion to discuss questions of many kinds pertaining to the employment of money in the security markets was talking the other day about "the inevitable percentage of the unforeseeable" in investment.

To illustrate, he drew upon his own wide personal experience, and related some instances involving several of what he called "preferred classes" of investments, in which the unforeseeable had come to pass in most unusual ways. His illustrations are given here for the benefit of those of more limited experience who are apt so frequently to become impatient, and even discouraged, upon finding competent authority invariably unwilling to put the stamp of *absolute* security on any single investment.

For his first illustration, this investor took the case of a certain street railroad bond, which he explained was one of an underlying issue of a company operating in one of the large cities of the country. It had originally been brought out by an investment banking house that is numbered among the most conservative and the most loyal to clients. The property on which the bonds were secured, he said, had for many years been a profitable one, earning a wide margin over its fixed charges. But trouble arose between the city and the company concerning the franchise, which was held by the company to be perpetual, but by the city to have expired, with the result that the company had been ordered to vacate the city streets. A legal fight, now being carried on in the United States courts, had, of course, ensued, and meanwhile the company had found it necessary to withhold the bond interest leaving the bondholders without any immediate prospect of redress.

In short, here was a bond, secured by a thoroughly tested and successful public service property, brought out in good faith by one of the best firms of investment specialists and under the best legal advice, defaulting because of an element which could hardly be guarded against, absolutely, if the business were to be done all over again.

A bond secured by natural resources was taken for the second illustration. The security in this instance was a valuable coal property, appraised by experts at more than twice the total issue of bonds, and in active operation, with a comfortable margin of earnings at the time the bonds were issued and sold. The property was located, however, as the investor explained, on a railroad which had subsequently failed and passed into the hands of a road affiliated with coal mining interests hostile to the independent mines. This resulted in such poor railroad service to the mines of the company that issued the bonds in question that it failed to carry out its contracts and was forced to default. The property was in due time bought in by the bondholders at foreclosure sale, and had recently been sold for less than fifty cents on the dollar, payable in other bonds the value of which was problematical.

The reasons entering into this failure, the investor said, appeared to have been unavoidable, because no one could have foreseen the failure of the railroad and its effect upon the coal company's business. Nothing was wrong with the property itself.

The third illustration gave the following brief account of the history of a certain issue of bonds put out by a railroad that was a "feeder" to one of the great transcontinentals:

The smaller road had prospered from the beginning and had been extended until the bonds in question, being part of the first mortgage issue, represented only about $6,000 a mile, and there were junior to them about $34,000 per mile of refunding bonds,

preferred stock, and notes. So that, when the road went into the hands of receivers because of certain legal difficulties, the first mortgage bondholders felt well protected. It became necessary, however, for them to form a protective committee to protest against the issuance of receivers' certificates to such an amount that the actual equity for the first mortgage seemed in great danger of being largely decreased, and the real security of the bonds seriously impaired. Two years had been spent by the protective committee in trying to defeat the action of the junior security holders, and although it had met with at least temporary success in procuring payment of past-due interest, the bondholders had had to pay out of their own pockets an assessment for the committee's services, and the market price of the bonds had become greatly depressed. It seemed likely, moreover, that the difficulty might come up again at any moment.

For the fourth illustration, the investor took the case of a drainage district bond. This was one of an issue authorized by statute in one of the Middle Western states, and the protection for the bondholders had been vouched for by eminent counsel. But it had been discovered later that there was a flaw in that part of the statute making provision for the taxing power, and the bond had defaulted and had been finally repudiated by the district, not at all because of any deficiency in intrinsic security but merely because of the legal technicality.

It must, of course, be emphasized, as this investor was careful to point out, that such cases as these are much too isolated to be weighty considerations in connection with the average bond offering. But they have an abundance of genuine significance for two reasons: First, because they illustrate very concretely the kind of hidden dangers for which the strong, conservative banking houses make it their business to hunt with skill and patience before offering their securities to the public, and against which they succeed, fortunately, in guarding their clients with a degree of effectiveness difficult to appreciate, even in the light of the vast extent of their investment transactions. And second, because they demonstrate so clearly that the investor can obtain nothing like real protection in the long run unless he diversifies his holding of securities in such a way and to such an extent that, if any one or more goes wrong, he can depend upon the others.

In studying the various phases of the principle of diversification, the man who referred to the foregoing cases as demonstrating the necessity for its practical application had turned eventually to the field of mortgage investment. Continuing the story of his experiences, he said his interest in that type of securities had first been aroused through having noticed the statement repeatedly made by certain houses in the farm mortgage business that no investor had ever suffered loss on any of their offerings.

In the light of his experience up to that time, he said, such a statement had at first appeared so surprising as to lead him to discredit the houses making it. But he had found upon investigation that there were a good many that could rightly lay claim to such a record—and for a reason which he ventured to say was, perhaps, not fully appreciated. He explained, for example, that he had discovered this was not because farm mortgages did not go wrong in some cases, just as other investments; but rather because the unit of the farm mortgage was so small on the average that in cases of trouble the responsible houses were able to step in and themselves assume the "nursing" with little or no risk of loss.

The result was, as he had observed it, that investors who were clients of such houses were usually relieved of any mortgages that happened to default, and were not as a rule subjected to the experience of having actually to deal with embarrassed or procrastinating debtors.

It is undoubtedly due to the growing appreciation of this fact that mortgages are being included nowadays so much more often than formerly in almost every combination of securities by individual investors who seek, as they should, to carry out the idea of distribution of risks to its most effective limits.

YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT

THE WORLD'S WORK *publishes each month one or more editorial articles about the activities of the Federal Government. These articles are written by a member of the editorial staff in Washington who keeps in close and constant touch with the men and measures of which he writes.*

The Washington Office (in the Munsey Building) will also answer readers' questions about the work of any department of the Government.

THE Navy Department is organized on a system of checks and balances. Before Secretary Meyer's time—that is, up to 1909—the department consisted of eight bureaus of equal precedence, the only coördinating head being the Secretary. In making decisions the latter was often unable to discriminate between good and bad advice, while at the same time unable himself to initiate constructive technical measures which concern the Navy as a whole. Since no bureau is charged with responsibility for the efficiency of the whole department none, accordingly, had a comprehensive vision, and the tendency was to build up eight small, semi-independent Navy Departments, all regarding each other apprehensively when not actually at loggerheads.

Until the incoming of the present Administration there had been eight of these semi-independent little kingdoms, but now that the Bureau of Equipment has been done away with seven remain, with self-evident jurisdictions as follows: Yards and Docks, Navigation, Ordnance, Construction and Repair, Steam Engineering, Supplies and Accounts, and Medicine and Surgery.

The chiefs of these bureaus are free to issue orders concerning the work in their separate spheres provided only such work is not of a character to "alter the military characteristics of any ship." When such characteristics are affected the matter must be referred to the recently created Chief of Operations and by him brought to the attention of the Secretary.

Admiral Blue, who heads the Bureau of Navigation, has a good deal more under his charge than would appear from his title. For example, he looks after the upkeep and operation of the Naval Academy at Annapolis and the Naval War College at Newport; enlistments, assignments to duty, and discharge of all enlisted persons; and the operation of the radio service and the naval militia. If an officer wants to go on leave he has to make application therefor through the Bureau of Navigation, and every officer in the service gets the orders of the Secretary through the same source.

The Bureau of Supplies and Accounts corresponds to the Quartermaster Corps in the Army, and Paymaster-General Samuel McGowan is the General Aleshire of the Navy, having under his charge the purchase, storage, and issue of all supplies for the naval establishment. The other bureaus make requisitions, but General McGowan does most of the buying.

Under Secretary Daniels the department has recently been reorganized so as to do away with the four divisions. And with the divisions have passed away Mr. Meyer's four "Aides," although a portion of the former duties of the Aides for personnel and material is still perpetuated in the offices of the two captains serving under Admiral Benson, the Chief of Operations.

This is more than a change in terminology: it is a change in system. All the bureaus are now directly under the Secretary or Acting Secretary in all matters pertaining to their respective bureau

activities. But when it comes to a question affecting the typical material, the character of ships, or any matters affecting the strategic disposition or use of the Fleet, in whole or in part, then the single remaining division, that of Operations, reëstablished on an entirely new basis by an act of the last Congress, takes a directing and coördinating hand in the proceedings.

The creation of the Division of Operations "under the Chief of Naval Operations" constitutes the nearest approach the Navy has ever reached to its much-desired General Staff. Admiral Benson is charged with responsibility for the efficiency of the Fleet and, acting in conjunction with the General Board, with the preparation of plans for its use. Next after Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, he is also clothed with administrative authority; when Mr. Daniels and his assistant are both away, Admiral Benson becomes Acting Secretary, this succession in office making him senior to all bureau chiefs and providing the way, for the first time, for a coördinating authority with professional knowledge and training, who is practically alone responsible to the Secretary for the efficiency of the Navy as a whole.

Secretary Daniels has interpreted the act of Congress creating the Board of Operations very liberally. Instead of placing restrictions upon its chief, which he might very well have done, he has vested him with many duties and responsibilities not specifically mentioned by Congress, but which are highly desirable for him to have. For example, the duties of the former Aide for Material, who directed the Bureaus of Ordnance, Construction and Repair, Steam Engineering, and Yards and Docks, have been transferred to the Chief of Naval Operations.

THE GENERAL BOARD

Superimposed on this present system of bureaus, Division of Operations, and Secretaryship, is the General Board, composed, by regulation, of the Admiral of the Navy, the Chief of Operations, the Director of Naval Intelligence, the president of the Naval War College, and "such additional officers as the Secretary of the Navy may designate."

Overlapping as it now does upon the proper functions of the Naval War College and the administrative capacity of the Division of Operations, it is not a necessary body. Serving upon it are three of the ablest officers in our service, all of them War College men, Captains Oliver, W. L. Rodgers, and Knapp.

The same character of service which affects the Departments of State and of War also pervades the adjoining corridors of the Navy Department. All three are keyed to the same slow movement. If the Chief of Operations or the Assistant Secretary, keen on his day's work, stays over until after four-thirty in the afternoon or arrives before nine-fifteen in the morning, he cannot get anything done outside of his own office. Similarly between one and two o'clock, no matter what is going on in the world the machinery of Departmental Government shuts down for lunch. When some energetic chief tries to keep his civilian employees overtime, they promptly ask for transfer to another department. This has actually happened several times, to the extent that it is difficult, at a critical period for the Navy Department to keep its employees on the job in response to an emergency.

Lately, responding perhaps to the greatly increased efficiency of the Naval War College at Newport, the General Board has been bestirring itself. Within the last six months, that is, since the appointment of the Chief of Operations, the reanimated Board has sent a confidential letter to every bureau in the department, stating in effect and in detail something like this: "In case of war with nation X——you would have to do thus and so——: provide definite supplies, accomplish definite results in a definite time and at a specific place." And, the case being thus stated, each bureau was called on to report back whether or not it could make good on this order and if not, just wherein it specifically fell short of the performance expected of it. The answers promptly provided by each bureau to the General Board, now in the Secretary's hands, form the basis of his recommendations to Congress.

Another departmental device for the direction of the Navy begun in this Admin-

n is the Advisory Council, a body of
a dozen men which meets with the
ry once a week and is intended
bring together regularly, on an equal
formal footing, the Chief of Oper-
representing the General Board,
sistant Secretary, the seven bureau
the commanding officer of the
: Corps (now for the first time
zed in general Navy direction), and
lge-Advocate-General.

potentially very useful body is in-
to accomplish weekly the following
To advise the Secretary; to outline
y and unofficially to the various
f divisions the policy of the Govern-
to serve as an opportunity for the
of all differences of opinion and
ing interests in the service.

uestionably Mr. Daniels has ac-
shed much in popularizing the
Just recently he stopped the regu-
umn manœuvres off the Virginia
o bring eight or nine vessels of the
ry light draught of less than 22 feet
Potomac for the Grand Army re-
it Washington during the last week
otember. In August, while the
Atlantic fleet was at target practice
vport, the Secretary, hearing that a
nce of governors from many states
ing held in Boston, called off the
g while he dispatched the entire
estroyers and all, around the Cape to
to these important personages.

Secretary, by his own peculiar
s, has also accomplished another
f a more obviously useful character.
s Secretaries addressed letters to
s and Congressmen beginning "Sir:"
und up a stratified, formal letter
Whitney," or "Long," or "Meyer,"
case might be, "Secretary of the
Mr. Daniels and Mr. Roosevelt
"My dear Senator," and, using
t person all through a cordial docu-
wind up with, "Very sincerely
Josephus Daniels," or "Franklin
sevelt."

as a result of this affability Mr.
; has made himself *persona grata*
other end of Pennsylvania Avenue.
Mr. Meyer went up to the Capitol, as
' often had to do, he was very apt
to get the same kind of formal and uncompromising reception as his written replies, merely following precedent, seemed to give to the average Congressional letter. When Mr. Daniels goes up to the Capitol he gets a warm hand and an open-minded hearing and unquestionably his democratic methods, whatever they may lack in dignity, have produced results. He has got more money out of Congress than either of his two immediate predecessors did and he has succeed in getting through Congress more constructive legislation than they.

In the old days before Secretary Meyer's time the Assistant Secretary had a definite sphere of usefulness. He looked after the Marine Corps, the Naval Militia, and the Navy Yard, and was generally expected to keep his hands off everything else. Mr. Daniels and his assistant conceived the latter's job differently. The Assistant Secretary now is literally an Assistant Secretary, capable of acting in his chief's absence. Mr. Roosevelt's big job is in keeping advised of all the various activities of the department with the exception of the matter of personnel. All considerations under the latter head, in conformity with long established usage in the service, go directly to the Secretary or await his home-coming.

One of the practical changes in the present administration of the department has been the matter of bidding on Navy contracts. The number of bidders, for example, has increased 26 per cent., during 1915, and the prices of naval commodities have decreased during the same time on an average of 4 or 5 per cent. Navy contracts have always been let by competition, but a great deal of bad business has been done in recent years in following out the custom, sometimes justified on the basis of speed, of letting contracts over the telephone. The new system requiring public advertisement is slower but it saves a lot of money, and at the same time avoids the piling up of dead stock due to occasional contracts let in excess of demand. During the last two years the value of dead stock in the Government Navy Yards has been decreased, by sale or adaptability to other use, from $15,000,000 to $5,000,000.

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS AND OUR PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR

WHO THE CHAIRMEN ARE OF THE COMMITTEES ON NAVAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND IN THE SENATE, AND THEIR PROBABLE ATTITUDES ON THE SUBJECT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE THAT WILL BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE FORTHCOMING SESSION OF CONGRESS

BY

JAMES MIDDLETON

THE most important duty confronting Congress, at the forthcoming session, will be the reorganization of our military and naval defenses. This popular demand has reached a point where it has become almost a political issue. What will be the attitude of the Democratic majority on the matter of military preparedness? That Congress has neglected our Army and Navy chiefly in the search for pensions, river and harbor bills, public buildings, and other miscellaneous forms of "pork" is now generally understood; has the trend of public opinion during the last few months, and especially the international crisis in which we find ourselves, produced any change of heart?

Four men at Washington—two in the House and two in the Senate—assume a national importance in this connection. The chairmen of the military affairs and naval committees more than any other men can facilitate or impede progress in this direction. Mr. James Hay, of Virginia, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, Mr. Lemuel P. Padgett, chairman of the Naval Committee, and Messrs. George E. Chamberlain and Benjamin R. Tillman, who occupy the corresponding positions in the Senate, are the men to whom the Nation looks for military and naval reforms.

Unfortunately, those who, as chairmen of committees, have been intrusted with this responsibility, too frequently have little enthusiasm for it. Only the peculiarities of American politics could elevate to the chairmanship of the House Committee on Military Affairs the very person who has most distinguished himself as an opponent of military preparedness. Mr. William J. Bryan as commander-in-chief of our Army and Miss Jane Addams as admiral of the Navy would be no more absurd than Mr. James Hay has been as the Congressional custodian of our military interest. Congressman Hay, who comes from Virginia, has fought the Army almost from the first day he arrived at Washington. Mr. Hay was a member of Congress during the Spanish War, and thus had excellent opportunities to observe the penalties of military unpreparedness. This experience, however, taught him nothing. In 1899, as a result of that lesson, a bill was introduced increasing the standing Army from 25,000 to 100,000 men. Mr. Hay led the opposition to this bill. "A more vicious piece of legislation," he said, referring to the proposed increase, "was never introduced into this House. It inaugurates a policy which will bring everlasting shame and ruin upon this great Republic." It was proposed, he said, merely as a protection to the corporate interests of the country—a scheme to put down exhibitions of the popular will, "to desecrate the ballot boxes and suppress liberty of speech and liberty of action among American citizens." That was sixteen years ago; the modest increase in our Army became the law and, for all the Virginian Congressman's direful prophecies, the Republic still endures. He fought increasing the Army from 25,000 to its present strength—actually about 80,000; in

last session he denounced all attempts
ıcrease it still further.
I am utterly opposed," he said, in
uary of the present year, "to adding a
le man to the standing Army as it
exists. . . . I am not in sym-
ıy with those who want to add 25,000
and 1,000 officers to the Regular Army
. I want to ask the gentlemen why do
need any more men than that in the
tinental United States? What are we
ıg to do with them?"
ı a recent magazine article on the "War
ror" he denounces as "militarists"
se who advocate better preparation, and
tes the usual Bryan arguments for re-
ıching military expenditures—our geo-
ohical situation, our potential strength
nen and munitions, and the like. In
4, at the height of our trouble with
tico, Secretary Garrison asked Con-
s for 7,500 additional men. Mr. Hay
his committee refused to grant the in-
ıse. "There is left in the continental
ted States," he said, "42,000 men, which
be sufficient for all necessary purposes."
ıough our equipment is dangerously
cient in artillery, Mr. Hay reduced the
ropriation requested for guns from
00,000 to $750,000, and although we
e artillery ammunition only for a few
nds he reduced this appropriation from
00,000 to $100,000. When Secretary
rison, a few months ago, took his stand for
itary legislation at this next session, Mr.
announced his opposition to the plan.
What are Chairman Hay's motives for
osing such legislation? Probably they
mixed; in a speech made in Congress a
r ago, however, he dropped one illumi-
ing remark.
le did not believe we should go in for
itary expenditures, he said, "at the
ense of our harbors, of our public build-
, of our roads." That is, Mr. Hay,
ording to his own explanation, is an
i-militarist chiefly in the interest of the
ork Barrel." Congressional appropria-
ıs to be spent in the district where the
ney will go into the pockets of his con-
uents, and incidentally solidify his own
itical fortunes, are more important than
defense of his country. This Congres-
ıal habit, as most Americans now under-
stand, is our greatest legislative vice. Mr. Hay's career speaks this same tendency. In the opinion of the well informed, the period that marked the turning point in the Army was during the secretaryship of Elihu Root. Until Mr. Root's administration, our Army had been disorganized, unscientific, feeble; his work transformed it into a really efficient fighting machine. He abolished the bureaucratic system that had prevailed for generations, and established the modern staff system. In doing this, Mr. Root upset many cherished sinecures and discomfited many ambitious Army chiefs. The new idea aimed at efficiency and the destruction of politics as a governing force in the Army; the main purpose was to spend the people's money in ways that would furnish us the best army, irrespective of the interests of Congressmen or of wire-pulling generals. Mr. Hay has regarded his elevation to the chairmanship of the military committee as furnishing a rare opportunity to destroy the reforms of Mr. Root and to put the Army back upon the footing that led to such deplorable results in the Spanish War. His favorite idea is the reprehensible plan of attacking these reforms in riders to the Army appropriation bill. In 1911 he introduced such a bill, the purpose of which was to undo the Root reforms and hand the Army back to its political chieftains. Washington believed that the man who inspired this legislation was General Ainsworth, regarded as the greatest and most active politician in the Army. At least this legislation would have permitted General Ainsworth to retire as a lieutenant-general, although he had seen no line service for twenty years.

The legislation failed, but Chairman Hay still carries on his fight against General Wood. In 1912, Secretary of War Stimson and General Wood started a campaign against the management of the Army in the interest of the Congressional pork barrel. Concretely their activity was directed toward the abolition of scores of useless army posts. A hundred years ago the United States began establishing army posts on the frontiers, mainly as bases of operation against hostile Indians. As the Indians advanced further west, new posts were established, so that finally we had

about 150 stretched from Governors Island in New York to the Pacific. As hostile Indians have disappeared, not many of these posts serve any military end. As they "put money into circulation" in the places that have them, and otherwise add to community life, these localities fight all attempts at their abolition. Their upkeep wastes millions annually, merely in the interests of the pork barrel; the more serious fact, however, is that they menace military efficiency, as the scattering of the Army in more than a hundred places prevents quick mobilization. In 1912, Secretary Stimson submitted a report to Congress, describing this situation, and asking for the abolition of many of the posts. He showed how the Government could save more than $5,000,000 a year by taking such action. It is no secret that General Wood prepared this report. Among other things it recommended the abolition of Fort D. A. Russell and Fort Mackenzie in Wyoming; what made this recommendation especially daring was that these posts were the particular pets of Senator Francis E. Warren, Republican chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, who had induced Congress to spend—uselessly—about $6,000,000 on them in the preceding ten years. Soon after Congress received this report, Chairman Hay introduced, as a rider to the Army appropriation bill of 1912, a measure the immediate effect of which would have been the retirement of General Wood. Another would have been the promotion of Senator Warren's son-in-law, General Pershing. Chairman Hay and Senator Warren succeeded in getting this outrageous measure through both Houses. When it came up to President Taft his position was an awkward one. To veto it meant holding up the whole Army appropriation; yet, as Mr. Taft said, "the Army is too vital to be made the victim of hasty and imperfect legislation." The President, therefore, disapproved the bill—thereby cutting off for a time all money for the service. Mr. Hay denounced Mr. Taft viciously for his act, but all men interested in freeing the Army from the dirtiest kinds of politics applauded the President's courage.

Last summer, when the newspapers foreshadowed Mr. Garrison's proposed reforms, Mr. Hay again condemned any great increase in military efficiency. More recently, however, he shows some signs of yielding somewhat to public sentiment. It is to be hoped that this mood will become permanent.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM OREGON

In the Senate the situation is better. Senator George E. Chamberlain, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs here, is a politician to his marrow, is by no means unacquainted with the pork barrel, and has popularly been described as the "best hand-shaker west of the Mississippi River." Though he spent his early life in Mississippi, he represents in the Senate the far northwestern state of Oregon. And Mr. Chamberlain really represents in all details this vigorous commonwealth. He is a product of the radicalism which signifies Oregon's revolt from the era of the land thieves who for so many years dominated its public life. Mr. Chamberlain owes his political success to the initiative and referendum, the recall, woman's suffrage, the popular election of United States Senators, and the other things that make up what is known as the Oregon System.

Mr. Chamberlain is honest, he has great political sense, and no man responds so immediately to public sentiment. Naturally his attitude on military preparation hardly duplicates that of Congressman Hay. In the Sixty-third Congress he took the middle ground between those who advocated a great standing Army and those who believed in maintaining it at its present size. Concretely he came out for a force of 125,000. "With such an Army properly officered and an efficient national guard as a nucleus," he said, "and the establishment of a reserve, which can be created with little, if any, expense, there is no question but that we will be in a position to meet all the dangers that are likely to come upon us from foes without or within." Recent utterances indicate that Mr. Chamberlain may go further than this. Last session he introducd a bill providing for a council for national defense and another increasing by 10,000 men our forces at coast fortifications. "In my opinion,"

a letter to the War Department r, "the time has come when a rmy policy should be adopted. s chairman of the Military Affairs e I am ready to do my part in dequate provision for defense the recommendations of the taff." Certainly that is an en- contrast to Mr. Hay's attitude. nuel P. Padgett, chairman of the val Committee, has a rather un- y Navy record. A few years s making "little Navy" speeches ; which the present Congressional f the Navy have recently been his teeth. As a minority mem- Navy committee, Mr. Padgett ainst the large plans of President and others. In 1911, he in- ı resolution for one battleship in- ro—a resolution that, fortunately, 'hen he became chairman of the 'airs Committee, however, Mr. attitude changed. In 1912, the ıcratic majority voted in caucus horize any battleships at all that e Republican Senate held out for Padgett assumed the leadership ion to his own party, and, by ç, succeeded in obtaining one. he has supported all the Admin- policies; in 1914, indeed, Presi- on wrote thanking him for his services to the Navy. An act be placed on the other side was ion, introduced in 1914, appro- 200,000 for opening the New Navy Yard. This was pork- of a particularly vicious kind. Meyer had closed this yard, on e of Admiral Dewey, Admiral other experts that it served no rpose; its only aim was to dis- certain amount of the Govern- ney at New Orleans. Secretary etermined that the South should prived of this graft, opened the ıns yard, and Mr. Padgett un- y has abetted him. At present tt, like Secretary Daniels, stands onservative and ample Navy Just what that means the forth- sion will show.

enate, Mr. Benjamin R. Tillman, cornfield lawyer and pitchfork statesman, will have charge of our naval interest. A more unsuitable representative, of course, we could hardly have. Mr. Tillman has served on the Navy committee for many years; in all that time his leading idea of naval defense has been to secure as large appropriations as possible for the Charleston Navy Yard. This enterprise has become a classic illustration of our great national vice—the use of public money, not for national purposes, but merely as patronage for localities. As a result of Senator Tillman's excursions into the national treasury, we have spent about $6,000,000 in building a dry dock for battleships at Charleston; this despite the fact that modern battleships cannot reach this dock even at high tide! Senator Tillman at least has the merit of being frank. "While all this stealing is going on," he once said in the Senate, referring to appropriations for navy yards, "I want my share." At another time he described the Charleston Navy Yard as "my slice."

As to his attitude on the American Navy Mr. Tillman, in 1912, was the only man on the Senate Committee to support the Democrats in the House in their vote for no battleships. In the same year he introduced a resolution that embodied his ideas on naval reform. The United States, this resolution suggested, should stop wasting money on many dreadnaughts; instead it should build one ship infinitely bigger, swifter, more heavily armed and armored than anything afloat. "Let us find out just how far we can go," the resolution read, "and go there at once. Let such vessel be named 'The Terror,' and become the peacemaker of the world; let us have some money in the Treasury for more necessary and useful expenditures, such as good roads, controlling the floods of the Mississippi, draining the swamp lands of the South, and irrigating the arid land in the West." In the present year Mr. Tillman has somewhat modified this opera bouffe attitude. He has recently announced his willingness to coöperate with the Administration on strengthening the Navy. Thus, though Mr. Tillman will probably lend little real assistance, there is the comforting likelihood that he will not be an obstruction.

THE PRESS ON PREPAREDNESS

A POLL OF 261 NEWSPAPERS, IN ALL PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF ALL COMPLEXIONS POLITICALLY, ON THE NEED FOR STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE

[THE WORLD'S WORK *undertook this poll of the press primarily to ascertain the percentage of papers that favored preparedness and the percentage that opposed. Its idea was to publish a statistical article. But of the 261 representative newspaper editors whose views have been obtained, only 6 showed any doubt of a need for stronger national defense. As statistical comparisons of views thus became absurd, the following article was undertaken with the purpose of selecting some of the most interesting and most representative expressions of opinion on the various aspects of our military situation from the wealth of material supplied through the courtesy of the papers.*—THE EDITORS.]

IF THE newspapers accurately reflect public opinion, the people of the United States are practically unanimous in their wish for improvement of the national defenses. The degree to which they would prepare, the methods by which they would prepare, differ. Some demand the biggest navy in the world and some think more submarines and coast defense guns will suffice. Some favor a big standing army; some, an enlarged national guard; some, universal compulsory training. The majority opinion favors a navy second in power to Great Britain's and a reorganization of our land forces to give us an increased standing army and ultimately a reserve of a million men. The papers treat the question of preparedness as the most important subject before the new Congress which convenes in December, and warn that body that the country demands prompt and adequate measures to meet the situation.

The instant need of preparedness is sharply felt by all but a few newspapers, regardless of their geographical position or political faith. Thus the New York *Herald* sees in preparedness "the greatest problem now confronting the Government and the nation"; the Portland *Oregonian* deplores the "lamentable fact that we are so utterly unprepared that we are too weak to fight"; and the Chicago *Herald* expresses its "conviction that the great majority of Americans desire adequate preparedness for national defense, and that the *opposition is more noisy than numerous.*" Papers great and small, from California to Maine, echo these sentiments; the phraseology, but not the idea, varying from place to place. The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* sees in preparedness "a grave national necessity"; the New York *Times*, "a too long neglected, inescapable, instant duty"; the *Indiana Daily Times* (Indianapolis), "our pressing and immediate business"; the Boston *Evening Record* sees "the need for better preparation patent on every side," and declares that "the sentiment that we must as a nation prepare ourselves for any emergency that might occur is spreading from one end of the country to the other. It will not be checked by charges of jingoism. It is not jingoism. It is not militarism. It is common sense."

WHY WE MUST PREPARE

Many reasons are advanced to explain just why preparedness is essential. The Wichita (Kan.) *Beacon* points to "the astounding lesson of German system and efficiency," and the Binghamton (N. Y.) *Press* bluntly adds: "We have been nearly drawn into war with a nation fighting to the limit of its strength. Within ten years we may be confronted by that nation at the height of its power." The Philadelphia *North American* declares that "there has never been in history, we think, a more striking example of temerity than has been furnished by the United States during the last half year in formulating demands which at any time may involve it in war, while neglecting the most ele-

mentary precautions to enforce its high-sounding words or even to resist further aggression." The Philadelphia *Record* observes that "the present war teaches that war may happen in a week. It teaches the enormous advantage of preparation in men and munitions to meet an onset."

The sentiment of those numerous papers which demand an armed force to back the Monroe Doctrine is perhaps best voiced by the Minneapolis *Journal*, which asks, "Will Europe Let Us Alone?" and adds:

> We are dragged into foreign complications by the hair, so to speak. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, we are continually dragged in. Cuba dragged us in, and Mexico, despite our best endeavors, promises to do the same. . . . We have become accustomed to having our wishes, in the Western Hemisphere at least, tenderly considered by Europe.
>
> This war, however, may change the situation for us, should its outcome, as is possible, leave no effective buffer between ourselves and the more ambitious Powers. We should consider the possibilities in such a changed estate. . . .

"War is sometimes the resort of a desperate monarch"—the phrase is from the Baltimore *News*—is one expression of a fear that besets many editors. Many acquiesce in the view of the Chicago *News*, that "the condition of the warlike but bankrupt nations will be so desperate that this country will need to be well prepared against a sudden and overwhelming attack." Thus the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* declares that "we are to-day the richest country in the world and we are the most defenseless. When this war is over a lot of nations will be money hungry. They will have a superb military organization and we will be among them like a fat spring lamb among a lot of hungry wolves."

Replying to the claim that Europe will be too tired of war and too weak to attack us, the Binghamton (N. Y.) *Press* adjures us to "let no one imagine that Europe is going to be so exhausted by this conflict that no nation there could afford to affront this defenseless country." And the Toledo *Blade* recalls that "Servia fought two exhausting wars and with a shout entered upon a third."

This thought suggests to many papers the inquiry, "Is the United States threatened by the possibility of invasion?" The Chattanooga (Tenn.) *News* thinks not:

But the Albany *Knickerbocker Press* gives credence to the picture painted by Colonel Edwin F. Glenn, chief of staff for the eastern department of the Army:

> Addressing citizen soldiers of the camp of instruction at Plattsburg, he declared a foreign army of invasion would have no great difficulty in smashing its way through the eastern section of the country and fortifying along a line from Lake Erie to Chesapeake Bay, building up an impregnable defense that it would be impossible for this nation to dislodge for years, at least.

The New York *World*, however, though in favor of preparedness, is as impatient with this extreme view as it is with the peace-at-any-price party. It speaks the sentiments of some of the most influential papers in all sections of the country in an editorial, "The Most Eminent Cowards:"

> The most eminent cowards in the United States to-day are the extremists in the campaign for military preparedness. They are afraid of everybody. They live in quaking and abject terror of everything. . . .
>
> We do not mean that the Nation ought to rest smugly satisfied with inadequate means of national defense or that its military resources should be left to chance and improvisation. We have no more regard for Colonel Bryan's complacent army of 1,000,000 which is to spring into being overnight than we have for Colonel Roosevelt's froth and fury against every American whose teeth do not chatter in terror when he looks at a map of the world.
>
> To say that the United States must immediately spend $500,000,000 on the Navy and support an Army of 1,000,000 men is just as silly as to say that the country should learn no lesson whatever in military defense from the war that has wrecked Europe. Between the lunatics and the fools, there is a broad plateau of sanity which we hope that the Administration and Congress will seize and occupy.

High moral ground is sought by the Chicago *Herald* as a mandate for preparedness. That paper declares that "the world cannot afford to lose the spectacle, the encouragement, and the example of a free, competent democracy," and adds:

> . . . we must now show that democratic institutions respond to every national need; we

must prove not only that men can rule themselves but that democracies can wisely foresee and efficiently prepare.

CONGRESS AND THE PORK BARREL

Congress as the representative of the Nation, is rebuked by a dozen or more papers for subordinating preparedness to what the Washington *Post* phrases as "local selfishness," which "takes the form of a scramble for 'pork,' whether it is to be found in a river and harbor bill, a public buildings bill, or in Army and Navy appropriation bills." The *Nevada State Journal* (Reno) remarks bitterly that "senators and representatives have their millions for building political fences but only a paltry dole to secure this nation from foreign attack." The Quincy (Ill.) *Herald* says: "How simple it would be if some of the pork barrel waste of undeserved pensions could be used in proper sources and without the corruption of politics." And the Minneapolis *Journal* calls for a new national defense, "defense against the ship and arms lobbies and the navy yard and army post tax-eaters."

THE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

Answering the question, What is adequate defense? many papers agree with the St. Louis *Post Dispatch* that "our defense against powerful foreign attack is on the sea." And many add, with the same paper, that "we ought to have a Navy sufficient and efficient enough to resist sea attack by the most powerful foreign navy." Thus the South Bend (Ind.) *Tribune* declares that "our first line of defense must be a real one, large enough, modern enough, and efficient enough to cope with any in the world"; and the Schenectady (N. Y.) *Union Star*, that "this great nation of wealth and resources should at once develop the greatest naval strength of any nation in the world." The Evansville (Ind.) *Press*, the Norfolk (Va.) *Ledger Dispatch* and the Columbus (O.) *Citizen* call for "the biggest navy on the seas."

More moderate, if less explicit, programmes of naval defense are outlined by other papers. The Detroit *Free Press* says that "the country wants to be sure its Navy will cope with attacks if they should be made." The New York *Times* chides the Nation because "in an hour of great peril we have been adhering to the ordinary programme of naval development. The situation demands a change." The Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) *Press* feels that "the United States needs a Navy of sufficient strength to keep invaders away from either coast, and to safeguard the Panama canal and insular possessions."

DEFECTS OF THE NAVY

The Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Eagle* summarizes most of the defects in the Navy that are mentioned by other papers:

> We have not in the Navy a single battle cruiser, a type of demonstrated value, and we have a submarine flotilla that would be a joke if the tragedy of the F-4 were not at this moment so conspicuously revived to view as to make joking indecent. Our torpedo-boat squadrons are insufficient to protect our battleships against submarine attack, and with the construction of the *Minneapolis* and *Columbia*, now almost or quite obsolete, we seem to have definitely abandoned the idea of building up a group of swift scouts and commerce destroyers such as have excellently served the purposes of both England and Germany.

"SUBMARINES THE REMEDY"

"The remedy" for the deficiencies of our Navy, says the New York *Commercial*, "is the submarine." The Atlanta *Constitution* agrees: "If the war in Europe has proven anything, it has demonstrated beyond question the fact that it is upon the development and construction of the submarine that we need to first concentrate our energies." The New York *Evening Journal* declares that "our submarine manufacturers should be kept at work by our Government until we have enough submarines to protect every port, East and West, including the Panama Canal," adding that "it ought to be somebody's business to keep all the submarine energy, mechanics, and engineers of this country busy until we have enough submarines of our own—a hundred to start with—and then more."

The Syracuse (N. Y.) *Journal*, however, warns us to "keep the balance even," asserting that, though "the 'big ship' men have ruled the Navy, . . . it is a

nan who puts all his eggs in one
and hence it counsels the Nation
vide for big ships and little ships."

THE ARMY'S NEEDS

ıg to the Army and its needs, there
ıg editors, as the Buffalo *Evening*
ɔints out, "a variance of opinion
ıe proper ways and means. The
ons vary from the proposal that we
ın trained citizenry to the admoni-
at nothing short of organized
numbering 2,000,000 men will
ıs security from invasion." The
ıper speaks for many others when
"The pleasing feature is to see
old spirit of 'squirrel-gun Yankee-
passing."

papers agree with the New York
that "all that need be done by
s for the immediate improvement
rmy will be duly set down in Secre-
ırrison's recommendations." Per-
e best concise statement of just
: "Garrison plan" is appears in the
: (N. Y.) *Post Standard:*

ilitary forces of the United States shall
roposed, of four classes.
gular Army will consist of 200,000 men,
ı present nominal strength. The term
:, however, will be reduced, without
in the term of enlistment. The re-
ɔ has shown the required proficiency
ır one year's service, pass to the re-

serves, steadily increased by this pro-
aduation from the Regular Army, will
nly subject to call for war service, but
to attend manœuvres. The reserve
ıld, under the plan proposed, grow at
f 100,000 a year.
ıtional guards of the states will be
into still closer connection with the
ɔovernment and there will be new in-
:s offered for service in it.
force will be organized to be called by
:tive name of Continentals, volunteers
nmand of regular army officers enlisted
years, but required to do service only a
two a year.

this plan we find "the regulars
rves constituting the first line, the
en and continentals the volunteer
ine of defense."
is point we come to the *sharpest* division of opinion among the papers that we find on any aspect of the whole subject of preparedness. Some editors place their chief reliance on an enlarged Regular Army, some on an improved militia, some on volunteers, some on the Swiss system of universal training.

FOR VOLUNTEER ARMIES

The case for the volunteer system is well presented by the New York *World:*

The volunteer system must be the main dependence of this country in case of war. Neither the regulars nor the state troops are strong enough in numbers to make an army for the national defense. A citizen soldiery, with all its drawbacks from the strictly military point of view, is the only means by which large forces can be prepared for service in the field on short notice.

In sharp contrast with this view, the Buffalo *Express* exclaims:

Above all, let us have no nonsense about volunteer forces raised for the short terms by states, as was done in the Spanish and Civil wars. The *Express* intends no reflection on the quality of those volunteers or their services. But what is needed now is a regular United States Army of not less than 300,000 men, enlisted for the seven-year period—four years with the colors and three years in reserve.

FOR COMPULSORY TRAINING

A surprising number of papers regretfully prophesy the approach of universal compulsory military training. Thus the Kansas City *Journal* says:

"Many present-day Americans have insisted that in a liberty-loving country the people would make any sacrifice to preserve their freedom. The comparative lack of voluntary recruits in the British isles is a hard blow to such a belief."

The Duluth *News and Tribune* sees such a lesson in Plattsburg:

Instead of 1,200 such reservists, this country should have 1,200,000. Instead of waiting until adults to take this drill, it should come in the high schools all over this country with annual encampments afterward, of some ten days, to keep in shape and acquire the latest in war instruction.

This is the Swiss system; it should be ours.

The Portland *Oregonian*, the Washington *Post*, the Chicago *Herald*, the Boston *Transcript*, and the New Orleans *Item*, favor the Swiss or some similar system.

Perhaps strangest of all, the Milwaukee *Leader*, the paper of Mr. Victor L. Berger, the Socialist leader, comes out for "a citizen soldiery." It says:

Until the American workingman shall be prepared to take the little brown brother to his bosom and until the American capitalist shall manifest a disposition to surrender his advantages, until the Monroe Doctrine shall be repudiated and American pretensions to the overlordship of two continents abandoned, a reasonable amount of common sense would suggest that, at least, we should take such a reasonable and democratic measure for national defense as is found in a citizen soldiery.

FOR AN IMPROVED MILITIA

On the other hand, many papers declare that American opinion will not, for the present at least, tolerate compulsion. This is the belief of the Washington *Post* and of the Newark *Evening News*, for example. The Philadelphia *Bulletin* sees an escape from it in the National Guard:

Before conscription is resorted to and universal military training enforced, public opinion should insist on a practical attempt at the development of a compensated national army reserve, a plan that never has been tried, although urged by military experts continuously. And the first step in that direction is the encouragement of efficiency in the existing National Guard organization.

Many papers, of substantially the same mind as those just quoted, feel that the National Guard has been neglected by the states and unfairly used by employers. For example, the Omaha *World Herald* describes one reason for the small enlistments in the Guard:

Members of the Guard are everywhere saying that they enlisted to defend the United States Government and as a reserve for the Regular Army. They did not enlist to defend Standard Oil or any other trust or corporation in contests with laborers.

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* points out that "one of the handicaps of proper militia development has always been the refusal of business men to cooperate with the states by allowing their employees ... take the time needed for necessary drill ... the annual encampments. The busi... interests, it seems, must be aroused to t... value and the need of the work." T... Kansas City *Journal* calls for "a feder... ization of the whole militia organization."

PAYING FOR PREPAREDNESS

"Financing Preparedness" is the ti... of an editorial in the Springfield (Mas... *Republican*, which raises a question ... which many papers try to find the answ... The *Republican* itself, after pointing o... that "the German private soldier und... the conscription system gets ten cents ... day and the private in the United Stat... Army under the volunteer system ge... nearly five times that sum," remarks:

If the people demand a Regular Army doub... or triple in size the present Army, they must b... prepared to pay on a scale such as no Europe... people are forced to meet. . . . Our tot... war department expenditures, omitting pension... in the fiscal year before the outbreak of th... European war, was nearly the same as the ordi... ary expenditure for the whole German imperi... army: and Germany had a standing army o... 800,000 men on a peace basis, while the Unite... States maintained considerably less than 100,000... men. The Federal Government cannot possibly... find the necessary money for a much larger... military establishment under the present fiscal... system.

Other papers, notably the Philadelphia *Inquirer* and the *Wall Street Journal*, regard the cost as of secondary moment. Says the *Inquirer:*

All this will cost money. Yes, but what of it? We have no debt worth mentioning. Half a billion to be obtained by a bond issue would be none too much to expend upon national defense and the money would be well invested. Far better pay the cost of an insurance policy against war, such as preparedness would be, than foot the bills of a costly war that might be forced upon us overnight.

And the Philadelphia *Telegraph* is convinced that no one could or would object to providing the means for national defense by an issue of bonds to the amount of $500,000,000, or more, if necessary. But the Springfield *Republican* feels that "bond issues year after year cannot be

ıted for this purpose in time of peace." Richmond (Va.) *Times-Dispatch* finds san calculation in those proponents reparedness who advocate more ex- e measures than are outlined in President's more moderate views." those who talk about a standing Army ɔɔo,ooo, or even of 500,000," it issues nand that they "stop a moment and der the cost"; and it estimates at that "an Army of 500,000 would cost a billion dollars a year in itself." inuing, the *Times-Dispatch* says:

ıere is this money to come from, year by assuming that the jingoes will carry their ? Increased income taxes are not likely favored, and internal revenue receipts from quor traffic will decline sharply with the ı of prohibition sentiment. There is but ther considerable factor in the total of nment revenue, which is the customs tax ports. Is it not conceivable that some of renuous advocates of enormous military ditures are affected by the hope that the ry's needs would inspire—would even ıd—the reimposition of the old high pro- e tariffs? Whatever the animus of the rists, it is about as certain as anything in ture can be that the attainment of their ion would be accompanied by a strongly zed movement for the re-enactment of 'ayne-Aldrich tariff law, or something .

paper of the entire 261 expressed right opposition to preparedness. ewspapers were either more interested her aspects of our relation to the ɔility of war or were so lukewarm d preparedness as to suggest an ıition they did not express. These s are the New York *Call*, the San isco *Bulletin*, the Florida *Times-*, the Great Falls (Mont.) *Tribune*, loomington, (Ill.) *Bulletin*, and the York *Evening Post*.

THE NEED FOR SELF-SACRIFICE

ting the broadest possible view of ıal defense, the Adrian (Mich.) *am* discusses the fundamental ques- of character—the character of the ican people, and the effects upon it too easy acquiescence in the gospel ace. After a searching investigation of our national failings, it makes an eloquent plea for the personal sense of responsibility for the welfare of the country, in an editorial, "The Struggle for Ease" in which it says:

The one thing that the average man detests is the idea of doing anything himself. He is willing to give up some money to hire men, away off somewhere, to man guns and sail ships that he never saw. But when it comes to giving some of his own precious time, and separating himself from his own precious job, in order to learn how to fight if his country should need him, he balks. He takes refuge in a cloud of words about "militarism" and "millions leaping to arms," invokes the holy check-book, and hopes that nothing will happen.

But that very thing—personal service by individual men—is what we must come to. Every other nation under the sun, in every age, has come to it—or else gone down in the dust before more vigorous peoples. As long as the American soldier is looked upon as a hired man, working at a job for the pay that is in it, just so long we shall be without an Army worthy of the name. If the safety of the country and the honor of the flag are not worth Mr. Average Man's giving a little of his own time to military service, then country and flag mean little. Trained men alone are worth anything in war; and the only way to get trained men is for Mr. Average Man, and his sons and brothers—his clerks, partners, and neighbors—his employer and his employees——all alike to do their individual shares toward providing for the Nation's defense.

So what we need and what we must have, and what we will have, is the very thing that Mr. Bryan and Mr. Carnegie and the "peace congresses" detest and abhor—military training. We must increase our Army. We must strengthen and improve our state troops. We must have instruction camps like that at Plattsburg, where right-minded men can learn at least a little about military service. We must have an enlarged national military academy to train officers, and we must offer every incentive to rifle practice and to military exercises of every kind.

And finally we must see that our children are not fed on a diet of false ideals, but teach them that citizenship means personal duty and individual sacrifice—that the flag not only protects but must be protected—that the Nation is not a meal-ticket to get fat on, but a glorious master to be served. We have fed too long on the doctrine of the Nation's duty to the individual. It is time we learned that the individual's duty is to the Nation, even unto death.

THE COST OF UNPREPAREDNESS

THE DEBIT SIDE OF THE NATION'S LEDGER—OUR WARS AN EXAMPLE OF INEFFICIENCY AND UNPREPAREDNESS—A TREMENDOUS TOLL OF HUMAN LIFE AND WASTE OF MONEY—THE SAME CONDITIONS EXIST TO-DAY

CONVINCED as I am that a government is the murderer of its citizens which sends them to the field uninformed and untaught, where they are to meet men of the same age and strength, mechanicized by education and discipline for battle, I cannot withhold my denunciation of its wickedness and folly."

These are the words of "Light-Horse Harry" Lee after the Revolution. Washington himself is on record that if he had had trained troops he should not have had to retreat across the Delaware in the beginning of the Revolution.

In the War of 1812, although we had nearly ten times as many men under arms at one time or another as those opposed to us, we achieved only one success on land and that was after the war had closed—and we had the humiliation of seeing the Capital burned by a small invading force.

In the Mexican War our forces were successful, but more because of the enemy's weakness than of our strength. Few enemies would allow a little army in hostile territory to await reinforcements unmolested as General Scott was allowed to do at Puebla; or permit us to train our troops as General Taylor for eight months trained the volunteers who won the battle of Buena Vista.

At the beginning of the Civil War the United States was faced by a government just coming into being whose forces were necessarily little better than an armed mob. Had there been an adequate army the Confederacy would never have had the chance it did to train its soldiers. As it was, the Federal Government was no better off than the Confederacy. General Upton, in his "Military Policy of the United States," says that the failure to subdue the Rebellion in 1861 was due to "our total want of military organization *and preparation.*" *In his opinion* "the last three costly and bloody years of the Civil War were needless." And General Upton's deductions were approved by no less an authority than General Sherman.

The Spanish War brought again the same old story. Some of the volunteer regiments reported without arms, accoutrements, ammunition, or clothing. Wherever the untrained volunteers were there also were sickness and inefficiency. By contrast the campaign of the regulars in Porto Rico was achieved with neatness and dispatch.

In the past we have prolonged our wars, murdered our citizens, wasted our resources, and suffered humiliations and defeats because we have been unprepared. Yet the difficulties of transportation a hundred years ago and the unpreparedness of our antagonists since then have averted any national calamity. We know that other nations can strike quick and hard. We know that great bodies of troops can be moved across the water. From our own past we know that "a nation which goes to war unprepared educates its statesmen at more expense than its soldiers."

We have been accustomed to think of the Atlantic and Pacific as our main defenses. They certainly would add tremendously to the difficulties of an attack upon us and limit seriously the number of men that would be sent against us. The transportation of the troops to Gallipoli may revise our estimate of the limits of sea transportation but it still remains true that adequate defense does not mean the burden for us that it does, for example, for France. The limits of sea transportation also make it easy for us to differentiate between an offensive and defensive army, for numbers that would be adequate for our defense would offer no menace to the armies of Europe. We can get from our military and naval authorities the facts of our condition and requirements.

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, JUNE 17, 1775

Raw and untrained American troops forced to retire from a well fortified position before the direct attack of trained troops

THE BRITISH VICTORY ON LONG ISLAND, AUGUST 27, 1776

To a British force of 16,000 regulars Washington was able to oppose but 8,000 men with consequent defeat and the loss of New York

THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON, JANUARY 3, 1777

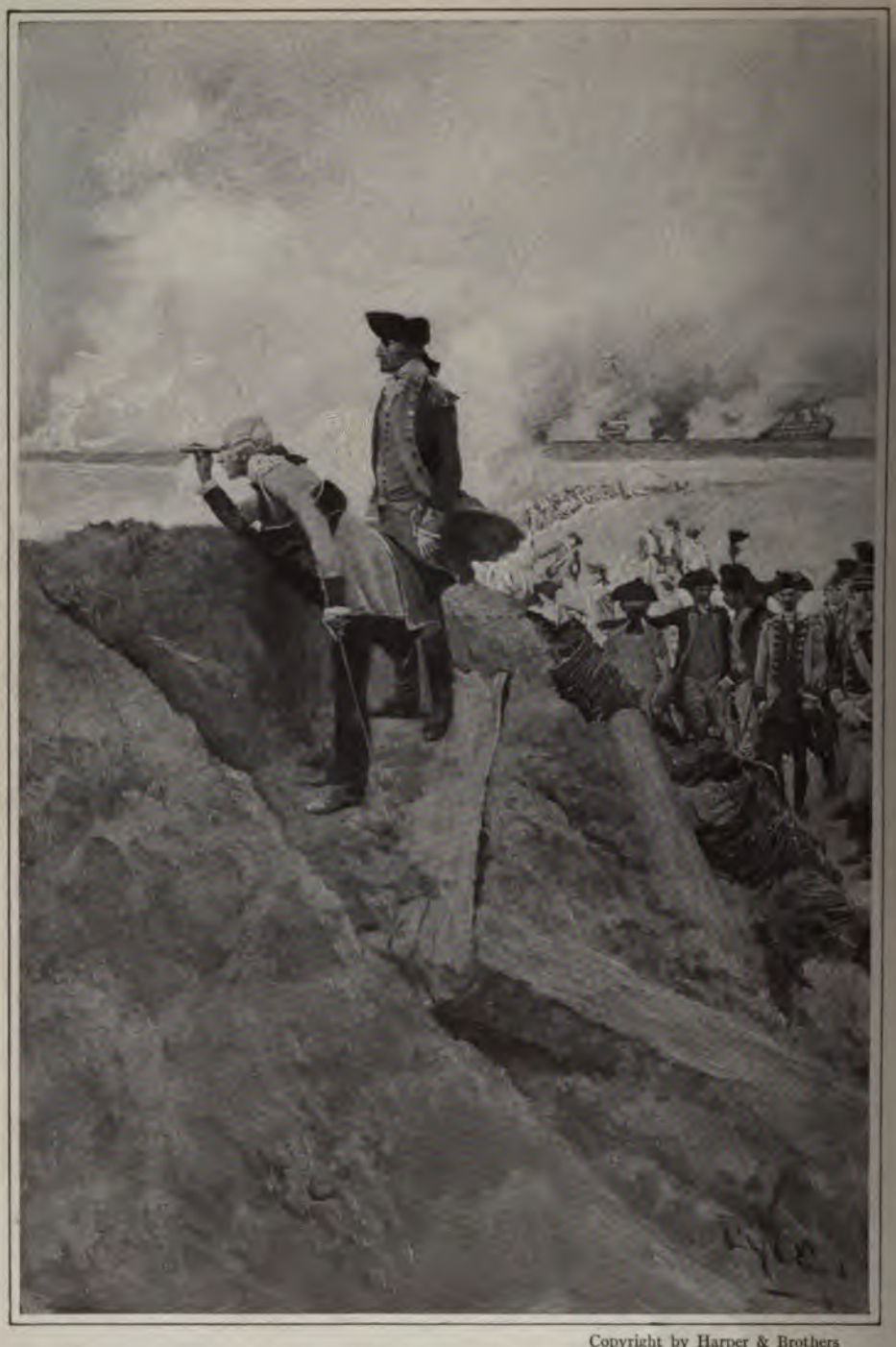
An American victory at a crucial point of the Revolution, the fruits of which were lost because there was no military system to keep the armies supplied with men and munitions when needed

THE DEFEAT OF MONTGOMERY AT QUEBEC, DECEMBER 31, 1775

"The disadvantages attending short enlistments," said General Washington, "are apparent. . . . This cause precipitated the fate of the brave General Montgomery. . . . For had he not been apprehensive of the troops leaving him at such a crisis, but continued to blockade Quebec, a capitulation must have followed".

WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE

Where the Army wintered in 1777–78 and watched the British in possession of Philadelphia. Despite the weather the winter was spent in trying to make trained soldiers of the force, for as Washington wrote: "If I was called upon to declare upon oath whether the militia had been most serviceable or hurtful, upon the whole I should subscribe to the latter"



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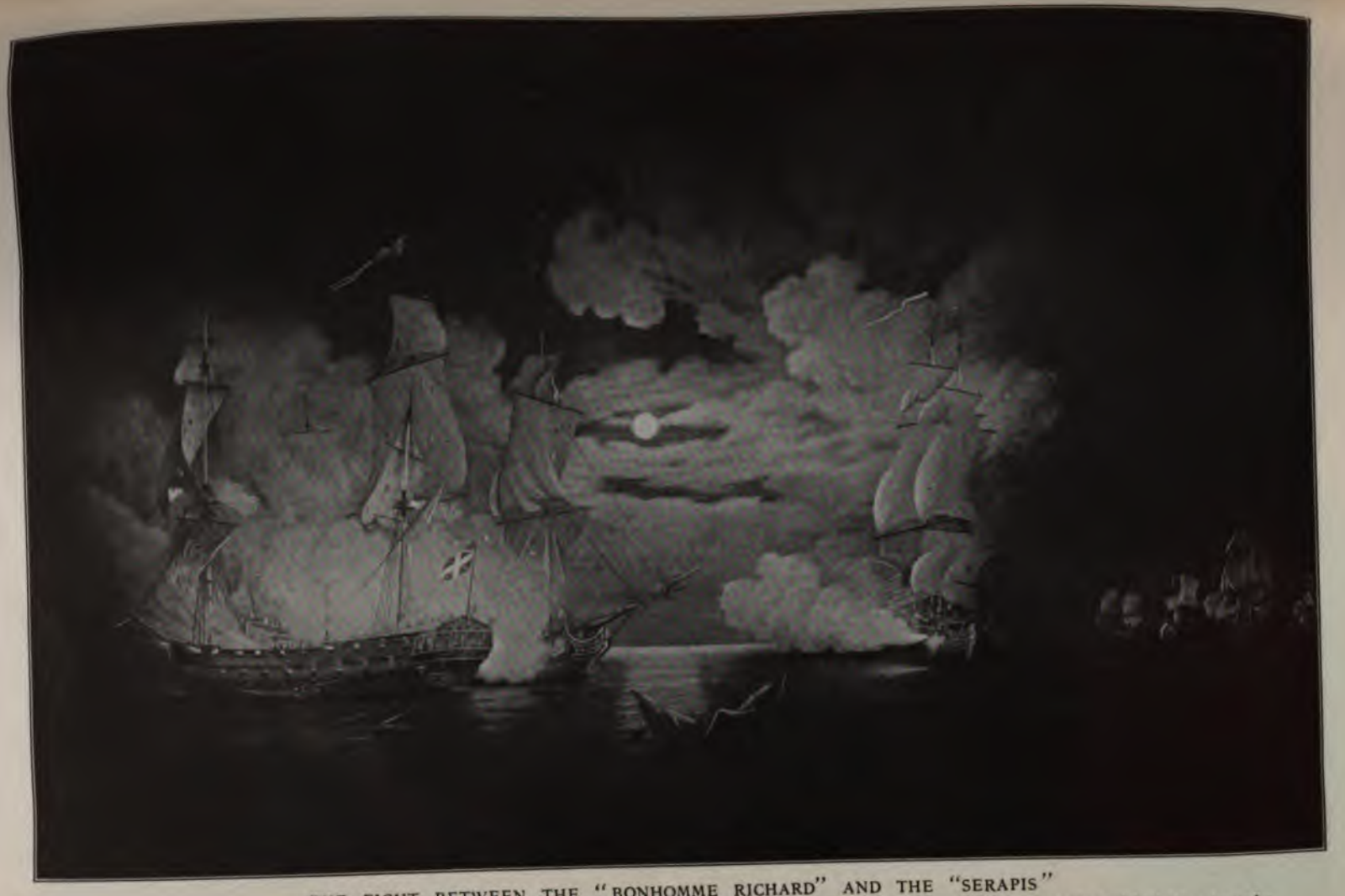
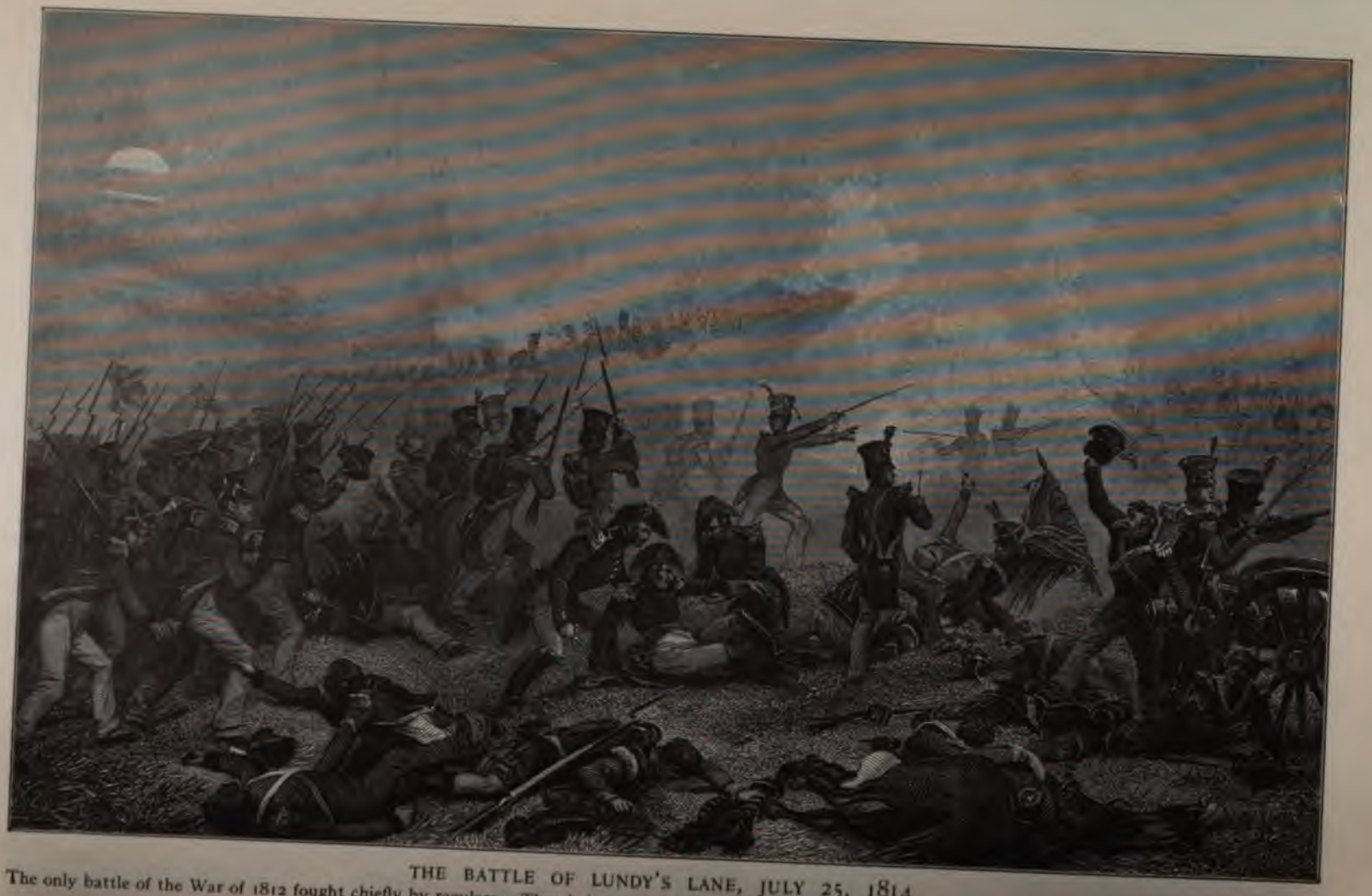
WASHINGTON AT YORKTOWN, 1781

The year before he wrote about preparedness to the President of the Continental Congress: "Had we formed a permanent army in the beginning . . . we should never have had to retreat across the Delaware in 1776 trembling for the fate of America. . . . We should not have been the greatest part of the war inferior to the enemy, indebted for our safety to their inactivity, enduring frequently the mortification of seeing inviting opportunities to ruin them pass unimproved for want of a force which the country was completely able to afford"



THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE "BONHOMME RICHARD" AND THE "SERAPIS"

John Paul Jones's crew and ship were at a disadvantage with their antagonist



THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE, JULY 25, 1814

The only battle of the War of 1812 fought chiefly by regulars. They behaved well under terrific losses. In almost every other battle of the war either militia or volunteers ran from the enemy

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

The only brilliant land victory of the Americans in the War of 1812. Under well trained and competent officers, who entrenched behind formidable breastworks, a heterogeneous army defeated a superior British force, although on the west bank of the Mississippi River 800 militia under General Morgan ran away

THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON

After the defeat at Bladensburg, Md., August 24, 1814, where militia and volunteers from Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia fled after losing eight dead and eleven wounded

THE U. S. S. "CONSTITUTION" CAPTURING THE "GUERRIÈRE"

The *Constitution* won because it had greater speed and more guns than any other ship of its class at the time. These qualities are possessed by battle cruisers to-day, a type of vessel which does not exist in the present United States Navy

THE VICTORY OF BUENA VISTA, FEBRUARY 23, 1847

Won by General Zachary Taylor with volunteer infantry and regular artillery. Before the battle, however, the volunteers had received eight months of hard training, which is not usually possible in the face of the enemy

THE FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN, JULY 21, 1861

Thirty thousand Federal troops completely routed by a like number of Confederate troops. The Federal commander wished to delay the decisive encounter until his troops should be better trained, but Congress and popular sentiment demanded that these troops should be led into battle

From "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War"

THE SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN, AUGUST 29-30, 1862

A Confederate force of 49,000 defeated a Federal force of 70,000. The United States was so unprepared for war in 1861 that it had no military advantage over the newly formed Confederacy, which organized its forces with greater ability and early adopted universal service

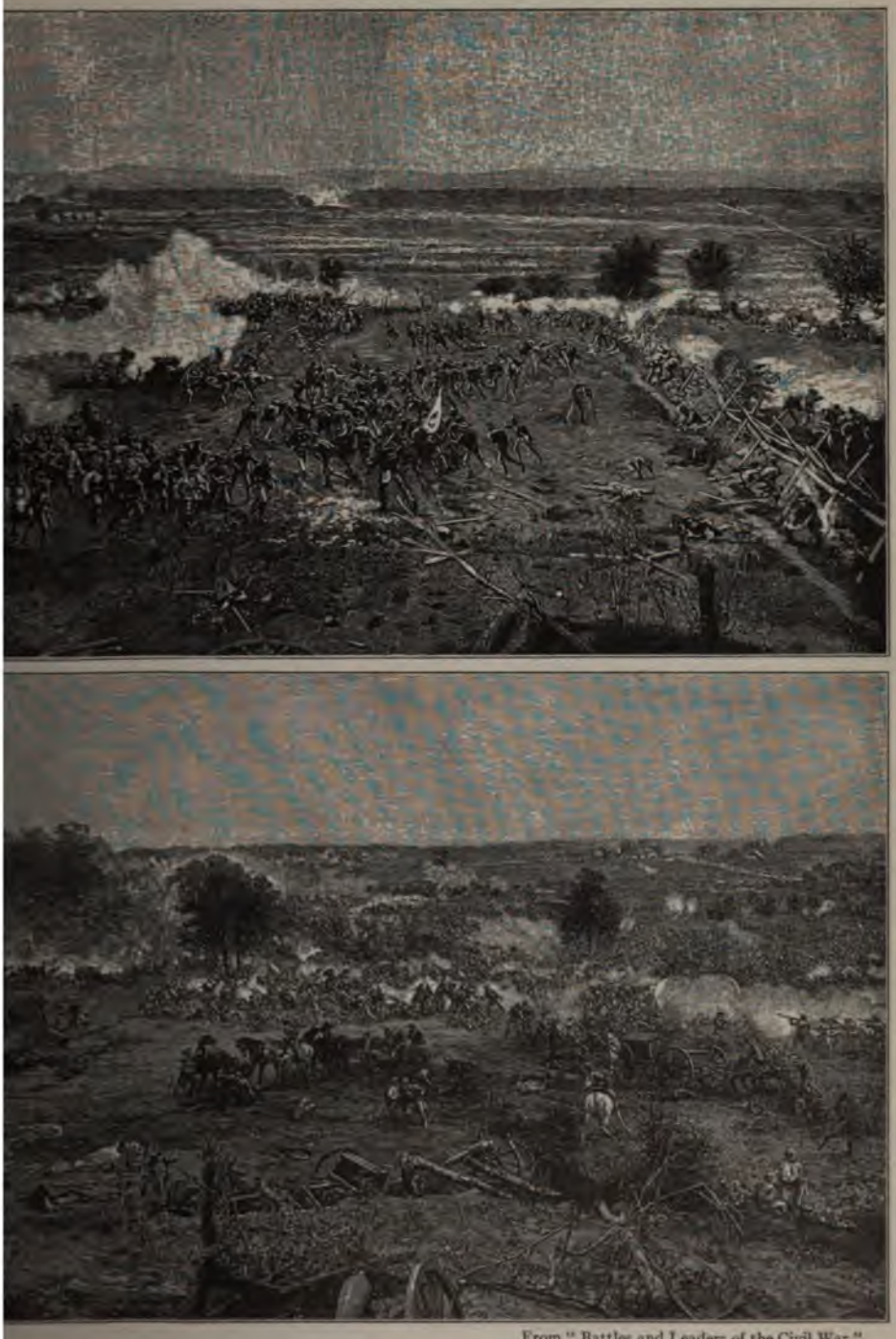
ANTIETAM, SEPTEMBER 16–17, 1862

"A nation which goes to war unprepared educates its statesmen at more expense than its soldiers"

From " Battles and Leaders of the Civil War "

ANTIETAM, SEPTEMBER 17, 1862

"The bloodiest single day of fighting of the war." The Civil War dragged over four years and cost the Union forces alone 500,000 men. Because of its well disciplined troops and efficient commanders Prussia *won its campaign against* France in 1870 in a year and with a loss of but 28,000 men



From " Battles and Leaders of the Civil War "

PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG

igh tide of Confederate success in the Civil War in which both sides trained their armies in action, which is certain to bring disaster against a prepared enemy. In this preparation the Confederate nt made better use of its West Point graduates, kept its men in more continuous service, and obtained a trained army more quickly

From " Battles and Leaders of the Civil War "

THE DECISIVE VICTORY AT GETTYSBURG

Had Congress been able to put 10,000 regular troops in the field in 1861 there would have been no need of the drafting which was employed prior to Gettysburg. But no sooner had the Army of '61 been *organized* and equipped than Congress, terrified at the thought of a standing army, caused each state to *stop recruiting at once*

'HE ARMY AND THE COMING CONGRESS

' ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL ANALYZED—A MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT 500,000 MEN, TO CONSIST OF A STANDING ARMY OF 200,000 AND A TRAINED VOLUNTEER RESERVE FORCE TO BE CALLED FOR ANNUALLY BY THE PRESIDENT

BY

JOHN S. GREGORY

IE Administration is going to put before Congress in December the most radical military measures of a generation. The proposed legislain the form of the annual Army appropriation bills, but the each bill, in response to the demand for preparedness, have em something of the character cy measures. They are emermures.

vitable but unfortunate that ires, of the gravest national ill be approached from some a spirit of narrow politics and . This is a time for statesnd not for politics. And yet issue is being confused and ted in efforts to turn its strong onal or party profit. For such reluctance of the Administrae the specific requirements of nd Navy bills generally adver- their presentation to the next y be appreciated.

comes to actual preparedness ns of adequate defense, the Army is much more difficult f the Navy. In the Navy we tively high degree of defense acknowledged. We have the stence. We do not have to in- state of mind or create a new nt. All we need do—though ed, a formidable undertaking—nd what we have, to scale it sponse to a demonstrable need. we need no Navy *at all or* we need one which can protect at least one of our coasts for a period of two months.

But with the Army we must in the country at large recognize one fundamental truth which is already abundantly clear to the Army itself. Our present military establishment is of no practical value as a defense against any first class Power. If we are serious about adequate defense for the country, if the people really believe the Nation and its institutions worth defending, then the Army must be more than doubled in size, and military affairs in this country must be put on a new footing, acquire a new dignity and value in popular estimation.

The problem is not, shorn of its political aspects, a complex one. It is as simple as an example in elementary arithmetic. And standards to gauge it by, events and conditions to prove it, precedents, examples, warnings are to be found to-day all over the rest of the civilized world, in China as well as in France; in Belgium and Russia as well as in Germany, in Turkey, or in England.

For the purpose of national defense, as national defense has been defined in this war, we have no Army. If we would put the country into a condition of preparedness to defend itself we must start in now to make an Army adequate to its defense, for it will be too late, after a not impossible war, for us to begin. What does an adequate Army, an adequate military system, mean? The War Department has been devoting itself for the last six months to the answer to that question, and it thinks it has found an answer

that will appeal to Congress and to the people as reasonable. It is not the answer that the Army believes in as a whole; it falls short of what military experts can demonstrate to be logical preparation for the particular national menaces from abroad against which we ought to be on our guard. But it hits with a high degree of judgment that middle ground where our national needs and our national temperament meet.

A MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF 500,000

As the material of the bill shapes in October, roughly the guiding idea is this: The unit of change ought to be 500,000 men; that is to say, less than that is not a material difference from what we now have. More than that could not be profitably used in the present condition of the country, economically, politically, and otherwise. The military experts can easily prove that we need an Army of 1,000,000 men. They under-estimate the difficulty, in fact the impossibility, in our present civic and economic phases of preparedness of getting together and handling a body of this size. Its mere mobilization, concentration, and movement present problems which it will take us several years to master. The Germans have been at it for two generations and hold the formula now as one of their most valuable military secrets. We should squander billions of dollars and a good many lives in trying to make a million volunteers mobile. In doing so we should almost certainly be creating more of a national menace than a national defense. We have got to scale down our first measures of preparedness to our limitations as they actually are.

A STANDING ARMY OF 200,000

The War Department's idea of an increase in the standing Army always available is to adjust it to needs which are continuing and actual, on the continent and in our insular possessions, and by that is meant needs which are short of invasion by a first-class foreign Power. Two hundred thousand men in the regular establishment will satisfy these continuing, semi-constabulary needs. That number *will not mean doubling the* present military appropriations, but at the very outset will the country stand paying approximately one fourth of its income for military purposes—with the Navy recommendations, a third of its income?

In approaching this whole question the framers of the bill are trying to adapt their advocacy of radical measures in the new legislation to the temper and characteristics of the country as they now are. We are not dealing with a Prussianized public opinion; we are not dealing even with a national state of mind like that of France, created and maintained by the constant imminence of the national peril. We are dealing with a comparatively inert, uninformed Americanism. The United States as a whole has to-day a healthy man's intolerance of a doctor or a doctor's prescription. A better figure would be that of a man who thinks himself to be entirely healthy but who, to the skilled eye of the specialist, is either tending toward, or actually suffering from, an unsuspected organic disorder.

The European war has been undeniably a kind of shock to our sense of immunity and security. With its ravished Belgium and its desolate Poland, its revelation of the weakness of the British polity, its examples of the united fortitude and efficiency of France and Germany, it has suddenly brought us next door to Europe. A new consciousness is awakening, a new state of mind is becoming evident with which, for the first time in two generations, it may be possible to accomplish something of a practical effect in the way of generally understood national defense.

Now the question is how to deal with that growing state of consciousness. Compulsory universal service is one extreme: letting things go as they now are is the other extreme. In between somewhere lies the right answer. We must take it for granted that the object is to obtain the maximum of results with the minimum of expense in the way of money, time, and oratory. Therefore we must recognize that some remedies, however desirable or necessary they may appear from some points of view, are impossible of immediate or early realization. We hear, for example, a lot of advocacy of the Swiss system, which

unded upon compulsory military in-
:tion in all the educational institutions
ıe country. Consider what the adop-
of this system would mean in this
try. It means in the first place a
stitutional amendment—and Consti-
ınal amendments in this country,
out the actual imminence of foreign
sion or something equally compelling,
years in fruition. Another way of
ting either this Swiss system or some
r Federal formula would be identical
lation in all the states conterminous
the Federal Government, an idea
h is almost hopeless, as one confronts
:owering clouds of vapor created by all
s of argument and debate which would
out of every state capitol in the land.
ember, this is a subject upon which
ail the most violent differences of
ion, fortified in selfishness, in preju-
in politics, in religion, in emotion.
onsider what happens with a measure
h has none of these drawbacks. Take
matter of negotiable paper or of uni-
ı divorce laws, the first at least being a
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ics, or religion, or emotional considera-
s. Yet upon such a desirable measure
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state legislation. As for the matter
ivorce, a man who is married in one
: is a bachelor in another, and a woman
is respected in one state is considered
putable in another.
is all very well for your spellbinders to
their fingers and enunciate panaceas:
s system, Australian system, Federal
nization, universal service, etc.; but
ndeavoring to accomplish something
the common welfare we have got to
ider the existing laws of the land, the
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le. In other words, we have got to
:rstand what we have to work with.
ow just as a doctor connotes to the
age healthy man, or the man who con-
s himself healthy, sickness and de-
sion, and just as such a person lumps
ther the agency of remedy with the
se and hates them both, so a country
this is apt to look askance upon those
are now prescribing military preven-
measures for our widespread but unrealized disease of unpreparedness. Now put yourself in the place of the War Department and the Administration. Suppose you are yourself concerned with some loved one's health. You do not go out and get a quack with a glib remedy already prescribed. You do not put your faith in labels unless you are sure of what is in the bottle. You are apt to get some one who knows and understands the system of the patient and his history, and who will therefore adapt remedies to a familiar and particular diagnosis.

In going before the country this autumn with recommendations for legislation we can either (1) chill the whole thing, smother the flame just starting, or (2) we can warm it, kindle it. Why support a measure or measures which cannot be started for years? Such measures may be easier to define and advocate. They make a fine sound in the ear but they are apt to lead only to debate and smoke. Remember the spirit of the American people so often demonstrated in times past, self-centred, incredulous, independent; they will not believe until they have got to believe. But when once they believe they come with a rush. To advocate before the Sixty-fourth Congress measures so radical as to excite general opposition would be to kill popular interest in the whole subject of national defense.

WHAT CONGRESS WILL BE ASKED TO DO

The forthcoming legislation, therefore, will fall short of the theories of those who, like Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Gardner, or the younger officers of the General Staff, advocate compulsory measures or a very large standing Army. On the other hand, they are entirely opposed to the Bryan school of do-nothing pacifists. Hitting between these two extremes, the Army recommendations ought to appeal to the great body of public opinion which is not extreme and which is willing to welcome reasonable measures for national safety.

The War Department, therefore, will ask Congress to increase the regular establishment to about 200,000 men, and, distributed over the various arms of the service, this is not a very great increase. It will advocate the upkeeping of the Na-

tional Guard as an excellent Federal asset, as a kind of Americanized Landwehr. It believes that it would be a mistake to try to develop the National Guard on its present lines of state control, for that would result merely in the creation of forty-eight distinct little armies of widely varying degrees of efficiency and availability. Every militiaman costs the state and national governments nearly twice as much as the regular enlisted man, and he is about half as useful. No sound military system could be founded on such shifting sands, but the existence of these units more closely affiliated by an energized instruction under General Staff direction would make of the various state militias an excellent Federal asset.

AN ANNUAL CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

How, then, leaving the National Guard out of direct consideration as part of the available Army establishment on its practical basis, as already defined, of 500,000, how then are we going to supply the deficit? By an act of Congress authorizing the President to call annually for a minimum of 100,000 volunteers, to serve for a period—as yet undetermined—of weeks or months, and to be subject in time of national need to service with the colors for three years.

Such a system would constitute an 80 per cent. advance over what we have today. It provides a sensible way to create a body of citizen soldiery of the right kind, intensively trained, familiar with the rudiments of military life, and adaptable to organization in large units. The plan would not necessitate anything in kind much more radical than the recent Plattsburg encampment. It would simply mean the nationalizing of that idea, which is much older than its successful operation at Plattsburg. It would mean simply providing the means annually wherewith 100,000 or more American citizens at least could respond to the growing idea of a military responsibility in their citizenship. And every one of those men, like the 1,300 who came back from Plattsburg better men than they went, would become a radiating centre for the dissemination of *wholesome military* ideas. Every one of them as he went back into his business world, his club, his church, or his local society would be an active agency in the educational process which must in this country precede anything like national conviction or advocacy of a new idea. Such seed would be bound to fall upon fallow ground.

TO TRAIN MORE OFFICERS

To direct this new United States Army a great many additional officers will, of course, become necessary. The War Department has planned for such an emergency. The existing plant at West Point will admit only of an additional 50 per cent. of cadets. This will be asked for and in addition some scheme will be devised whereby the military schools and the state-endowed colleges that have military clauses in their constitutions will be organized in such a manner as to more than supply the deficit.

In this matter of what it takes to make an officer the country needs education. The Army service schools must be enlarged and increased, for the highest type of coördination is necessary between the General Staff and subordinate officers in modern war. In the German or French armies a five- or ten-word order is sufficient to animate an army corps into perfectly reciprocating action, whereas under our present system pages upon pages of orders could not accomplish the same result because of the lack of generally understood terms and training.

Nor can we rely merely upon service schools to provide this training. They do give a technical experience but we have perhaps more than a proportionate share of that already. The officers in our Army need men more than they do maps. One of the practical ideas in the new Army recommendations will be that officers shall have more service with their troops and that these troops shall be manœuvred and associated in much larger bodies organized by territorial divisions.

If the 100,000 volunteers placed at the President's call by act of Congress are not annually forthcoming, that will not be the Government's fault nor the Army's fault. The responsibility will be plac

where in this country it must lie—
ıe people themselves. No stream can
higher than its source. This new
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y to serve their country in times of
: so as to perpetuate its institutions
ıst war or the threats of war. And it
put the matter of military prepared-
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ouch upon it.

PUTTING IT UP TO THE PEOPLE

a democracy big things cannot be
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act that you cannot get a democracy
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us by a mere act of Congress, the
titution providing for it. Let us also
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in other forms. The jury system is a
of conscription, and the necessity for
children to be literate is a form of
nal compulsion.
t us also not forget in making up our
s on these military measures that our
ies are not entirely in our own *hands*.
The British people are not deciding now whether or not they want conscription. It is being decided for them by outside events. It may very well be that we, in our turn, cannot calmly decide whether or not we want much more radical measures than Congress will be asked to adopt this winter. The British Government is sworn to an unyielding policy on our exports of cotton and foodstuffs. The German Government is quite capable of violating our neutral and human rights again. Across the Pacific a great and united nation opposes the growth of our Far Eastern trade, while at the same time it smarts under the sting of racial inequality. Such outside influences may shape our military policies for us. So when we coolly analyze our situation it simply comes down to the question whether or not we care enough about our institutions and about the inviolability of our territory to defend them.

Something of this kind is in the minds of the professional soldiers of the younger generation, who are not the fanatics that an uninformed civil point of view is apt to regard them. They all feel that unless the world changes materially and the relations of nations are put on a millennial basis we shall have to come sooner or later to something like universal military responsibility and service. Whether or not they are right, the point now is that, even were Congress to pass a law authorizing the enormous military establishment which universal service would necessitate, the country could not begin to handle it even willingly. Without compulsion we could not begin to get the recruits we need for a volunteer army of a million men, and when it comes to compulsion we cannot expect any Congress to pass a law which would cost its members their seats.

The Administration and those who are directing the Army policies feel that they have a great chance to accomplish something—to advocate a measure which can be passed and thus, with the greatest possible saving of time, get something started. They do not want to fumble this chance. Therefore they hope that the overwhelming sensible preponderance of public opinion will stand back of them when their measures are subject to discussion.

THE NAVY AND THE COMING CONGRESS

WHAT CONGRESS WILL BE ASKED TO DO TO GIVE THE COUNTRY A FLEET ADEQUATE TO DEFEND IT AGAINST OVERSEAS INVASION AND TO PROTECT ITS OCEAN-GOING COMMERCE, ITS ISLAND POSSESSIONS, AND THE RIGHTS OF ITS CITIZENS ON THE HIGH SEAS—THE NEGLIGIBLE COST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF A NATIONAL NAVAL RESERVE FORCE OF 50,000 MEN—OUR PROPOSED EXPENDITURES COMPARED WITH THE COST OF WAR PREPAREDNESS TO THE NATIONS OF EUROPE

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

THE United States needs a Navy built upon a definite plan designed to produce and maintain a fighting fleet of a size and quality to meet any emergency which our foreign policies (such as the Monroe Doctrine) or our rights (such as our right to travel in safety on belligerent ships) may get us into. We have not been building our Navy on this —or any other—consistent plan. But the naval bill to be presented to the next Congress will recommend that we do follow such a building programme.

The amount of money asked for must almost necessarily be about a hundred millions in excess of the naval appropriation for 1915, authorized by the Sixty-third Congress. The greater part of such an increase will go into the building programme. No very starting changes are called for in the character of ships to be built, the consensus of the best opinion in the Navy still holding true to battleships as the nucleus of the fighting fleet. The old and supposedly useless navy yards need not be abandoned but can be given a new use as naval bases for submarines at many points on all our coasts.

Such a programme, in short, must impress both Congress and the public at large as being framed on very reasonable lines commensurate with the national problem *of adequate defense.*

"Preparedness" or "adequate defense" in the Navy can be defined far more easily than in the Army. In theory, when Congress authorizes a new warship, it grants at the same time the necessary guns and ammunition for that ship, the necessary crew to man her, and the necessary facilities on shore wherewith to dock and repair her.

Unlike the Army, only a comparatively small amount of ammunition is necessary per unit in the Navy. One complete refilling of the ships' magazines is generally enough in time of active naval warfare because, as sea tactics have developed in the last year, if a ship once engages in action the chances are that either she will sink the enemy or be sunk herself. A sinking ship, moreover, automatically increases the reserve of ammunition per remaining unit. For the same reason the reserves of men necessary to naval preparedness are small as compared with those necessary for adequate Army preparedness.

Accordingly, the undertaking of an adequate preparation in the Navy must be distinguished qualitatively and quantitively. In the first sense, the necessity of drilling men and officers, of providing equipment and guns and ammunition, and of creating trained reserves provides fully as difficult problems as to time and method as do the corresponding problems in the Army. But in the Navy the sum total of

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and their accumulation, therefore,
nearly so difficult.
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a regiment. After war has begun
late to begin the construction of bat-
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o build. The *Queen Elizabeth* and
er ships of her class that have ap-
out of British dockyards since the
ng of the present war were laid
two years ago. The new type of
n submarine operating off the Dar-
s and in the Adriatic was laid down
months ago. The control of the
decided by the actual number of
ships which a nation can put into
sion at the outbreak of war. All
proves this. The present war is
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in the United States to know just
we stand to-day and so, when we
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e which will fit that need.

A NAVAL POLICY

o essential respect have we lagged
behind the first class naval Powers
world so far as in our unwillingness
ulate a definite naval policy. Sir
a White, for nearly twenty years
onstructor of the British Navy,
n the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1911:
icient and economical administra-
any navy can be achieved only
nnual estimates form part of a com-
cheme embracing the creation and
nance of a war fleet adequate for
ense of the country to which it be-
That scheme may be modified
me to time but it should be always
ence."
German principle," wrote Admiral
, "asserts that the constitution and
s of a navy are not a matter of
c policy but of foreign relations."
e clearer light of the *European war* we are coming to realize that the constitution and numbers of the United States Navy have generally been a matter not of "domestic policy"—much less of foreign policy—but of domestic and partisan politics. Such questions must now be taken out of that sphere if we are to prepare the Navy for possible war.

In April, 1914, the Army War College had all details drawn up ready for operations in Mexico before General Funston landed at Vera Cruz. This preparedness was possible because, although the Government was then, and is still, unwilling to intervene in Mexico, it did go so far as to give the General Staff of the Army a military policy with relation to then existing affairs in Mexico sufficiently tangible to formulate plans upon.

But now contrast the state of mind which the Navy must deal with. Does our naval policy contemplate protection from invasion on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards only? If so, such a decision would involve a willingness to have our exports and imports stopped, the Panama Canal, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska taken from us, and our international policies set at naught.

Or does "adequate defense" mean to the United States Government and people at least an attempt to defend our ocean-going commerce, our overseas dependencies, and our national policies?

Actually no Administration and no Congress has ever hinted to the naval experts what they meant or understood by "defense." Those naval officers, therefore, have been compelled, year after year, to guess at what the country wants and to frame a programme accordingly.

FRAMING A NAVAL PROGRAMME

Now although there has never been what we could call a naval policy on the part of the Government or the majority of public opinion in the United States, there has always been a naval policy in the Navy. And the Navy has gone on trying for many years to define that policy in its reports and in its recommendations for legislation. It is not properly the Navy's business to construct a foreign policy, and the consequent naval policy of the Government,

but as some basis of recommendation was necessary and none was furnished, the Navy made the best guess it could.

The first partial expression of intent on the part of the Navy to start something in the nature of a continuing programme which would, if supported by successive legislatures, amount to something like a naval policy was on October 17, 1903, when the General Board of the Navy, "after mature consideration of our national policies and interests and of those of the other leading nations of the world," expressed its opinion of what the ultimate strength of the Navy should be, and recommended a programme for the completion of the Navy to the strength then believed adequate by the year 1919. The General Board's scheme of 1903 still forms the background and scale upon whic recurring naval recommendations ar mulated in the Navy Department.

This first recommendation was 48 battleships ("battleship" since has meant a dreadnaught, i.e., a big-gun ship), 192 destroyers, and tain subsidiary and auxiliary v as needed. We had, in 1903, 10 tleships completed and 14 autho The older ships were considered ineff after twenty years of life, and the to carry out the recommendation battleships by 1919 would have me building programme of two every ye to and including 1915, with a third every three years. If this programm been followed out we should have t 48 effective battleships built or bui

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SIZE OF THE WORLD'S FOUR LEADING NAVIES

VESSELS BUILT

	BATTLE-SHIPS, DREAD-NAUGHT TYPE	BATTLE SHIPS	BATTLE CRUIS-ERS	ARM-ORED CRUIS-ERS	CRUIS-ERS	DES-TROYERS	TOR-PEDO BOATS	SUBMA-RINES	CO/ DEFE VESS
	(a)	(b)	(c)		(d)				(
Great Britain.....	20	40	9(k)	34	74(k)	167(k)	49	75(k)	
Germany	13	20	4	9	41	130	0	27	
United States.....	8	22	0	11	14	51	13	30	
France	4	18	0	20	9	84	135	64	

VESSELS BUILDING OR AUTHORIZED

	BATTLESHIPS, DREADNAUGHT TYPE	BATTLE CRUISERS	CRUISERS	DESTROYERS	TORPEDO BOATS	SUBMARI
Great Britain (f)	16	1	17(k)	21(k)	0	22
Germany (g).....	7	4	5	24	0	18
United States.....	4	0	0	11	0	19
France	8	0	0	3	0	22

(a) Battleships having a main battery of all big guns (11 inches or more in calibre).
(b) Battleships of (about) 10,000 tons or more displacement, and having more than one calibre in the main batt
(c) Armored cruisers having guns of largest calibre in main battery and capable of taking their place in lin battle with the battleships. They have an increase of speed at the expense of carrying fewer guns in main batt and a decrease in armor protection.
(d) Includes all unarmored cruising vessels above 1,500 tons displacement.
(e) Includes smaller battleships and monitors. No more vessels of this class are being proposed or built by great Powers.
(f) Great Britain has no continuing shipbuilding policy, but usually lays down each year 4 or 5 armored ships a proportional number of smaller vessels.
(g) Germany has a continuing ship building programme, governed by a fleet law authorized by the Reichs For 1913 there were authorized 1 battleship, 1 battle cruiser, 2 cruisers, 12 destroyers. Eventual strength to co of 41 battleships, 20 armored cruisers, 40 cruisers, 144 destroyers, 72 submarines.
(k) Includes vessels of colonies.

tually have, less than twenty years
battleships (since the sale of the
sippi and *Idaho* to Greece) built, 7
ıg, and two authorized. We are,
ore, 9 battleships short of the recom-
d number. As for destroyers, we
have to-day, on the same scale
attleship construction, 192 provided
We actually have only 74. The
shortcoming applies relatively to all
her classes of ships.

make this situation clearer in its
n to the other three leading navies of
orld, the table on page 56, prepared
Bureau of Intelligence, is printed.

OUR PRESENT NAVAL NEEDS

he first place, then, in determining
we ought to have now as a naval
mme, it is of interest that the
al Navy Board—with exception of
siding officer, Admiral Dewey, al-
otally different in its make-up from
oard of 1903—said, in November,

General Board remains of the opinion always held, that command of the sea gained and held only by vessels that e and keep the sea in all times and in thers and overcome the strongest enemy that can be brought against them. types are valuable and have their par- uses, all of which are indispensable but in character. But what has been true out all naval wars of the past and what lly true to-day is that the backbone navy that can command the sea con- f the strongest sea-going, sea-keeping f its day, or of its battleships. The l Board therefore recommends that four 1 be authorized.

pite spectacular performances in the t war by submarines and battle- s, the great majority of those who ping the Navy side of preparedness s country believe the same thing about battleships that they be- in 1914 and 1903. Four battleships erefore be asked for each year for years to come, and this will just bring us up to the programme laid in 1903 which the naval experts still to be the approximate standard of dequate naval *defense. Congress* will also be asked to provide for 30 destroy- ers, and the Navy will advise a continuation of that scale of construction until we catch up with the proper proportion.

SCOUT CRUISERS

The General Board has recognized our almost total lack of scout cruisers. Last year they recommended four; to-day they are asking for eight every year for sev- eral years to come. In this connection it is interesting to know that a brand new type of ship is being considered in naval councils, a "scout destroyer" of about 7,500 tons displacement, of 34 or 35 knots speed, without armor, and carrying one or two 14-inch guns, without turret, on a high freeboard, forward. Three of these could be built for what it costs to build a battle cruiser, and they could tackle any- thing which they could not outrun. The battle cruiser is essentially a weapon of opportunity. It can be used for special purposes, such as making raids, cutting lines of communication, etc. The United States Navy possesses not a single one, but it is fair to say that the United States Navy does not believe in having many of them. Other Powers have them and they have played a brilliant part thus far in the naval operations of the present war, notably the *Goeben* and *Moltke*, of the German navy, and the *Inflexible*, *Invincible*, and *Tiger*, of the British Navy. The best naval opinion in this country believes that we should have an answer to this particular class of ships, at least an answer to the four battle cruisers built and building by Japan. Therefore, two will probably be asked for this year and two for next.

SUBMARINES

The British Navy has succeeded in destroying between 60 and 75 German submarines. This fact strengthens the opinion in the United States Navy which is opposed to Sir Percy Scott in his assump- tion that the submarine has scrapped the battleship. Submarine plans for the com- ing year contemplate bringing up our total number of these vessels to 100, of which number we already have 76 built or build- ing, of the coastwise type. The far-cruising fleet submarine, with a radius of 3,000

miles or so, although still regarded as being in an experimental stage, will also be asked for in the Navy bill. We ought to lay down an increasing number of them every year. As a consequence of this policy, the naval authorities, far from abandoning the present number of navy yards, are actually considering the establishment of sixteen submarine bases, to be located at Frenchman's Bay, Massachusetts Bay, Narragansett Bay, New York Harbor, Delaware Bay, the mouth of the Chesapeake, Charleston, Key West, San Francisco, Hawaii, San Diego, and Guam. Submarines are regarded by our Navy as having proved conclusively their usefulness as a major element in coast defense. As organized now, every five submarines, whose crews total only 100 men, require a tender with a crew of about 200 men. With the new scheme of bases 10 submarines would be allotted to each base and all the tenders would be dispensed with. In many instances, of course, as at Guantanamo, Hawaii, San Francisco, New York, and Key West, the submarine base is already a regularly established naval base and in the territory of an established navy yard.

Our naval bill this year appropriated $146,500,000. Of this amount, roughly, $102,000,000 went for pay of officers and men, food, supplies, repairs, wages of navy yard workmen, etc. The balance, $44,500,000, went for building new ships. Of course, if Congress shall pass the shipbuilding programme of four dreadnaughts, etc., there must be also a corresponding increase in officers and men; with, of course, more food, more supplies, more repairs, The bill will include, therefore, a provision to greatly increase, perhaps to double, the number of cadets at the Naval Academy, i. e., from the present 700 to 1,200 or more. For such an increase the Academy at Annapolis is fortunately already equipped.

A NATIONAL NAVAL RESERVE

The new idea first advocated by Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, of a national naval reserve, will probably be incorporated in the new Navy legislation, although its inclusion in an appropriation bill is *hardly necessary* since all the additional *expense necessary to its creation* will be in the shape of a card index equipment and a couple of extra clerks in the department.

This scheme is intended to provide, in the time of emergency, 50,000 naval reserves known to, and at the direction of, the Navy Department. It will be made up of four classes: (a) Retired officers and ex-enlisted men; (b) other branches of the Federal Service, such as the Coast Guard, harbor police, revenue cutter and lighthouse services, coast survey, etc.; (c) volunteer and patriotic civilians at large, of the kind that went to Plattsburg; and (d) owners and crews of privately owned ships, yachts, and motor boats, organized and drilled on their own vessels.

An increase from one to five million dollars will be urged for the aeronautical service in the Navy.

THE COST OF PREPAREDNESS

Now in order to gain a just relation of the estimates which will be presented to Congress, let us compare the last appropriation with those of Great Britain, Germany, and France for the year 1914-15; that is, with the estimates made by those Powers before the outbreak of war, but for a period inevitably overlapping on the war. The table on page 59, prepared by the Bureau of Naval Intelligence, presents this comparison in a striking way.

To read this table properly, several additional facts must be kept clearly in mind. In the first place it is known that large sums of money which do not appear in the official German budget, as here given, go toward the maintenance and improvement of the fleet, distributed through the budgets of the other departments. The German total, therefore, is only accurate pro rata. The second fact to be noted is that the United States spends more than 30 per cent. for pay, active and retired, pensions, etc., as compared to 22 per cent. in Great Britain, 12 per cent. in Germany, and 16 per cent. in France. We also spend more money in clothing and medical care, recruiting, and the scientific work of hydrography, etc.

With regard to the items coming under the vexed territory of navy yards, a great deal of this expenditure represents capital investment in plant. Recently a new

ROUGH ANALYSIS OF NAVAL ESTIMATES FOR THE FOUR LEADING NAVIES OF THE WORLD, 1914-1915

Item.	United States, 1914-15. Amount Expended.	Per Cent. of Total Expenditure.	Great Britain, 1914-15. Amount Expended.	Per Cent. of Total Expenditure.	Germany, 1914-15. Amount Expended.	Per Cent. of Total Expenditure.	France, 1914. Amount Expended.	Per Cent. of Total Expenditure.
Number of officers, men, and marines	66,000	.....	151,000	.....	79,000	.....	69,000	....
1. Pay and allowances	$ 41,400,000	(a) 28.0	$ 44,600,000	(g) 17.0	$ 13,350,000	(h) 12.0	$ 15,790,000	(j) 16.0
2. Provisions and subsistence allowances	7,700,000	5.0	16,000,000	6.0	7,400,000	7.0	5,050,000	5.0
3. Clothing	1,400,000	(b) 1.0	.....		200,000	0.2	1,300,000	1.0
4. Medical Department	1,850,000	(c) 1.0	1,500,000	0.6	550,000	(i) 0.5	900,000	1.0
5. Recruiting and training	940,000	0.6	900,000	0.4	250,000	0.3	40,000	...
6. Scientific services	870,000	0.5	300,000	0.1	370,000	0.4	165,000	...
7. Naval reserves and militia	330,000	0.2	2,400,000	1.0	.....	...	200,000	...
8. Fleet—New construction—								
Yard	6,000,000							
Contract	17,000,000	(n)28.0	16,600,000(n)	32.0	53,000,000(n)	47.0	31,000,000(n)	30.0[5.6? see (n)]
Armor and armament	18,000,000		66,600,000					
9. Repairs	9,000,000	6.0	17,000,000	6.0	10,000,000	9.0	4,100,000	4.0
10. Maintenance	8,000,000	5.0	6,600,000	3.0	9,000,000	8.0	4,160,000	4.0
11. Fuel	6,000,000	4.0	21,700,000	8.0	.....		3,900,000	4.0
12. Ordnance—New construction	.....(d)	...	27,900,000(n)	11.0	.....(m)	...	23,100,000(k)(n)	21.0
13. Repairs	8,000,000	5.0	.....		.....(m)	...	.....	
14. Public Works	3,350,000	2.0	17,900,000	7.0	8,000,000	7.0	10,420,000	10.0
15. Navy Department	1,000,000	0.7	2,400,000	1.0	670,000	0.6	1,795,000(k)	2.0
16. Miscellaneous	12,790,000(e)	8.0	2,600,000	1.0	3,210,000	3.0	2,080,000	2.0
17. Retired pay	3,000,000	2.0	5,000,000	2.0	.....	...	.....	...
18. Pensions, etc	70,000		8,000,000	3.0	.....	...	.....	...
19. Civil pensions	.....	...	2,000,000	0.9	.....	...	.....	...
20. Fortifications	.....	...	.....	...	6,000,000	5.0	.....	...
21. Merchant marine	.....	...	.....	...	.....	...	19,000,000(p)	...
Total	$146,700,000(f)		$260,000,000		$112,000,000		$123,000,000	

(a) Exclusive of retired pay—see item 17.
(b) Marine corps, $600,000; navy (outfit on first enlistment), $800,000.
(c) Includes Naval Hospital Fund $700,000 and fines and forfeitures $500,000, deducted from pay accounts.
(d) Armor and armament account. See item 8.
(e) Includes $7,000,000 estimated unassignable yard charges, included in foreign budgets in items 8, 9, and 10.
(f) Naval Bill $144,400,000
Navy Department Civil Bill 900,000
Naval Hospital Fund and fines and forfeitures 1,200,000
Naval Militia Bill 200,000
$146,700,000
(g) For 140,000 actives with the fleet.
(h) Pay of fleet and hospital corps. Also allowances. Other pay included in succeeding items.
(i) Includes subsistence.
(j) Pay of fleet. Allowances. Other pay included in succeeding items.
(k) Including pay of commissioned and civil personnel.
(m) Included in Item 8.
(n) It is difficult to reconcile statistics at hand relating to estimates for new construction during the period covered by this report. From best information at hand the original estimates including armor and armament are as follows: Great Britain, $84,000,000; Germany, $51,000,000; France, $58,000,000; United States, $41,000,000.
It is impossible to reconcile the above lump figures with the detailed estimates at hand as tabulated above.
(p) Not included in figuring percentage.

light has been shed on this subject of supposedly useless navy yards, the same yards which were condemned by Secretary Meyer four years ago. The development of submarines and naval air craft requires many sub-bases to give these engines their greatest effectiveness, and the new demands for the manufacture of naval war supplies and quick repair and construction of ships of all kinds make it extremely advisable for the Government to hold on to all existing plants of that character.

In the table on page 59 the items for the United States have been greatly condensed. Appropriations for the Navy are actually made under 500 separate heads, the mere classification and accounting of which is a work of great complexity, involving the employment of a large civilian force of clerks.

	1915	1916	1917	1918
Maintenance	$102,000,000	$110,000,000	$120,000,000	$125,000,000
Battleships	28,000,000 (2)*	60,000,000 (4)	60,000,000 (4)	60,000,000 (4)
Destroyers	4,500,000 (6)	18,000,000 (30)	18,000,000 (30)	18,000,000 (30)
Scouts	.....	32,000,000 (8)	32,000,000 (8)	32,000,000 (8)
Submarines	10,000,000 (18)	8,000,000 (13)	8,000,000 (13)	8,000,000 (13)
Battle cruisers	.....	30,000,000 (2)	30,000,000 (2)	.....
Auxiliaries, including aircraft	2,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000
Total	$146,500,000	$268,000,000	$278,000,000	$253,000,000

*The figures printed below each appropriation represent the number of ships of that class.

THE PROPOSED EXPENDITURES FOR NAVAL DEFENSE

The table above shows our last naval appropriation in comparison with the tentative programme now advocated by the consensus of naval opinion for the next three years and the approximate cost of adequate defense. In each column the total figures are intended to indicate the expenditures covering work which takes, as in the case of a battleship, three or four years to complete. The authorization of a given year provides for the expenditure in other years of the requisite sum for the given item. For the sake of greater clearness in this table, each authorization has been summed up complete, with no attempt to distribute separate instalments over subsequent years.

The total for 1915 represents the sum already voted by the Sixty-third Congress. The total for 1916 represents roughly what the Sixty-fourth Congress will be asked to appropriate, and for the following years the consistent following out of these ideas in a logical programme.

This programme conforms to the consensus of opinion—not of politicians, pacificists-at-any-price, amateur strategists, or combinations of these and other less desirable citizens—but of the men whose sworn duty is to study what adequate defense means for the United States and to recommend according to their best judgment. It is based on something like a definite policy, on the desire to protect our continental coast lines, to guard our commerce, to keep intact our overseas enterprises, territories, and dependencies, and to maintain inviolate the international policies on the Western hemisphere and on the seas for which this Nation has always stood. It is not a defense adequate against attack by a combination of great sea Powers, but it is aimed to give the country reasonable security based on probabilities. It is costly but less so than lack of security. It is not militaristic or aggressive, because the spirit which conceives it and would maintain it is democratic and peaceful.

HE LIFE AND DEATH CHESS GAME IN EUROPE

RATEGIC VIEW OF THE GENERAL SITUATION UP TO OCTOBER 1ST—THE VES OF MEN AND MACHINERY SHIFTED OVER THE BOARD BY THE BEST MILITARY BRAINS IN SEVEN FIGHTING NATIONS—THE BATTLE FRONTS IN FRANCE, ITALY, AND THE BALKANS

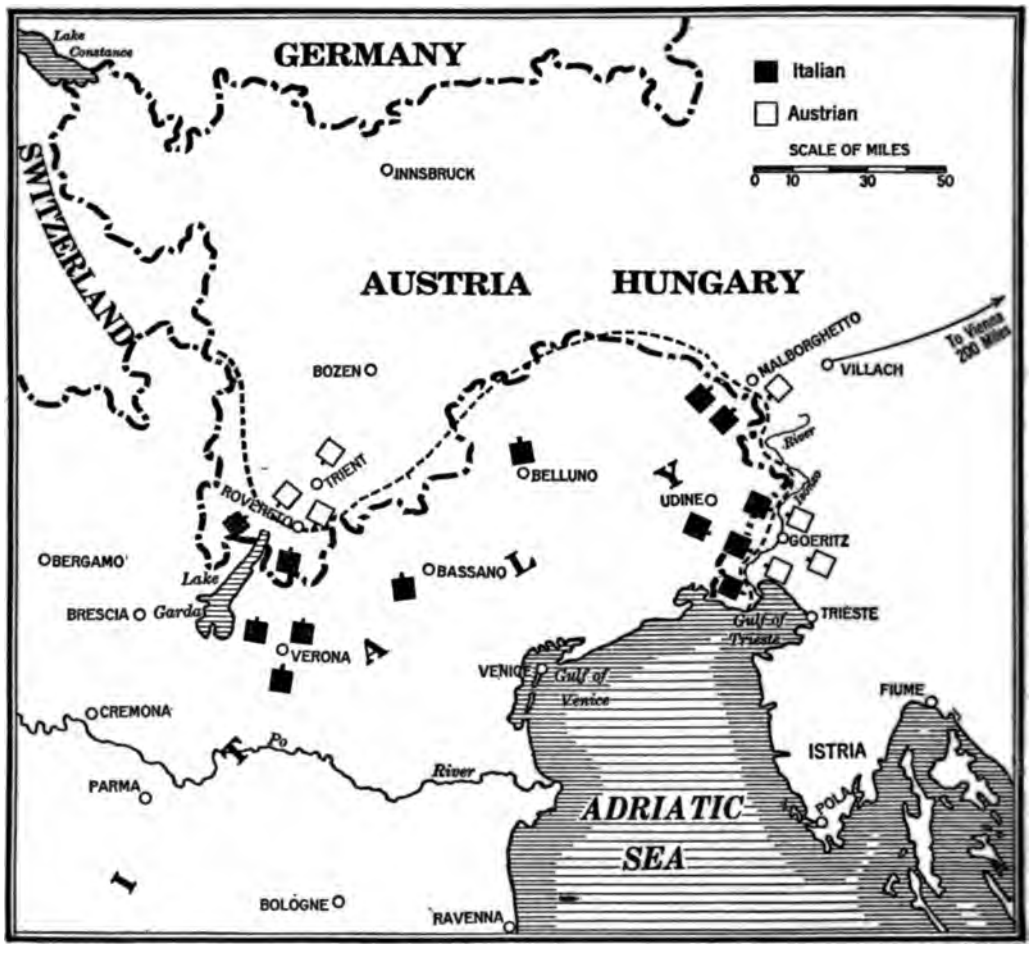
THE SITUATION IN GENERAL

THE vastness of the whole military situation in Europe is such that if one begins to look into a particular campaign as distinguished from the salient ts of the whole war, it is very difficult rm a connected mental picture of is occurring. Enormous as was the of operations at the beginning of the it has continually been spreading and till further spread.

outline, the happenings of the last months have been as follows: the in France, up to the last week in mber, when the most determined sive since the Battle of the Marne launched against the German cata-s, had been able to do nothing against tic German resistance; that is, the ans blocked them safely at arm's h. On the Austrian-Italian front Italians were still held off by the rians in the same way that the French been locked up by the Germans. In astern theatre of war the Teutonic s have been continuously advancing st the Russians. In the Turkish re of war another deadlock has pre-d. Therefore, if matters go on as have been going on for the last four hs, Russia is very apt to be cut to s unless something can be done by the nte Allies to divert, check, or defeat erman arms.

e British and French have been keep-up constant diplomatic pressure to m the Balkan League for the pur-of attacking Turkey and settling that tion for the rest of the war. The suc-or failure of their *efforts depends* entirely on the attitude of Bulgaria. On the 1st of October it appeared, by the mobilization of Bulgarians in Macedonia, and by the Turko-Bulgarian entente, that Bulgaria was going to side with Turkey and the central Powers. At all events, one effect of the diplomatic manœuvering in the Balkans has been a concentration by the central empires of 500,000 men on the Servian frontier, which removes about 12 army corps from either the Russian or French frontiers, or from both. If the central empires were short of troops, such a new concentration would offer great provocation for a forward move by the French, and it is very possible that the move on Servia may have been made for that very purpose. We do not find any indication, however, that the central empires are in any way short of men, and therefore the Balkan diplomatic campaign may turn out in the form of a boomerang for the Entente Allies. In the absence of a direct move on the French or Italian fronts that might be decisive there remains the possibility of forcing the Cattegat Straits and opening the Baltic by the British navy. That the German fears this flank attack more and more is certain, on account of the constantly growing sea power of Great Britain. The undertaking would be a very difficult one, as the Straits are heavily mined and covered by all sorts of naval craft. The French theatre of war remains the field of the ultimate decision on land, and all the other operations are for the purpose of clearing the foreground completely for that supreme contest.

With the German and Austrian troops distributed as they are in France, Russia,



THE AUSTRIAN-ITALIAN BATTLE FRONT—SEPTEMBER 24TH

The operations along the Italian front are much the same as those along the French front have been in so far as the stationary character of the fighting is concerned. The Italians have come up to the Austrian positions everywhere and have been stopped. During the last two months there has been so little change that it will not show on a map of ordinary size. The Italians have succeeded in destroying some of the forts covering Rovereto and in many other places their artillery has damaged Austrian works. The Austrians have reinforced their troops to some extent and now have about 500,000 men available on this front. The Italians have about 800,000, practically the whole of their field army

and along the Italian and Balkan frontiers, the maximum dispersion of the armies of the central empires since the beginning of the war has been made. It does not appear probable that a much greater scattering of troops will be made by these Powers in the future. Therefore, their lines at any one place are already about as thin as they will ever be. Russia's armies, although pretty well cut up, are still capable of making a fight and holding many Teutonic forces in their front. The time appears propitious, then, for the Allies to make a *concerted attack at all points* in an attempt to force the Teutonic lines at some weaker place. If this could be done anywhere and the central empires could be made to use up their general reserves before the Entente Allies had to put in their reserves a decisive stroke might be made. The French have the maximum number of men with the colors that they can ever muster during the continuance of the war, and the English have been transporting all their available troops to the continent. It therefore seemed probable early in September that arrangements had been made by the Allies for a simultaneous attack

st the Germans and Austrians in field of war, and as these lines are en on the first of October, that theory seems to be borne out by the general offensive which is being thrust home against the subterranean German armies in France.

THE ITALIAN FRONT

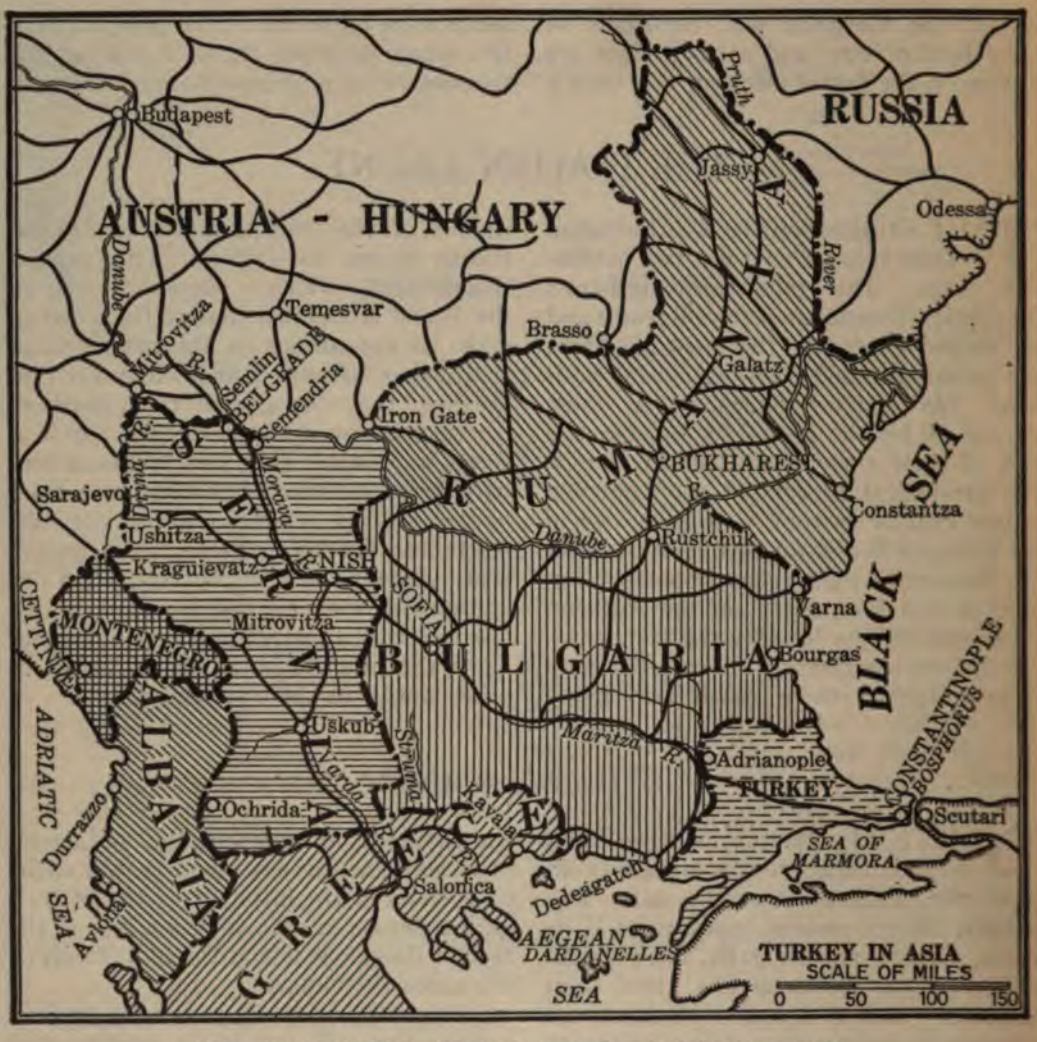
HE situation on the Austro-Italian front is much as it was two months ago. The Italian army is across olitical frontier at nearly all points and ctober confronts the Austrian front ermanent and semi-permanent posi-. No counter offensive has been ıpted by the Austrians because the of their army is engaged in Russia. strategical aspects of the campaign in exactly as they were described in ORLD'S WORK for September. After nonths of fighting no important im-ion has been made on the Austrian s and defense lines by the Italians. ce the declaration of war by Italy st Turkey there have been many rumors of the transportation of 110,000 Italian troops to Turkey. This expeditionary army, which is supposed to be on the Island of Lemnos, has so far failed to make its appearance on any battlefield in that region. As the Italians may need all the men they can get on their northern frontiers before many months are past it seems improbable that they will send any very great number of troops away from home. To do so would be to play directly into Austria's hands. "Stalemate," then, characterizes the Austro-Italian operations for the time being. The decisive area in this theatre of the war still lies along the line of the Adige River or, in other words, in the Tyrolean salient.

THE BALKANS

OLITICAL campaigns have been waged with growing intensity in the Balkans for the last two hs. From present appearances Rou-a, Greece, and Bulgaria, but particu-the last, are much like "men from ıuri" and desire with Balkan ve-nce to be shown. What impresses particularly is the success of the ɔmic military operations against Rus-ıinterrupted from May to September. ıria appears to have come to a definite ɜstanding with Turkey, accomplished e Turks' ceding a narrow strip of ter-' from the vicinity of Adrianople to Egean Sea, through which passes a ıd connecting Sofia with the seaport ɔdeagatch. This wise concession on art of Turkey gives Bulgaria a port e Ægean Sea with an all-Bulgarian ıd to it, a long desired combination ı they did not formerly possess.

their side the Entente Allies have to bring back to life the "Balkan ɜe" of Greece, Servia, Bulgaria, and enegro for an attack *on the Turk, but* the possibility of renewing that old agreement seems at this writing to be very slight on account of the bitter antipathy of Bulgaria against Greece and Servia, due to the second Balkan War and the hard terms of the peace of Bukharest.

In the first days of October the Balkan nations are still watchfully waiting and willing to sell out to the highest bidder whenever they are convinced that he can deliver the goods he is promising. The ability to deliver the goods is being determined on the battlefields of western Europe and Russia. Recently there seem to be indications that Bulgaria is leaning decidedly toward the Teutonic Allies, although after the checking of the Austrians in easternmost Galicia, and the beginning of the Anglo-French offensive in Flanders and Champagne, the Government at Sofia, disclaiming anything but armed neutrality, is apparently hedging. All the Balkan nations have been, since August, on a thorough war footing, although only two have any power to take the offensive unsupported by the Allies.



THE CRISIS IN THE BALKAN STATES—SEPTEMBER 24TH

During September matters in the Balkans came to a head. A convention was signed between Turkey and Bulgaria which ceded to the latter the railroad from Adrianople to the port of Dedeagatch, thus giving Bulgaria an all-rail route to the Ægean Sea. In return Bulgaria promised Turkey very material compensations. During September also Austro-German troops in great force, their number being estimated at about fifteen army corps, were concentrating in the triangle Temesvár-Mitrovitza-Iron Gate. Artillery fire was directed by the Austro-Germans against the Servians on the whole front from the Drina River to below Semendria in order to search out the Servian positions. On September 22d Bulgaria mobilized its entire army and began concentrating it on its frontiers. Greece issued mobilization orders on September 24th. Roumania still hesitated to take action; and in view of the enveloping nature of the Austrian and Bulgarian frontiers (should Bulgaria and the Austro-Germans make common cause) it will be placed in a position of great danger should it side against them, providing that assistance cannot be obtained from Russia. It is thought that the Germans desire to open the railroad Belgrade-Nish-Sofia-Adrianople-Constantinople so as to be able to give assistance to the Turks. This requires that a way be hewn through Servia for a distance of about 150 miles. It is generally believed that the main line of operations will be from the Danube along the valley of the Morava River to Nish. Possibly this advance will be assisted by a Bulgarian attack from the frontier northwest of Sofia toward Nish and a seizing of the Salonica-Nish railroad so as to prevent any rail communication between the Entente Allies and Servia. The sketch shows Bulgaria's central position and the principal railroad and river lines. Kraguievatz is the Servian military centre, where their supplies of all kinds are kept. South of this place are difficult mountains. North, east, and west the valley of the Morava River and its tributaries form very strong natural obstacles to a hostile force. The Servian army has been thoroughly rehabilitated and numbers about 300,000 men of all arms. The Italians occupy Avlona in Albania with about an army corps, while the interior of Albania is in insurrection headed by Essad Pasha, who is favorable to Turkey and the Central Powers

These are Roumania, whose field army is efficient and numbers about 500,000 men, and Bulgaria, equally efficient, whose field army numbers more than 400,000 men. Greece can maintain a force of about 150,000 men in a field army and Servia at the present time can probably muster 300,000 men. The Servian army has been strengthened by the addition of French artillery, French and English staff officers, and a few troops of both these countries. But against such a large country as Austria they are entirely incapable of large offensive operations alone.

Of all the Balkan states Bulgaria is in the strongest strategic position, no matter which side it may eventually join. It holds the "inner line," has well fortified borders, and good communications within itself. As no shots have been fired by the Balkan states against each other, up to October, what they are going to do remains a matter for speculation. The effect of their entrance on the war in Turkey would be great, but their effect elsewhere would not be immediate, no matter which way they might jump.

THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE BALKANS

The value to any of their supporters or abettors which any of the Balkan nations might have is entirely a question of how much military strength they can turn out. Military strength is a very hard thing to explain because so many elements enter into it. Numbers, geographic position, which includes natural military obstacles such as mountains and rivers, characteristics of the people, and organized resources, all have to be taken into consideration. Every one of these states, with the exception of Greece, might be termed a "fighting" nation; that is, they have fought hard and steadfastly throughout most of their history. Greece has not showed much military ability of a high order in the last twenty years. Everything else being equal, the various Balkan states may be considered to have the following military weight, in which the units mean army corps and auxiliaries which can be put into the field and maintained there for a period of time. Incidentally it might be mentioned that Servia's power has been impaired so greatly during the last year that neither the great Powers nor her Balkan neighbors consider her as seriously as they did before. We may therefore take Greece's value as 3, Servia's as 5, Bulgaria's as 8, and Roumania's as 9.

If Bulgaria and Roumania were fighting each other independently either one should be able to keep the other off because so much advantage lies in the defensive along their straight and contiguous frontiers. If Greece and Servia attacked Bulgaria alone, Bulgaria by a judicious handling of her troops should easily whip them both because she has the central position if nothing else. This advantage allows her to concentrate superior forces wherever she cares to—exactly the situation in the second Balkan War, nullified in that case by Roumania. If Greece, Servia, and Roumania jumped on Bulgaria untroubled by any other enemies, they should probably triumph in short order because they have a military value of 17 to 8 and have a completely enveloping frontier over Bulgaria. So much for the nominal military value of the Balkan states themselves, which is only a very small part of the present "Balkan Question." Now as to their strategic disposition, what is their respective relative value?

To begin with, Servia is eliminated by the central empires right at the start because they can easily concentrate superior military strength against her.

TURKEY'S MILITARY POWER

Next a greatly rehabilitated Turkey has a military value of twelve, four units of which are being used in the Caucasus, one on the Euphrates, one in Egypt, and four around the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Two units of strength at least are therefore available for helping a "friend" if this friend should be Bulgaria. Turkey's help would be almost enough to neutralize Greece and might be even more of a deciding element, depending on what pressure the Allies can apply directly against Turkey. If the Allied forces are driven away from the Marmora theatre of operations, Turkey's power can be applied to a very much greater extent to help Bulgaria. Now if Bulgaria and Roumania decide to

remain neutral, Servia and Greece together could oppose a Teutonic invasion with eight units of military power, Servia alone with five. Roumania, as its territory lies on the other side of Bulgaria from Servia and Greece, could not join them directly unless Bulgaria sided with Roumania. Should all the Balkan states join together—that is, Greece, Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania—they would have a military efficiency figure of twenty-four, a very formidable amount of military strength. To take the offensive, however, against the central empires and hope for any rapid success, in view of the obstacles offered by the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube River, is another matter, as the Teutonic Powers can spare probably enough military units to hold these positions against any military pressure that these little states can exert.

It must be held in mind that these small states would be acting as a confederacy with many points of difference between them in language, customs, aims, and military system. Against great military nations like Germany and Austria their power of offence would not be very great in proportion to their numbers, and it therefore is a very great question whether they could force the lines of the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube River. Besides this consideration, it must be remembered that if Germany were successful in smashing up Russia before the Balkan states had succeeded in getting across these great military obstacles, and the central empires could turn a great army against them, the result could not be long deferred. In addition, Turkey also, would neutralize their combined military strength to an appreciable degree.

WATCHING RUSSIA'S FATE

The importance of Bulgaria's decision is, therefore, apparent, as is also the reason why the Balkan states do not fly into the arms of the Entente Allies. They want to see what is going to happen to Russia. To gain anything big they must be willing to take a small amount of chance and gamble a little on who is going to come out *ahead.* If Bulgaria sides directly with the *central empires and Turkey,* Roumania might be able to swing the balance of military strength in the Balkans. This situation, however, as has been indicated above, would be materially varied by the sending of French, British, or Italian troops to whichever country sided with the Entente Allies.

Such Allied troops, for example, might be sent across a small strip of water from the Island of Lemnos, the British-French base in the Ægean Sea. Providing Greece approved, such troops could easily be sent to Servia over the railroad from Salonica to Nish. It is of course possible that the troops said to be for use against Turkey that are, at the first of October, on the Island of Lemnos, are intended for use against Bulgaria, or to help Servia on the north.

A strength of several well equipped and trained army corps is necessary in such an event to bring about anything decisive. Montenegro has not been mentioned because it is so small a country that its military strength can make very little difference. Its terrain is mountainous and hard to traverse and its strategic position is not especially good for large operations against Austria. Albania offers some advantages for a move from Italy through Avlona or Durazzo, but the absence of railroads makes this a difficult field for large operations also.

The Bulgarians, as they have since the beginning of the war, hold the key. Roumania can remain neutral or run the risk of being attacked in front by Bulgaria and in rear by the Austro-Germans: In this case, with the addition of help from Turkey, Bulgaria would have a military strength figure of at least ten, which with an Austro-German addition of five from the rear against Roumania would probably mean the defeat of the latter nation. An invasion of Servia and Greece, with a strength figure of eight, would need an additional application of about twelve by the central empires or, on the outside, seventeen against all the Balkans, except Bulgaria, to win. This number the central empires appear to have available, depending, of course, on the success of their campaigns in Russia and on the western front, and on the military help given to Servia by England, France, Italy, or Russia.

TURK AND BRITON

HE position of the Allied expeditionary forces on the Gallipoli Peninsula during August was a of very serious concern to their nents. They had to be reinforced ut. To help them small reinforce- of both French and British were m time to time and in addition a it of British troops was organized Island of Lemnos during July for pose of making a surprise attack the Turks on the Gallipoli lines. the first days of August a force of 0,000 men was embarked on trans- f all sorts at the island port of . The equipment for the landing ns was very complete in all details troops had been well instructed in ey were to do. Several days prior ime demonstrations had been made Allied warships on the coast of the Adramyti, about 50 miles south of danelles, and also at various places e coast of Anatolia for the purpose ting the Turks' attention to those d making them move troops south- those directions.

e night of the 6th of August the on left Lemnos and, proceeding to of Saros, made a feint at a landing ra Tehali, not far from the head of f. A small detachment was put nd, after an encounter with the which a few men were killed, the mbarked. The Turks appear to en uncertain where the main land- to be made because only small of them were encountered by the forces at Suvla Bay, toward which bjective the whole British force ceeded.

British colonial troops have held a at Ari Burnu, called by the British zac" position from the letters of rent contingents, Australian, New , and Canadian, composing the forces. This position contains of about one square mile. Now ing at Suvla Bay was designed to up with this foothold at Ari s a pivot from which, by swinging from the left, *they hoped to take the* Turkish main force north of Maidos both in flank and rear. To be successful this movement would have had to be a complete surprise.

The landing began at Cape Suvla on the night of the 6th of August and continued on the 7th along the beach between that point and Ari Burnu. At the same time the Allies at the tip of the Peninsula launched strong attacks against the Turks on the Krithia front, while the troops at Ari Burnu also attacked strenuously. The Turks were slow in bringing up their reserves, as they did not wish to commit them to the contest until there was no doubt of what the Allies' intentions were. The result was that the forces landing at and near Suvla Bay not only accomplished their disembarkation successfully, but advanced a considerable distance inland, in some places as much as three miles. The Turkish reserves were then brought up and attacked the whole of the British lines, breaking them at many points, and hurling them down the slopes of the hills, taken in front, flank, and in some places even in the rear. For about twelve days the fighting was of the most desperate nature, at the end of which time the British had been driven back to a line running from Cape Suvla to their old position of Ari Burnu, a front of about twelve miles. In this position they have held on up to the present writing, October 1st.

The losses in this fighting were tremendous on both sides. The Turks claim that the British losses during the twelve days amounted to nearly as much as the whole force that they landed from Lemnos. Although the exact casualties incurred are not as yet known, we do know that they were, on both sides, the heaviest of the whole Turkish campaign. In the operations around the Dardanelles during the last two months, i.e., up to October 1st, while the Allies have extended their lines on the Peninsula of Gallipoli, nothing at all decisive has yet been gained there, whereas enormously disproportionate losses have been incurred.

In the Egyptian, Euphrates, and Caucasian theatres of war no great changes

THE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA CAMPAIGN—SEPTEMBER 24TH

On the 6th of August the British began landing a force of about 50,000 men at Cape Suvla. As soon as the Turks found this out, they launched their reserves at this force. The fighting was the most severe that has so far occurred on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The losses of the Allies are estimated to amount to nearly the strength of the force they landed, and the Turks suffered in proportion. There has been little change in the lines since the 22d of August. The Allies hold a front of about three miles in front of Sidd-el-Bahr and a front of approximately twelve miles from Cape Suvla to Ari Burnu

: taken place during this period, al-
igh steady fighting has been going on
he last two fields. In view of the
atened descent on Servia by the cen-
Powers in an attempt to open up a
through that country to Turkey, and
;aria's friendly attitude to this oper-
ı, the British are exerting themselves
ırm other expeditionary forces for duty
ıis new and most complicated theatre
'ar. It has been reported that three
corps of a total strength of 110,000
now on Lemnos Island in the Ægean,
ıce they can be used either against
Turks on Gallipoli or in Anatolia
ımmed northward across Macedonia
stop the Austro-German drive on
ia. Success in the Turkish field will
ire the use of sufficient military
ıgth by the Allies in a concerted attack
e the Ottoman army will be com-
d to come out and fight on terms as
ly equal to their adversaries as possi-
So far the Allies have depended upon
-meal attacks which have netted them
tically nothing; and they have suffered
mous casualties.
ıe action of the British submarines in
Sea of Marmora has been notable.
have navigated the difficult Strait of
Dardanelles, sunk ship after ship of all varieties in the Sea of Marmora, have actually gone right up into the Golden Horn and torpedoed vessels lying at the wharves of Stamboul. These daring exploits have had the effect of partially interrupting traffic through the Bosphorous and the Marmora, thus greatly complicating the supply arrangements of the Turks for their forces on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The Turks are still somewhat short of munitions but not as yet desperately in need of them. The Russian Black Sea fleet has been able to control the Black Sea to a sufficient extent to prevent the transport of coal to Constantinople by water, thus causing a coal famine in the Turkish capital, since all its supply has to be brought overland now from Anatolia.

It is important to remember all the time that the Turkish campaign is indissolubly involved with developments in the Balkans, and the fate of the whole Allied attempt to force the Straits depends on the international situation north of them. If the Bulgars side with the Teutons and Turks, even should Greece and Roumania both side with the Entente Allies, the latter's chances will be none too good. The ultimate fate of Turkey depends on the outcome of the campaigns now being waged in western Europe and Russia.

THE WESTERN FRONT

DURING the last two months there has been a notable strengthening of British forces on the continent. About 400,000 men are now fighting on
e the extent of which was prolonged
30 miles in July to about 50 miles in
ember. This leaves the French ap-
imately 400 miles of front to hold, and
Belgians occupy 8 miles in Flanders.
accessions to the British troops in
ce have more than made up for the
ch losses during the last five months,
in addition the French have called out
lass of recruits for the year 1917, which
ıet them about 250,000 youths of from
18 years of age. These will not be
trained until about March, 1916.
ong this front no *new strategic de-*velopments had occurred since September, 1914. The centre of activity in the few weeks preceding September 19th was in the area around Verdun, where the Germans took the initiative. Fighting has also occurred in the area around and north of Arras in the same region, where during May the French tried to break the German line. It was there, in fact, that what passed for the much-heralded "Spring Drive" was actually begun and thrown back so definitely that it had not been renewed for three months.

In September of this year the French and English were still at a loss to know where the next German stroke might fall. In the meanwhile the French and English looked forward to a tremendous German offensive, because when the present Rus-

sian campaign is completed, no matter whether it ends in the destruction of the Russian army or the taking up of defensive positions of such strength that most of the Austro-German troops can be released from the eastern frontier for duty elsewhere, the Germans could be counted on to turn and strike immediately on one or more of three other possible fronts. As the French theatre is that in which the most decisive results can be obtained, it was presumed that the Germans would be apt to attack there, following the principle of strategy that the most dangerous opponent, if there be any possibility of destroying him, be attacked first. If, therefore, the Germans felt that they could gain the ascendancy over the French, they could be expected to attack this front.

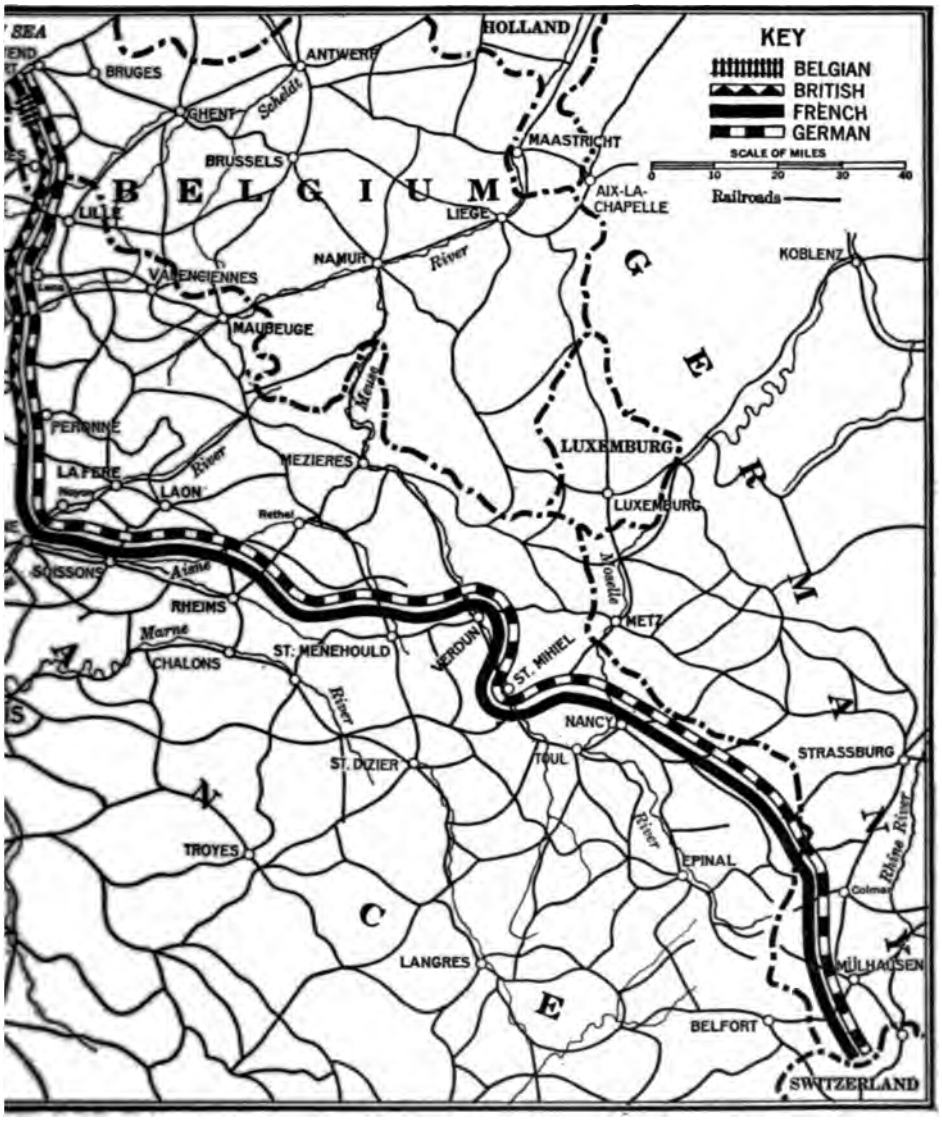
Now this would be exactly what the French desire because under such circumstances they can fight a defensive battle on their own soil and among positions of their own construction and choosing. So long as there was any possibility that the Germans would attack them in force the French could well afford to wait unless compelled to attack by political conditions or the military situation of their allies on other fronts. This condition existed until September 19th, at which time a new activity sprang up all along the British and French fronts, clear from Nieuport on the English Channel to the Swiss frontier. This took the form of large movements of troops, supplies, and ammunition to all points of contact, sure signs of an impending attack. The Germans on their side also brought up additional personnel and material to strengthen their resistance. On the 20th, artillery activity began on the French front, especially in the area between Ypres, on the British front, and Verdun. The artillery fire kept increasing in intensity until by the 24th it had attained proportions never equalled in this theatre of war. The maximum fire was directed at the German works between Arras and La Bassée (the Artois district) and on a fifteen-mile front which centred roughly at the town of Souain, in the Champagne district, a position situated about half way between Rheims and Verdun.

On September 25th tremendou fantry attacks were launched at the man lines, particularly against the which had been subjected to the max artillery fire. In the Champagne the French gained on a fifteen-mile a slice of ground formerly held b Germans of from one half to a maxim two and a half miles in depth. I British front around Ypres, after success, the attacks were thrown Slightly south of La Bassée near th of the British line where it joins the F an advance of a few hundred yards place and in the vicinity of Souchez, of Arras, the French made gains wh one place indented the German po for a distance of a mile and a half. ground was taken in the first rush.

Since that time up to the end c month the battles in these areas hav tinued with the greatest intensity. advance lines sway back and forwa some places one side or the other ga loses. The lines are constantly reinf by fresh troops and a general battle The reasons that make it seem po that this could be a main offensive ar the Germans and Austrians are abo widely distributed in the various th of war as they will be, and that the ditions in Russia and the Balkan such that something must be dor way of diversion, or the consequence be very serious for the Allies. In words victories must be won on the w front and a lot of men used up, to Russia definitely that something is accomplished. If it is a main oper to hope for success it must be p without interruption probably for m Under these circumstances the oper are being inaugurated at a time c year which offers the least advantag the attacker; within a very few weel rains will begin, followed by the col inclement weather of winter, which re offensive fighting much more di than defensive in this theatre of w

We constantly hear the word " applied to the positions of the conte in France. This word does not pro express what these positions really "Line" signifies a strip of troops

of a limited depth, which, when opens up an undefended space . This is by no means the case in The German positions consist pon line of trenches of a more or iporary character. From three · more of these lines, all connected munication trenches, cover the en behind these light works lies a heavy line protected by large wire entanglements and semi-permanent points of support, and all the important road centres and positions of great tactical value partake of the character of fortresses. As soon as a permanent series of lines such as this is passed another is encountered, and so on back for many miles. In fact, the whole area occupied by the Germans



WESTERN BATTLE FRONT BEFORE THE "BIG DRIVE"—SEPTEMBER 24TH

tions of the lines in France underwent such ges during the two months ending Sep- s that they do not show on a map of or- . The principal thing to be noted is the nt of the British army in France. This front of 50 miles, the *Belgians 8, and the* French held the rest of the 450-mile line. During August there was heavy fighting in the Verdun area; and early September witnessed fighting near Rheims and a heavy artillery bombardment along almost all the whole line, with the Allies taking the initiative apparently for a main attack

in France is entirely organized for defense. Railroads connect all needed points, which requires little transportation of other kinds to be used. Under such conditions the German position partakes of the character of a solid which must be carved to pieces in order to destroy it.

So far (up to the end of September) the French in the Champagne area have reached the first main line of German defense in a few places. They have captured the outlying trenches. The battle rages in front of this main line. In the Artois region this first main line has not yet been opened up for attack. Now the direction of the main French attacks indicates that they are striving to squeeze the German salient in France at its two extremities. It will be remembered that this line is bow-shaped, from Ypres to Verdun. Could the French and English make sufficient headway opposite the points where their main attacks have been launched, i. e., at Arras and at Soissons, the apex of the German salient would be forced to fall back or squeezed until all its railroad and other communications were cut and its isolation became complete.

To counteract this move the Germans have made counter attacks in the Argonne region immediately adjoining the right flank of the main French attack in the Champagne region. Should the French make headway, their right would be exposed to a flank attack. The Germans captured a couple of the advanced F lines of trenches in the Argonne an fight continues there as well. The F appear to be trying to cause the Ger to reinforce heavily their troops i area from Verdun to Ypres; then, if succeed, to launch a great attack fro line of Verdun-Toul against the Ger in the Lorraine area, with the id eventually blasting a way to the I which would cause the whole Ge force in France to fall back to p its communications.

These are merely the strategic co tions of what the French are aiming t complish. Whether they will have an cess or not remains to be seen. So f French have gained a small strip of from which renewed assaults ma launched. Up to October 1st no Ge positions of importance or lines of munications had been taken or destr The losses of the contenders have heavy, an incident of this kind of wa Exactly what they are cannot yet be c mined. The French appear to have tured nearly a whole German divisi the Champagne fight on the first On the whole Allied front they cla capture of a total of 23,000 Ge prisoners, whereas the Germans clai have captured less than half that nu These losses, though large, are nothi what the losses in killed and wounded been and will be if the offensive is ke

THE BEAR AND THE EAGLES

UP TO the middle of July, Field Marshal Mackensen's army was fighting its great battle for the possession of the railroad line from Lublin to Kholm. In this contest the attempt was made by the Germans to envelop the Russian left flank so as to cut off the great Russian force from a northern retreat by seizing their communications with Brest-Litovsk. So strenuously, however, did the Russians *defend* this flank that the Austro-Germans *were compelled to envelop their* enemy's right from the direction of Ivang which they accomplished successfull July 28th, throwing this main Ru force back in full retreat. The Rus saved their communications, how which enabled them to escape disas

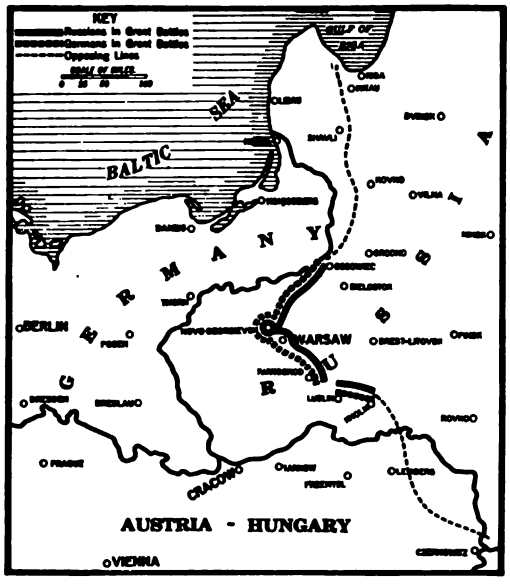
While these battles were taking in southern Poland, Von Hindenbu East Prussia, had assembled all his umns in their appointed places fo main advance. He had, apparently, so slow in making this move that persons in countries pertaining to

Entente thought it possible that "the old man of the lakes" had been supplanted by some one else. In fact, such stories were spread by the Germans themselves.

THE EASTERN THEATRE OF THE WAR—JULY 28TH

By July 28th the great battles on Field Marshal von Mackensen's front along the line of the Ivangorod-Lublin-Kholm-Kiev railroad had been determined in favor of the Germans, and the Russians had begun their retreat across and east of that railroad. This was the signal for the launching of a general attack by Field Marshal von Hindenberg from East Prussia against the river lines opposite that front and the Russian barrier forts of Pultusk, Rozan, Ostrolenka, Lomza, and Ossowiec. To the west of the Vistula the armies of Prince Leopold of Bavaria attacked the "Rhenic" line of defenses protecting Warsaw. These forces joined the forces operating on Mackensen's extreme left in front of Ivangorod. The Russians were now attacked with determination from the north, south, and west by the Austro-Germans. About 1,500,000 Germans and Austrians plunged through the morasses, rivers, and forests of Poland at an equal number of Russians supported by intrenchments and permanent works of all kinds.

As the Germanic allies' forces flanked the Russians in the "salient" formed by their lines toward Warsaw the Russians were in great danger of having the railroads cut behind them unless they could defeat their opponents decisively on each one of their three fronts.



THE EASTERN THEATRE—AUGUST 6TH

During the week preceding the 6th of August the Germanic allies had broken down the resistance of the Russians at all places. On the north the barrier forts between Novo Georgievsk and Ossowiec were falling at an alarming rate. The Germans west of the Vistula had broken through the strong lines covering Warsaw, and Field Marshal von Mackensen had crossed the Lublin-Kholm railroad in the south. The Russian army had been definitely divided into two parts, one south of the Pripet Swamps and the other north of them. The northern part contained about three fourths of the whole mobile force, the great quadrilateral of permanent forts, and the large advance base situated at the fortress of Brest-Litovsk. At this time the Russians decided that to attempt to hold the Polish "salient" any longer meant the destruction of their field army with little hope of ever renewing it. They therefore decided to evacuate the whole Polish salient and fall back to the line of the Bug River, with its fortresses of Kovno, Grodno, and Brest-Litovsk. Warsaw was evacuated by the Russians on August 5th and immediately occupied by the army of Prince Leopold, who was on their heels. The line of the Vistula was forced at many points and the fortress of Ivangorod captured on the 6th. The Russian army was now in full retreat and the pursuit was rushed with all possible speed by the Austro-Germans.

They found expression in the English and French press, to the effect that the Kaiser had displaced him because he had stated that, as no more could be done by the German armies, peace should be sought. All these tales were spread for the purpose of concealing, as much as possible, what was actually taking place along the East Prussian frontier. The signal for Hindenburg's advance came when Mackensen's great battle for the possession of the Lublin-Kholm railroad was decided. He held off until this time so as to try to make the Russians send all the reserve troops possible to their southern lines on Mackensen's front, thereby making it impossible to bring them back again in time to the north.

Due to Mackensen's victory, also, the Russians were definitely thrown on the strategic defensive with no hope of retaking the strategic offensive anywhere on their whole line. Furthermore, their armies in Poland and those south of the Pripet Swamps, in Volhynia and Galicia, were definitely separated by this great morass. Those in Poland were jammed between the Pripet Swamps and the East Prussian frontier. In this area, bounded roughly by lines joining Kovno-Ossowiec-Novo Georgievsk-Ivangorod to south of Brest-Litovsk, lay three fourths of the Czar's active forces, their power of offense on a large scale gone, their command of the air taken from them by the more numerous and efficient German aircraft, and their principal railroad lines running parallel to their adversaries' front. Their greatest assets were the difficult country over which the enemy had to advance to get at them and the incomparable fortitude of their troops in adversity. The battle for the possession of the Lublin-Kholm railroad, then, may be considered as the end of the first strategic operations by the Austro-Germans in this campaign.

THE POLISH QUADRILATERAL

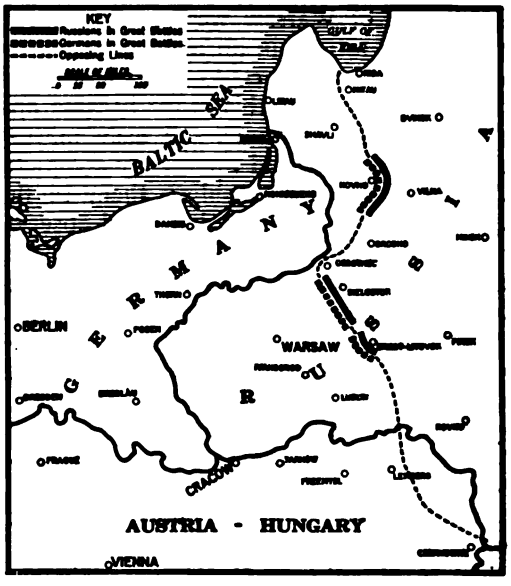
As a result of these operations the Russian army was thrust into the worst position, strategically, which it had occupied since the beginning of the war. This, therefore, was the time chosen for Hindenburg's stroke from the north. A simultaneous advance was begun all along the front of East Prussia by the German armies with forces totalling about 900,000 men, whose equipment in all respects was complete to the last detail. Of transport, both animal and motor, they had a vast accumulation. Railroad material stood ready to repair the captured roads, and great trains of siege guns had been prepared for the attack against each fort.

Of a sudden, then, the major operation shifted from southern to northern Poland.

ect, as ever, was to get behind the army in the vicinity of Bielostok, of it, before the Russians could w from the end of the salient to- arsaw. To accomplish completely nœuvre the river lines of the Bobr, and Niemen had to be he great fortresses of Novo Geor- Grodno, and Kovno had to be nd the lesser fortresses of Przasnysz, Pultusk, Rozan, Ostrolenka, Ossowiec, and Olita barred the advanced positions. The greatest was applied at first by the Ger- the Ossowiec region because it the shortest route to Bielostok. gallant little fortress, which had der constant attack since the 21st ch, guarded the way. Situated idst of swamps and river courses, he railroad from Lyck to Bielostok, d the great barrier to a quick advance. Try as they did to re- the German heavy guns sank n the swamps even after their ments had been strengthened by iven deep into the mire. The literally had to swim to approach, e Russians had behind them a ort, a railroad, and a well organized

ll who have the impression that fortresses are worthless look at mple of Ossowiec. It was not ntil the Germans had "turned" its tions and got behind it. What- ts of the Russian main force escaped ank Ossowiec for playing the prin- rt in their salvation.

first operation which confronted urg in his offensive move was to he Russian field forces guarding r lines and extending between the ry forts such as Przasnysz, Pul- strolenka, Lomza, Ossowiec, and xt to capture these works in order : road centres and communications ey controlled could be made avail- supplying the German armies in rther advance. The work of de- the field forces in the intervals be- he forts was the work of a com- ly short time, and by the first August these Russian *forces were*



THE EASTERN THEATRE—AUGUST 18TH

As soon as the Russians began falling back with such great rapidity and when the Germans could not promptly reduce the fort of Ossowiec, due to its excellent position in a swampy country, an immediate strike into the Russian line of retreat around Bielostok was avoided. Instead a great attack was launched against the main Russian fortress of Kovno. The smaller forts along the line of the Narew and Bobr rivers had now practically all been taken, and as the advance was pushed the gallant fort of Ossowiec became surrounded. Within five days after the great Krupp siege guns began to hammer the works of Kovno that fortress fell and was occupied on the 18th of August. Novo Georgievsk fell on the 20th with great stores of guns and ammunition and 90,000 prisoners. This fortress controlled the line of the Vistula River. While it held out, no river-borne traffic could be sent from the Vistula's lower waters in Germany to Warsaw and above. It also controlled the railroad from Mlawa to Warsaw. For the first time in history the Vistula was completely dominated by the Germans. Mackensen's army had pushed up to the outer works of Brest-Litovsk. The Russians now, although losing heavily in personnel and material, were falling back with great rapidity and saving most of their field artillery. As only two fortresses remained in the hands of the Russians, i. e., Grodno and Brest-Litovsk, both of which the Germans were perfectly confident of taking in short order, they began a redistribution of their forces for future operations, which were to take the form of a main attack on the Russian central army at Vilna.

badly broken despite their most vigorous resistance.

Next the line of the secondary fortresses was attacked. The German move had been so organized that the attack took place against almost all of them simultaneously. They began falling with such suddenness that the Russian forces on the

lines west of Warsaw were forced into a precipitate retreat in an attempt to extricate whatever they could of their armies.

The instant that this move became apparent to the Germans—an easy matter for them, as they had practically complete control of the air, enabling them to fly at will over the Russian lines and observe whatever they wanted to—the forces which stood along the old Bzura-Rawka lines in Poland were launched into the Russian centre west of the Vistula River. Immediately the Russian front was pierced at a dozen points and the broken brigades and divisions retired and were driven across the Vistula with the Germans and Austrians close on their heels. The Bavarian army of Prince Leopold entered Warsaw on August 5th with insignificant loss.

So rapid had been the German advance that the great fortress and intrenched camp of Novo Georgievsk was completely cut off with its garrison of 90,000 troops, 1,200 cannon of all calibres, and vast accumulations of stores. The Russian armies were now in full retreat in all parts of Poland, and their great fortresses of the famous quadrilateral were exposed to the Teuton attack. These were Novo Georgievsk and Ivangorod (which fell on August 6th), Grodno and Kovno in the north, while the way to Brest-Litovsk, the largest supply point of them all, had been cleared by Mackensen and the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand in the south.

The Russians attempted to rally on the line Kovno-Niemen River-Grodno-Bug River-Brest-Litovsk, but the Teuton onslaught was so determined and vigorously sustained that wherever the Russians attempted to stand they were either immediately defeated, enveloped, or turned out of their positions by the Teutonic forces operating elsewhere. As the Allies had the initiative they could hit anywhere, at the most important or weakest point of the Russian line, and, once having made a hole, the rest of the Russian line had to fall back in order to maintain their alignment and to prevent whole armies from being captured.

On August 20th the great fortress of Novo Georgievsk fell, enriching its captors *with vast stores and establishing* their strategic position in Poland. One reason that such a store of munitions of all sorts remained there was that when the Russians were attempting to withdraw some of their heavy artillery a bridge across the river gave way, leaving no main avenue of egress.

The fall of this great work opened up the railroad from Mlawa to the Vistula and also opened up the whole line of the Vistula River for the water-borne traffic of the allied army. This great artery, from its source in Silesia to its mouth in the Baltic, was now for the first time completely in the hands of the Austro-Germans. All permanent bridges across its broad waters had been destroyed by the fleeing Russians, but these were quickly supplanted by ferries and pontoon and spar bridges, while repairs to the demolished structures went on. Kovno was captured on August 18th and Grodno on September 4th. Nothing now remained of the Russian main line of defense on their Polish frontier, and nothing but the difficult country was left between the units of the Russian army and the Germans in the area north of the Pripet Swamps. This ended the second strategic phase of the campaign, the breaking up and destruction of the Polish "quadrilateral."

ESTABLISHING A RUSSIAN BASE

The way had now been paved for a further advance, and a rearrangement of the Teutonic forces was at once begun. The Germans announced at the conclusion of this phase of the operations that, since the 2d of May, 1,100,000 Russians had been taken prisoners. During August alone 1,500 cannon and 560 machine guns were captured.

While these principal operations were taking place in central Poland operations were being carried on in Courland and eastern Galicia, the two secondary theatres of the campaign.

Of these the more important for the time being was the one in Courland, or the area between the East Prussian frontier and the Dvina River with its two fortresses of Riga and Dvinsk (Dunaberg). It will be remembered that coincident with Mackensen's drive through Galicia in the first part of May the mass of the

:avalry had been hurled into the Baltic provinces. The cavalry ly followed by heavy columns of and artillery, which captured the and began extending eastward. icular part of the campaign took ıaracter of a combined land and tion, in which the German navy the coasts, brought up supplies, ıtually obtained control of the Riga. Now the purpose of this into Courland was, of course, ıotect the left flank of Hinden- my in its dash for the fortress of ɔut in addition it had a deeper ce. This was nothing short of ng a great base in all of Cour- m which the offensive could be ther into Russia.

this objective be accomplished, ıans would control all the country : Niemen to the Dvina. For s from anywhere in Courland t toward Minsk their left would ely on the line of the River Dvina, ıt on the Niemen, and their rear ıltic, controlled by their navy. ession of this territory not only re them ample room to reorganize :es for offensive operations under of these great natural obstacles, them a wide base to retreat on in efeat, but also, from its position ank, would protect the railroads a from Pinsk to Vilna and west of ces. Should the central mass of an army be destroyed completely, ine of the Dvina River conquered tirety, this area would form an base for further operations into ior of Russia (toward Petrograd w), or on the other hand form an line of defense should the invad- es be defeated or be compelled e the defensive.

ıgain, this expedition forced the to provide another army group fense of the Dvina River, so that nclusion of the operations which n the reduction of all the Russian ne fortresses in Poland the Rus- y was distributed in three prin- ups, i. e., one on the line Riga- the central mass *in the triangle* Vilna-Minsk-Baranovichi, and the southern group, which extended from south of the Pripet Swamps to the Roumanian frontier.

These great scattered army groups, in so far as their immediate coöperation was concerned, depended on very precarious and roundabout means of communications. The whole Russian field army, therefore, had been split into three parts which could not coöperate effectively. The Germans had continuous railroad communication behind them, and as they had seized the best net of railroads possessed by Russia they had even a greater amount of rail power, comparatively, than they had on the first of May. The railroads were repaired with all the celerity possible in the months of July, August, and early September.

Of the three principal Russian army groups the central one was by far the most numerous and important. Sound strategy, therefore, dictated that this should be attacked. While the Germans were rearranging their forces and bringing great masses of troops and material into Kovno Province and Courland for their further attack on the Russian central army, the Russians on their side were doing their utmost to bring up all the men and material at their command. At this time, late in August and early in September, it appeared to many that the German offensive in the north had come to a standstill. To further strengthen this feeling in their enemies' minds, the allies launched a local offensive against the Russian army group in the south, the idea of which was to make it appear as much as possible like a main operation so as to cause the Russians to bring up whatever they could in the way of men and material from the interior to strengthen this area. Whatever Russians were sent into that part then would be no longer available at the extreme northern end of their line, that is, in the Dvina River area. The strategic threat in a southern campaign is the possibility of an advance to Kiev, the Black Sea, and an eventual joining of hands with the Turks.

Should success attend such an effort the Balkan question would be pretty well settled and the control of the Black Sea by the Turks assured, because, with the fall of

THE EASTERN THEATRE—SEPTEMBER 9TH

Brest-Litovsk fell to Mackensen's attack on August 27th and Grodno fell on August 30th to an attack in force which it was able to hold off only four days. All the Russian fortresses in Poland had now passed into the hands of the Teutons, and nothing except the obstacles imposed by Nature stood between the Russian central army and the Teutonic allies. The operations of the Germans had been carried on vigorously in Courland while the campaign was developing in Poland. After much very hard fighting a firm footing and bases had been established at the seaports and points in the interior, particularly at Shavli. At this place and in the area around it were assembled about 500,000 men who came from parts of the line in Poland and from other units brought from the interior. All the railroads were repaired with the greatest dispatch by the Germans, and supplies of all sorts brought up. The Russians meanwhile rushed reinforcements to their lines along the Dvina River between Riga and Dvinsk so as to prevent the Germans from forcing it and menacing the Petrograd railroad. The fall of Kovno practically divided the Russian army into three parts, the northern wing along the line of the Dvina River between Dvinsk and Riga, the central in the area around and south of Vilna, and the southern south of the Pripet Swamps. Of these three Russian armies the central one was the strongest

Odessa and, later, Sevastopol by land attack, the Russian navy would have no base to go to, and would be greatly at the mercy of torpedo craft, and would have no adequate means of re-supply. In other words, if such an Austro-German move were successful it would pretty well settle any aspirations Russia may have about Constantinople.

From a military standpoint such a move *at this time naturally ought to be subordinated* to a crushing of the Russian army's central mass, because once this were destroyed the Germans would be at perfect liberty to concentrate the major part of their forces against either Russian wing, which would give them an overwhelming superiority. For these reasons a determined attack was launched by the Austrians against the Russian positions east of the Bug and Zlota-Lipa rivers during August. The move was successful in driving the Russians back at all points and in capturing the permanent fortresses of Lutzk and Dubno, which, with Rovno, form a triangle of forts for the defense of the approaches to the area around Kiev. The advance was so sudden and so strongly sustained that the Russians reinforced this area with large forces of men and material, with which they not only brought the Austrian offensive to a stop in front of their fortress of Dubno and west of Tarnopol, but by vigorous attacks in many areas they also more than held their own and forced the Austrians back.

Just as these apparent successes were being heralded by the Russians the main stroke for a decision against the central Russian army was launched by Hindenburg. This took the form, first, of a movement in force against the Russian bridge heads on the Dvina River at Friedrichstadt, Jacobstadt, and Lindenburg, where the Russians were driven to the north side of the river and German columns moved forward from Mitau in the direction of Riga and along the railroad from Shavli toward Dvinsk. Here, then, we had all the elements of the characteristic German strategy—demonstrations at both extremities of the whole strategic front (in this case along the Dvina and south of the Pripet Swamps) to distract attention from the main move in the direction of Vilna, the centre. When the columns had made sure their ground along the Dvina the forces for the main attack on Vilna were placed north of that city and forced crossings over the Vilia River.

At the same time that these movements were taking place—in the second week in September—the mass of the German cavalry was launched at the railroad between Vilna and Dvinsk. This cavalry,

50,000 strong, advanced on a front 100 miles wide, crossed the railroad y points, and kept on at great speed : railroad connecting Molodechno lotsk, 80 miles away. Detachments lso sent to cut the railroad from :o Molodechno, while infantry col- ollowed them with all speed. These were reached and the railroad east Vilna was cut by September 18th, he infantry close behind to keep :cesses which the cavalry had won. as the culmination of the battle for which may be considered to have going on for the better part of a

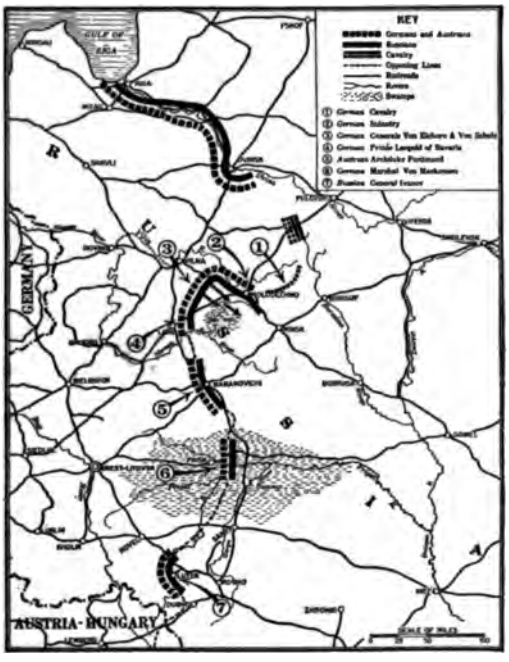
nwhile General Mackensen had on at great speed through the city et and on September 18th was only miles from the Vilna-Rovno rail- t which point he was stopped by the ns. In the centre the armies of the ike Ferdinand and Prince Leopold aria had crossed the line of the a River and were in some places venty miles from this same railroad t date. The Russians then found mmunications cut and were unable their foe at any place on this front. tember 19th the victorious German ntered Vilna while the Russians, t railroads and with a very difficult y at their backs, attempted to cut ay out between two lines of their s.

country through which the Ger- valry moved forward between the Dvinsk railroad and the Molo- -Polotsk line is a comparatively undulating ridge with good roads r-boarding a country which abounds ge and food. Although the Rus- a their retreat attempted to destroy t deal of supplies in order to hinder vance of their enemy, great stores d and fodder still remained which d the German cavalry to do a tably rapid march, the leading making as much as fifty miles a twithstanding the opposition of the n horsemen.

Russian army now found itself in a e position. It had attempted to cut y out to the *northeast of Vilna but* had been thrown back with loss. Part of its force retired along the railroad toward Lida, but this was crossed and cut by the German forces advancing from the west. The key point was Vileika and Molodechno, and against these places the Russians threw their forces with redoubled energy.

As this article is being written the battles in the Molodechno-Vileika area are of the most stubborn nature. Positions pass from the hands of one side to the other in some cases several times in the same day. The Germans are bringing up all the forces they can possibly transport to that area and hurling them headlong at the Russians. The Russians have succeeded in driving the Germans away from the railroad itself, but its tracks are all torn up and the German cavalry is meanwhile extending its lines further and further toward Minsk and the railroad running northeast from that place.

The final issue in this theatre remains to be determined and will require days if not weeks in settlement. The Russians appear to have few reserves left in the interior for use at Minsk or to attack from Polotsk the rear of the German columns in this area, partially weakened because both ends of their strategic front were reinforced at the expense of their centre. In order to try to relieve the pressure on the Vilna army the Russians are launching against the Austrians south of the Pripet Swamps determined attacks which have had a good deal of success locally but have failed to make the Teutons send many more troops into that territory. Even if the Russians make a great advance in that area they will expose their forces to a flank attack from the north, in which area the Germans hold all the railroads. The Russians are attacking strenuously all along the line of the Dvina River between Dvinsk and Riga. Could they make good in this area, the whole German position in Courland would be turned and the forces in the Vilna area would be taken in reverse. At the same time the Russians would have their own communications straight behind them. This is the reason why such tremendous battles are taking place along the Dvina River and why the



THE BATTLE OF VILNA — SEPT. 13TH-24TH

The German plans aimed to destroy the Russian central army covering Vilna. To distract Russian attention from this place, demonstrations were made at the extreme flanks, that is along the Dvina River and south of the Pripet Swamps against the fortress triangle Lutzk-Dubno-Rovno. Both of these demonstrations were determined moves in great strength and gave the impression of main operations. In the north the Russians were pressed back to their outer works around Riga and Dvinsk, while in the south the fortresses of Lutzk and Dubno were taken and Rovno menaced. These drives caused the Russians to reinforce both ends of their line which were the most remote points from their central army. On September 12th the great mass of the German cavalry, about 60,000 sabres, was launched at the Vilna-Dvinsk railroad. They reached it on the 13th, and steadily maintained their advance. By the 17th, the German horsemen appeared on a 100-mile front along the Molodechno-Polotsk railroad, seizing the station of Molodecheno. The cavalry was followed by light infantry, which by tremendous marches reached the vicinity of Molodechno on the 19th. The main German armies were launched by Von Hindenburg against the Russian position as indicated on the sketch. The Russians found their communications cut in all directions and the enemy pressing them on the front and both flanks. At first the Russians attempted to break out to the northeast of Vilna but were thrown back on the banks of the Vilia River. The only hope, then, for extricating the army lay in a retreat to the east through Molodechno toward Minsk. From the 20th to the 24th of September tremendous fighting took place on both flanks of this force. It was the greatest opportunity the Germans had for inflicting a decisive setback to the Russians. They therefore did everything in their power to carry their left wing forward toward the Minsk-Borisof railroad. To relieve pressure on their central army the Russians attacked in a determined manner along the Dvina front and south of the Pripet Swamps

Germans are holding that part o lines so strongly. From a st standpoint the attempt of the R to break through in that area is th thing they can do. The Germans have not only thrown them back alc Dvina River but have themselves a ed considerably.

While the Russian central arm been by no means destroyed, it ha thrown back with great loss without probability of a strong offensive i If this is so a hole has been blasted Russian strategic centre which will the effect of allowing the Germans t centrate on either the northern or ern groups of the Russian field army. supply arrangements for the Germa are mammoth in the extreme, beca only do all the railroads have to be but all the ammunition and suppl the vast armies have to be broug from the home countries. Moreo winter is approaching all the equi that will be necessary for that se being brought up.

A great deal of comment has be dulged in by the lay press on the sim between the present operations and of Napoleon over some of the same tory one hundred years ago. Th point of similarity is that the ope are taking place in the same count glance at any railroad map of that will show that as the Germans a they keep the best and most nu railroads at their backs, which allow to concentrate on threatened points more easily than the Russians. Th much better equipped with motor portation than the Russians. Wh country freezes, the motors are no prevented from crossing the swam can go anywhere over the frozen su A deep thrust into Russia is, of co very serious operation, but it is means an insurmountable one with that have a very high degree of ing ability. At present, then, the pears no indication that the Germa paign into Russia will be relaxed either they get a decision over th sians or the Russians administer a repulse or defeat.

WEAPONS OF THIS WAR

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HOW THE OLDEST DEVICES OF COMBAT HAVE BEEN BROUGHT BACK INTO PRACTICAL USE BY THE EFFECT OF THE NEWEST DEVICES UPON THE TACTICS OF THE BATTLEFIELD

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

THIS war is in its weapons the most primitive as well as the most scientific of all modern conflicts. It is a war of one-ton shells and hand grenades, of the most distant artillery duels and hand-to-hand combats, of asphyxiating gases and stink-pots, of airships and shovels, of shrapnel and sling shots. Every device by which man has slain man, from the boulder in the hands of Ab the Cave Dweller to the machine gun in the hands of Albert, don of Oxford, is in deadly use on one or another of the battlefields of Europe. The newspapers have told of

A SKODA HOWITZER READY FOR ACTION

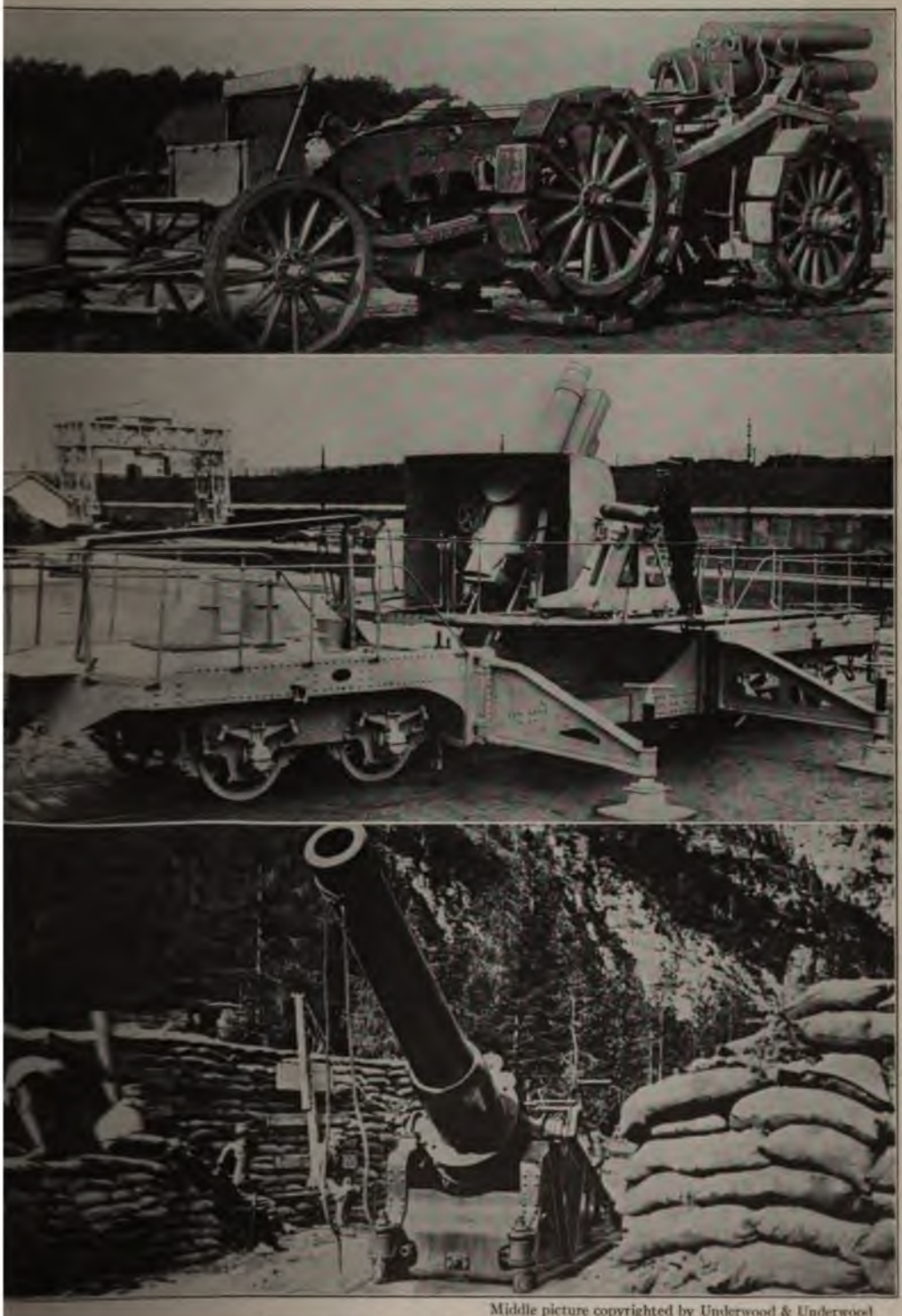
One of the great Austrian siege guns. It can be transported in sections on *tractors at twelve miles* an hour and set in place in forty minutes

WHAT THE BIG GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN GUNS DID AT LIÈGE
The destruction of the Loucin forts, a part of one of the strongest fortresses in Europe

most of these multifarious weapons. Something of the tactical exigencies of the war that have brought them forward again and something of the historical setting of these arms may make plainer how and why they are used.

The weapons that an army uses are determined by two things: the conception of the tactical problems held by the generals in command before a war begins; and second, by the conditions that actually arise on the battlefield. The first of these considerations explains the invention of the "Skoda" howitzer and the German mobile siege train; the second explains the reversion to hand grenades and catapults in the trenches. The General Staff of the German Army was committed to a theory of strategy by which the enemy should be immediately defeated by a sudden and

"ONE OF KRUPP'S"



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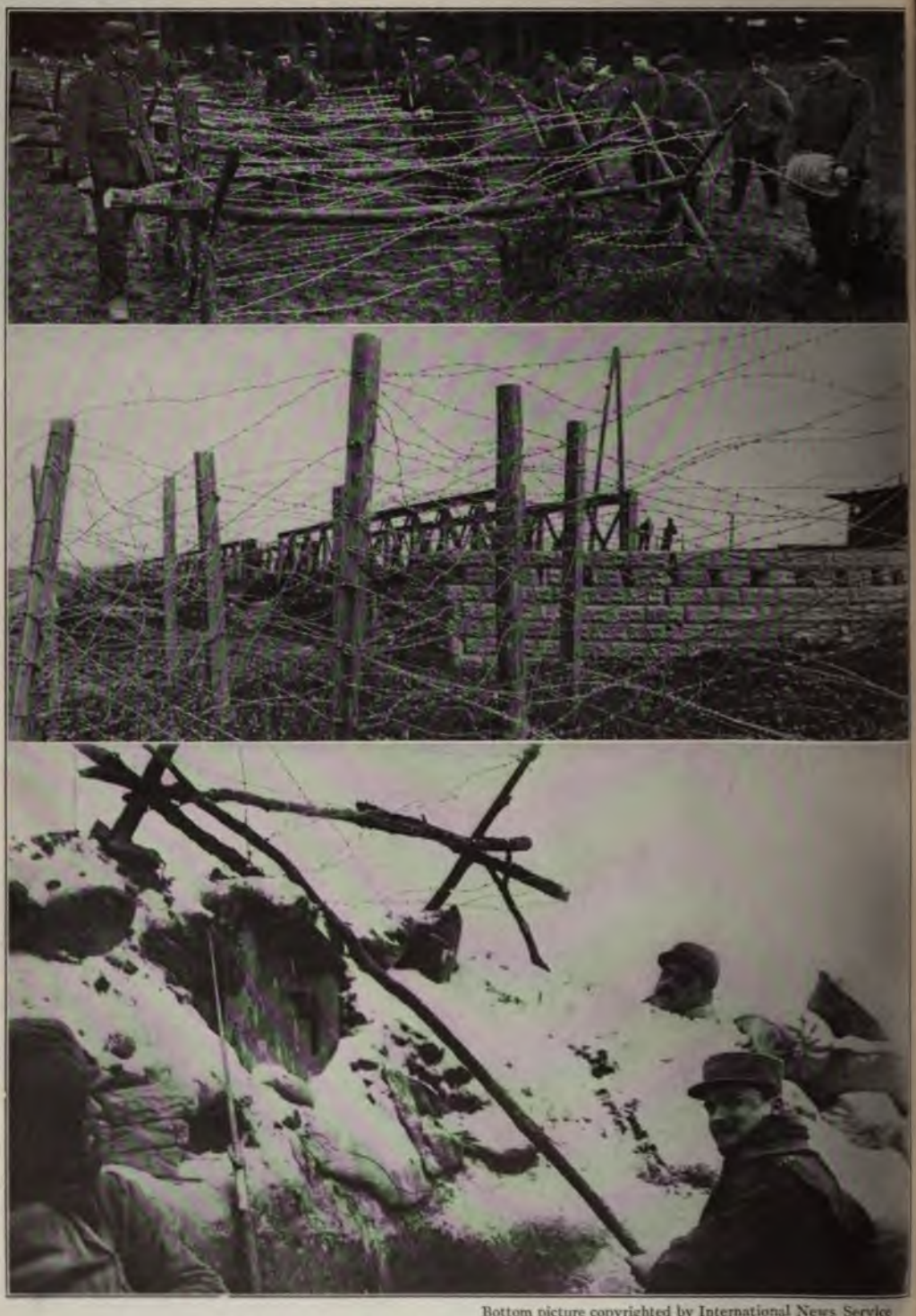
BIG GUNS OF THREE BELLIGERENTS

Upper picture: a Krupp 42-centimetre howitzer, the one real surprise among the weapons of the war. Middle picture: a French 8-inch rapid fire howitzer mounted on a flat car. Lower picture: an Italian siege gun used to batter down Austrian concrete trenches



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HOW BARBED WIRE IS USED IN THIS WAR

Upper picture: Germans building barbed wire entanglements, which are put in place in front of the trenches (as in the lower picture) to impede the enemy. Middle picture: a permanent wire entanglement protecting a bridgehead in Russia

AN AUTOMOBILE PROTECTED AGAINST BARBED WIRE

-like arrangement catches wires stretched across roadways and lifts them over the roof of the automobile or forces them under the wheels

ingly powerful attack. That uired the speedy reduction of the gian fortresses that stood in the th and hence arose the necessity f unprecedented crushing power ity. On the other hand, on the ront at least, the perfection of aerial scouting, the deadly effectiveness of artillery, and the desolating fire of machine guns turned the battlefields into facing lines of almost impregnable trenches, with the result that hand-to-hand conflict became again almost the only decisive form of fighting, and some of the oldest weapons

A FRENCH DEVICE FOR BREAKING THROUGH WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS

peller-like blade is fired from a gun and carries a wire cable that is paid out from a reel beside he blade catches *in the enemy's entanglement* and is then drawn back with the cable, hauling wire *with it*

of combat, long accounted obsolete, came back into use. Paradoxically, the use of the newest and most complex weapons has forced back into favor the simplest and most ancient weapons.

The year 1886 saw the beginnings of the first big change in warfare that bore fruit in the present war. In that year, experiments were made at Fort Malmaison in France which demonstrated beyond doubt that the fortifications of that day were obsolete. Eight-inch shells containing large charges of melinite, a "high explosive," overturned revetment works, destroyed magazine casemates, and made breaches in the walls with ridiculous ease. Offensive gun-power had overtaken and passed defensive works in their age-long race for supremacy.

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THE MODERN SUCCESSOR OF THE machine

The machine-gun is, like the first field artillery of three centuries ago, simply a concentration of rifle fire.

Instantly that race was renewed with nerve-racking intensity. Military engineers were divided into two camps. The extreme radicals on the one hand declared that the day of fixed fortifications was gone forever: that the only useful fortress of the future would be extemporized in the field. The extremists in the other direction maintained that forts could be made much stronger than they were—strong enough to resist any weapon: and that such forts were indispensable to the protection of cities and frontiers.

The Germans became disciples of the first theory while the French and the Belgians followed the second. The results of the German decision were not soon apparent: it is easier to keep the secret of a big gun than to keep the secret

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"CARTE WITH GONNES"

German machine guns. On the right: British (upper), French (middle), and Russian (lower)

of a big fort. The French and Belgian decision, on the contrary, was soon apparent to all men. Belfort, Toul, and Verdun, Antwerp, Liège, and Namur—these great fortresses were the pride of France and Belgium, the master works of the master engineer, Gen. Henri Alexis Brialmont. They were rings of forts around strategic cities. In each fort were a few

THE MAKING OF TRENCHES

Upper picture: finishing the digging. Middle picture: the skeleton work of an underground bomb-proof shelter. Lower picture: the bomb-proof completed and occupied

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Liège. Here it
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DETAILS OF TRENCH CONSTRUCTION

er picture: the finished rampart, with loopholes for rifles. Middle picture: a wire screen that unrolled to cut off part of a trench under attack. Lower picture: a German trench during actual ons, showing the use of the trench periscope

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A MODERN GRENADIER

Throwing the hand grenade, a missile that was popular in the 17th century, discarded in the 19th century, and revived and widely used in this war

ciple of Germany's attack on these forts was not a surprise: Europe had threshed out all the theories, and Germany's faith in big guns was understood. The surprise lay only in that the guns were bigger than any one believed Germany had — bigger, indeed, than any one else had believed could be transported — and that they were got so quickly to the field of battle. These guns were the 42-centimetre (16½-inch) and the 45-centimetre howitzers invented by Prof. Otto Rausenberger and manufactured by the Krupps. The Skoda gun, the Austrian 30.5 centimetre (12-inch) howitzer, manufactured at the Skoda Works near Pilsen, was not a surprise: it was tested in the presence of foreign military attachés four years ago. All these guns were rifled howitzers of enormous size and power, made mobile by improvements in carriages, mounting platforms, and motor tractors. They threw shells weighing more than a ton and they were loaded with heavy charges of high

AN AUSTRIAN TRENCH CANNON

That throws small shells the short distance between the opposing lines of trenches

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A BIG GRENADE OF THE ROCKET TYPE

A FRENCH TRENCH MORTAR
Made in 1846 but in effective use in this war—a type of weapon revived by trench fighting

explosive. Their range was 12,000 yards, nearly seven miles. And their fire was not "direct," that is, not horizontal—a form of fire that not only makes the missile strike a cupola a glancing blow but that also makes it strike only with the force of impact that is left in the shell after a large share of its initial velocity has been spent in its flight. The fire of these howitzers was indirect—that is, as a ball is tossed over a wall: up, over, and down. In this kind of fire, the projectile strikes a straight downward blow on the almost flat top of fortified gun placements, and it strikes with much greater force than the force of a direct-fired projectile.

A MODERN KNIGHT
Equipped with two ancient weapons—grenades and bombs—and protected by a steel helmet and a steel breastplate, both patterned on medieval models

A GERMAN SETTING A "STAR LIGHT" FOR USE AT NIGHT

The effect of these howitzers was overwhelming. Their shells cracked open and overturned the heaviest concrete shelters; they pulverized massive embankments. The forts at Liège crumbled away before them in forty-eight hours. Namur withstood them barely five hours.

The invention of these guns and the

WHAT A SOLDIER SEES THROUGH A TRENCH PERISCOPE

The device consists of a tube containing mirrors that reflect from one above to another below the image caught by the upper one. With it a soldier can see what is happening in front of his rampart without exposing himself

consequent speedy reduction of the Belgian and French fortresses determined the strategy and tactics of the war on the western front. Henceforward, in this war, forts of the French type were to be useless. The French General Staff abandoned all plans it may have made for the defense of Paris; this was to be a war in the open.

Something of what war in the open field would be like, the Russian - Japanese War had indicated ten years before. That war had shown conclusively the utility of intrenchments. They had been invented and applied in our own Civil War in siege operations, but the Japanese had shown their value as defenses against the direct fire of modern high-powered artillery.

The first weapon of field warfare, therefore, was the shovel: purely a weapon of defense. In one guise or another it appeared in the equipment of every soldier in every army in Europe—sometimes as a broad bayonet with a hollow scooped in one side of it, sometimes as a meat tin to be used for the purpose in conjunction with an ordinary bayonet blade, sometimes as a real, though small, spade. "Digging themselves in" became one of the first arts of war—a cumbrous modern variant of the art of the savage dodging behind a fallen log, with the difference that the civilized soldier has to build an earthen bulwark between himself and his enemy, lying on the ground while he does it to the accompaniment of shrapnel fire and

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MAN FIRE ROCKETS ILLUMINATING A RUSSIAN POSITION

y means of these rockets, which are fired from a pistol, the enemy's es are subjected to artillery fire by night, and his infantry attacks are ed before they can become dangerous

bullets aimed directly at him by enemies can see him plainly. Having got elf barriered behind a low rampart of , he waits for night to fall to under- the more laborious, if less hazardous, of digging a trench deep enough to d in and of connecting his chamber with e of his comrades to right and left of and then running back zigzag con- ions with the similar line of trenches nd him.

nce safely in, his commander, even years ago, would at once have begun alculate some decisive disposition of roops for a general attack that should rmine the result in open battle. But ay, with the aeroplanes overhead rting the movements of all enemy os and thereby rendering *surprise* cautious enemy who may happen to risk his head above the parapet of his trench, the soldier falls back upon primitive devices. One of his first moves was to become an inglorious sort of grenadier, heir to a weapon that was born about the middle of the seventeenth century and that was used with great effect on the open line of battle in those attacks impossible, the incentive to do this is taken away. Even the very possibility of doing it has been removed by these same air scouts. Their signals to the gunners of their batteries render the shell fire from distant and concealed artillery so deadly accurate that a general advance is out of the question. Hence the lines of trenches approach one another by a few yards at a time until they are only from 90 to 200 or 300 feet apart.

With troops opposed at these close quarters, warfare at once leaps backward in its methods one hundred years, five centuries, a millennium. Unable to shoot more than an occasional in-

FIRING A LIGHT ROCKET

THE ARMORED SHIELD IN MODERN USE

To protect the men who serve machine guns; a modern analogy of the Roman "testudo," which protected the men who swung a battering ram

and later days of short range flint-locks, wheel-locks, and blunderbusses—the good old days when our forefathers on Concord Common were commanded to wait to see the whites of the enemy's eyes before they fired. Military opinion threw them overboard, however, in the nineteenth century, with the development of long-range rifles of the class of the Springfields, Lee-Canfields, Mausers, and Sniders, that were perfectly accurate up to 1,000 yards. The Russian-Japanese War, however—the war in which many lessons were learned that are being practised in this war—revived the grenade. The English

THE REVIVAL OF THE STEEL HELMET

French soldiers wearing head armor of a pattern almost identical with that of helmets worn in England *after the Norman conquest. They* are highly efficient in deflecting rifle bullets and shrapnel bullets

took up
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The Hale
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"GREEK FIRE" COMES INTO USE AGAIN

The German "flammenwerfer" utilizes almost exactly the same ingredients as the Greeks used in "Greek fire" in the defense of Constantinople in 1453

THE DEFENSE AGAINST MODERN "STINK-POTS"

se of modern German asphyxiating gas and medieval Chinese stink-pots is the same—to con-
se and overpower the enemy so that an attack can be made upon him before he recovers

AN AERIAL CAVALRYMAN

Aeroplanes have supplanted cavalrymen on the western front of the Great War, both for scouting and for offensive actions that require speed rather than a large force. They have done very effective work in destroying supply depots with bombs

from a rifle or thrown by hand. The tail may be slipped in a rifle barrel and the grenade discharged by means of a blank cartridge. Fired in this way at an angle of thirty degrees, it will carry about 450 feet. With a heavier charge of powder and with the rifle more securely braced, double that range is possible. For shorter ranges, the grenades are held by the tail and thrown by hand. However thrown, they are one of the deadliest of missiles. They not only have the searching effect of shrapnel upon an enemy's trench, but the fragments are given a much greater velocity than are the bullets of a shrapnel shell. Furthermore, the high explosive charge detonates with extraordinary force — a force oftentimes great enough to wreck a trench and to blow its nearest occupant literally to atoms. A soldier in the trenches can easily carry six or eight of the grenades slung in his belt or in a bag hanging from his waist.

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AERIAL BOMBS

There are in use by the Allies and the Germans perhaps half a dozen other types of bombs, most of them exploded by a fuse instead of a detonator, and varying not in principle but in details of shape, size, charge, and effectiveness. One of the most popular is a home-made, or rather trench-made, bomb, improvised from a tin can and a charge of guncotton, and fired from a catapult made of an automobile spring mounted on a log of wood.

Here warfare has indeed gone back to ancient models for its instruments. The catapult is one of the oldest "engines of war"—it was described by the author of the Book of Chronicles when he told how Uzziah, ruling in Jerusalem, supplied his army with military implements, including "engines, invented by cunning men, to be shot on the towers and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones." The Greeks and Romans used them; Philip of Macedon employed them at the siege of Byzantium 340 years B.C. Practic-

e identical weapons are in use in the
es in Flanders to-day. They con-
bstantially of a trough, correspond-
the barrel of a cannon, a heavy bow-
a spring mechanism to work against
ll of the string, and give the pro-
force a ratchet and windlass device
d the bow-string taut, and a trigger
ase the string for the throw. A
tapult in Roman times could throw
alf-pound arrow 400 yards; a heavy
ta" had no greater range, but it
hrow weights up to ninety pounds.
his range and this weight limit are
r than are needed for bomb-throwing
practised to-day in the trenches.
Germans improved on the catapult
e invention of the *minenwerfer*.
s a small trench cannon that fires a
cal bomb much after the fashion in
the Hale grenade is fired from a
on rifle. It proved to be relatively
tive in use because the missile often
ort and back-fired with disastrous
to the Germans themselves.
minenwerfer is, indeed, only an
ediate step between the rifle and
ue trench mortar. Weapons of this
class have been used throughout the
n both fronts, with good effect. They
al mortars, with an extremely short
set at a high angle and using a small
of powder. Different patterns are
ed for spherical and cylindrical shells,
r weights of shell varying from thirty
venty pounds. These shells are
d with high explosive, and as they
to the enemy's trench almost ver-
they are very effective missiles.

HE REVIVAL OF "GREEK FIRE"

ish newspapers speak indignantly
liquid fire thrown on their trenches
Germans as an evidence of the in-
ingenuity of the chemist united with
ulless cruelty of a barbaric soldiery.
el character speaks for itself; noth-
owever, could be more erroneous
ically than to imagine that the idea
v. "At the siege of Delium (424
a cauldron containing pitch, sulp-
and burning charcoal was placed
t the walls and urged into flame by
d of a bellows, *the blast from which* was conveyed through a hollow tree trunk." A Roman, nearly eight hundred years later, A.D. 350, added naphtha to the recipe for "Greek fire" and came very close to the composition now used in the German *flammenwerfer*, which sprays out on the enemy's trenches, following it with a spray of living flame. The *flammenwerfer*, or flame projector, consists of a reservoir containing gasolene mixed with a small proportion of kerosene to give it body, a cylinder of highly compressed air, a pressure gauge, a starting valve, and an electric battery with induction coil. A piece of flexible tubing connects the reservoir with a spraying tube which can be pointed at any angle. Two electric wires run to the end of the spraying tube, with a spark-gap between their ends. When the apparatus is operated, the compressed air forces out the gasolene under high pressure, and the sparker ignites it. The flame projector can throw its stream of fire about ninety feet. Its use gained for the Germans temporary possession of some British trenches north and south of Hooge in Belgium, and it has been used in other parts of the line, notably in the Argonne region; but it seems not to have been so widely nor so effectively employed as bombs and grenades have been.

THE USE OF GASES

The asphyxiating gas that the Germans used with such deadly effect at "Hill 60," near Ypres, last May does seem to be a novelty of warfare. The French, however, have since used an asphyxiating but not poisonous gas which is analogous to the stink-pots which the Chinese long used to overcome their enemies by pungent odors until a rush attack on them could be made. The French gas causes coughing and an intense smarting of the eyes and the tissues of the nose, but it leaves no evil after-effects. The German gas, on the other hand, is deadly when inhaled in large quantities. Hundreds of British soldiers were killed by it in the fighting around Ypres. This gas is the product of the volatilization of liquid sulphurous acid and liquified chlorine, a process that disengages enormous quantities of vapor. This vapor, being heavier than air, settles

shells and shrapnel are their most dangerous foes when they stay below their ramparts: rifle bullets when they peer above them. Against "H. E." shells there is no real protection. But shrapnel bullets are discharged from their shells at a relatively low velocity; good armor has proved to be proof against them. The protection against rifle bullets is a different matter. Here the velocity is terrific. Strangely enough, however, the course of a modern rifle bullet is most unstable. The bullet is so delicately balanced, and so carefully formed to slip most easily through the resisting air, that the slightest force against it sideways deflects it hopelessly from its path. Head on, it will go through the bodies of six men. But let it strike a twig ever so little to one side of its case, or strike its mark a glancing instead of a direct blow, and it flies off easily. Here rounded or pointed armor has proved its great value. French soldiers are being equipped with steel skull caps that are almost indistinguishable from the brimless helmets of English armor after the Norman conquest. Enough experience has been gained from their use to demonstrate their value in turning rifle bullets and shrapnel; and French field surgeons are urging that their use be widely extended. Similar experience with fine cuirasses has shown similar results: but great danger lies in the use of chain mail, and coats of mail made of steel pieces sewn on canvas or leather, because the value of armor under modern conditions is in its property of causing bullets to glance off, not in its direct resistance; and where bits of the mail are driven inward they greatly complicate the surgeon's task.

ARMOR NOT TOO HEAVY

The weight of armor is not an objection. "A very serviceable half-armor weighs about 30 pounds, to which may be added another 15 pounds for clothing and arms, making together 45 pounds. Against this may be placed the (British) service equipment (of 1911) totalling 59 pounds 11 ounces. In the case of the cavalry the comparison is still more striking, for the war horse of the late fifteenth century carried about 350 pounds (horse armor, rider, rider's armor, arms, and saddlery), while the Ger Cuirassier horse of 1909 carried pounds."

Perhaps of even more value than its for defense, armor is valuable in those operations of digging-in and of the charges across the open space betweer trenches. Imperfect as its protectio it is still protection, and its moral valı therefore, great. Already steel shield used in the trenches to protect the h of the men as they dig. The need of s thing of the sort under fire is suggeste the device of the infantrymen, who (a bag of sand on their backs as they (out into the open to begin new tren the bags are a complete protection ag shrapnel. Armor, then, in various fc is already a potent element in this and likely to increase in importance.

In one of his observations on the a war, Napoleon remarked that "ca is most useful where the country is and level. I found it so on the plai Poland." Exactly that phrase ma repeated as of this war, though it will by an addition to make it read: "ca is most useful where the country is and level, and when the armies ar evenly matched so that they move rapidly across the plain to dig thems in. This has been especially so or plains of Poland." In the early pa the war, when the Russians drove Austrians rapidly back on the Carpath and in the last few months, when the mans drove the Russians rapidly back Warsaw, cavalry—and especially Ru cavalry—has had nearly all its value old; its value for scouting, its valu swift manœuvres to press an advanta retrieve a defeat, its value for "sh against the enemy's line when its w and velocity were needed to give in to a decisive blow.

THE CAVALRY OF THE CLOUDS

But the aeroplanes, clattering thı the clouds, are the real cavalry of this They are the ideal scouts, for they se whole country they spy out, not mei detail here and there. Except whei side gains "control of the air." the ports eliminate surprise as a devi

ıry; sudden flanking movements, dis-
d by a "diversion with cavalry" at
: other part of the line, have largely
to the rag-bag of tactics. Even Von
k's gigantic drive around Sir John
ch's flank owed its failure largely to
onstant watching of British aeroplanes
h kept the retreat always just a little
d of his advance. Aeroplanes are the
protagonists of the prosaic story of the
hes. They tell the hidden artillery
e to shoot, and that part of the field
mes automatically the graveyard of
force that seeks to cross it.

ıt it is easy to forget—it has largely
forgotten—that the aeroplane is also
apon. Bombs dropped from a little
sh Sopwith "tabloid" flier destroyed
w Zeppelin in its shed at Düsseldorf;
Kaiser narrowly escaped death from
issiles at Thielt, in Belgium, where he
gone to watch the assault on Ypres,
several members of his staff were
l; aeroplane raids have done real
ıge to the Zeppelin factory at Fried-
hafen and to German supply depots
veral places in Belgium. Dropping
darts the size of a lead pencil in lots
veral hundred at a time has caused the
sion of marching columns of troops
the instant death of many soldiers.

ıt after all, this is most character-istically a war of artillery. Napoleon is its presiding genius. He first massed guns to annihilate part of an enemy's line before the charge: the record of this war is monotonous in the uniformity of the entries, day after day, describing the massing of batteries such as Napoleon wanted but could never get. "Always work the artillery with great rapidity," he said: these 4½-inch British howitzers and French 75-millimetre rifles shoot from five to twenty-five shots a minute. "It is always behind time, and there is never enough of it," Napoleon added: a battery of a hundred pieces is a commonplace in France, and once, in Galicia, at the Battle of the San, last May, the Austrians and Germans concentrated the fire of 1,500 guns upon one short section of the Russian lines. High explosive shells to wreck trenches, shrapnel to kill their occupants—that is the ceaseless and characteristic note of this war. Artillery itself is old as history: good big siege cannon date from 1453, when the Turks besieged Constantinople with guns that fired a 600-pound stone a mile. Shrapnel is the better part of a hundred years old. The big novelty in weapons is the aeroplane—it has altered the tactics of all armies and with it the relative value of all other weapons.

WILL PROSPERITY OR POVERTY FOLLOW THE WAR?

CONCLUSIONS OF AN OPTIMIST WHO DOES NOT BELIEVE THE PREDICTIONS OF A FINANCIAL CATACLYSM

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE

[THE SECOND OF A SERIES OF SIX ARTICLES ON THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR]

THE president of one of the larger New York trust companies, recently returned from Europe, is quoted as having said that the war would surely until the end of 1916; that it was likely it two years more *and, if so, two years* from now the United States will be involved in a universal financial cataclysm because of the destruction of European capital by the war.

His prediction has made a very definite *impression* and has intensified the apprehension previously felt by many regarding

the financial and commercial conditions which will prevail here after the war.

It is this feeling that is restraining our internal trade, despite abundant crops, plethoric bank reserves, and an unprecedented balance of trade in favor of the United States. It is this feeling that prompts so many men to say "Go slow" when asked to authorize constructive and wealth-producing work. It is this feeling that is responsible for the depression in the shoe trade, the lumber trade, the building trade, and many other industries not directly stimulated by the "war orders," and it is this feeling which, pervading extensive commercial areas of the country such as the Pacific Coast and the South Atlantic States, dampens enthusiasm and checks normal development.

It is safe to say that were it not for this feeling the superabundant bank credit now available would have found safe employment long ere this in developing the marvelous resources of our but partially developed country.

It may, in fact, be said that almost one side of the body commercial in the United States is paralyzed by the fear of this post-bellum cataclysm, while the other side is feeling the glow of the hectic activity induced by the demand for military supplies.

It becomes, therefore, highly important to know whether the fear is justified.

To go slow is wise if a cataclysm is really impending, but if not the productive power of many lives that can never be lived again will be lost and the energy of the capital now reposing in our banks will remain latent.

The belief that the waste and disorganization of war will bring business depression seems plausible and is fostered by the gloomy exhalations of the battlefield, but it becomes very debatable when examined in the light of the precedents and the facts.

NO DEPRESSION AFTER OTHER WARS

The precedents are the Napoleonic Wars, the Crimean War, our own War of the Confederacy, the Franco-Prussian War, the Boer War, and the Russian-Japanese War. None of these wars was immediately succeeded by acute depression. Some of them, in fact, appear to have induce at least were followed by extraordi activity and prosperity.

This is noticeably true in the case o the wars that have occurred since st electricity, and labor-saving machi have made rapid economic adjustn possible.

But it may be said that precedent not apply to an unprecedented situa and that the magnitude of the pre struggle is entirely beyond the meas ment of history.

This is true, and although princi generally apply irrespective of size, just as well to scrutinize the facts as as the precedents.

What, then, are the facts? Al twenty million men are in arms in Eu at an expense to the various governm involved estimated at $40,000,000 a How much of this would be spent in lu and extravagance if the belligerent nat were at peace, it is hard to say.

IS ECONOMY OFFSETTING THE WAR WA

Certainly great economy is now b practised throughout Europe.

Is it the equivalent of ten cents per ca daily? If so, the European populatic 450,000,000 is saving $45,000,000 a which is more than the cost of the arı

It is guesswork at best, but thus far war has not disproved the axiom the whole is equal to the sum of al parts and that it cannot exceed that

Up to date the war has been fought money obtained in Europe, and not where. Whatever may be borrowe America is but a drop in the bucket.

The belligerent nations are, there taxing themselves or going in deb their own citizens to pay for the This looks like the redistribution, bu the destruction, of capital. There course, waste. It is represented by cost of explosives which are reconv into gas; of guns that are destroye ships that are sunk, and the value few, not many, cities that are razed. is this cost greater than that of automc that are worn out in the pursuit of sure, of superfluous servants, of ex agant dressing and eating, and of

luxuries upon which money is spent
es of peace and prosperity? If not,
the wastes of war exceed those of
only by the value of the lives des-
l or rendered useless.
owder factory is no less economic
n ice factory except in that it may
the destruction of life and property.
ve assume that, out of 20,000,000
g men, 25 per cent. will be killed
pled—an excessively high estimate—
hat the economic value of these
oo lives is fairly capitalized at
each, the maximum loss so resulting
t be in excess of $15,000,000,000 and
bly much less.
arding the other economic wastes
r, it is probable that they are ex-
l by the wastes of peaceful extrav-
, and the profits derived from war
litures are certainly no less than
accruing from an equal amount of
ilitary commerce.
ough $15,000,000,000 is less than
stimated annual increase in the
s wealth, it is a large sum and,
it may not produce a cataclysm,
. loss may well give us pause unless
see some means of quickly recover-
Is such a recovery possible and,
ow will it be accomplished?
rder to answer this question intel-
y, it will be well to go back to first
ples.
lth is the marketable surplus of a
production, or increment, over his
The creation of wealth presupposes
us production and a demand for

inson Crusoe and his man, Friday,
have produced twice as much food
y could eat, but so long as there was
e to whom they could sell what
id not use, wealth was for them non-
t.
moment that it became possible
n to exchange what they could pro-
t did not need for something else
s valuable, not only to them but
rs, then they commenced to accumu-
alth. It is plain that the value
things so accumulated depends upon
esirability to others.
an may own a *beautiful country* place or picture, but unless others are willing to buy them they are not wealth.

Production and demand in combination are, therefore, necessary to the creation of wealth; and it is to their reciprocal growth that the increase in wealth is due.

As the productive power of the individual increases, he comes to have new desires and is able to satisfy them because he is producing more. This is described as an "increase of the purchasing power" and it almost invariably accompanies an increase of the productive power. It is possible to conceive of a dozen intelligent men on an unknown and unvisited island starting out with nothing and rapidly becoming wealthy through an interchange of production, but the value of their accumulation would be restricted by the limited demand for it and would be immensely increased as soon as the markets of the world were opened to them.

It is plain, therefore, that the accumulation of wealth has a very definite relation to the productive power, the number of producers, and their trade facilities, for every producer is a potential buyer by whose purchases the value of the product is stabilized and enhanced.

In a world in which all persons—men, women, and children—were working up to the economic limit of their productive capacity, the increase of wealth would be marvelously rapid, and would be accelerated by every labor-saving device that in effect increased the number of producers because it multiplied their efficiency.

It is a little difficult to visualize such a world, for none of us has ever seen it.

THE UNUTILIZED ENERGY OF THE WORLD

There is hardly a man who works up to the limit of his capacity. There are millions who try to do as little work as possible. The waste even in the most scientifically conducted industries is enormous, and there is an immense amount of energy generated that is not utilized at all.

It has been jokingly said that the collective energy of the baby's cry would run the railroads of New York State if it could be conserved, and when we consider that only 15 per cent. of the energy of coal is utilized, that the unharnessed water-

power of the United States represents millions of horse-power going to waste, and that probably less than 5 per cent. of the available human energy in the world is productively employed, we must admit that a very slight increase in industry or efficiency will recover an enormous loss of wealth.

This statement may perhaps be clearer if reduced to figures. As suggested, the capitalized value of the lives lost in the war may be $15,000,000,000. Five per cent. per annum is a fair interest on this sum and a further 5 per cent. will amortize the loss it represents in thirteen years. This is $1,500,000,000 yearly.

If, by greater industry or concentration, 50,000,000 men working 300 days a year can increase their production by the equivalent of ten cents a day for thirteen years, the resulting increment at the end of that period will offset the assumed loss, interest and principal.

Is this impossible? By a little speeding up or intensified application, practically any one can increase the value of his services or production ten cents a day, and many more than 50,000,000 persons are now peacefully at work in Europe, to say nothing of the unnumbered millions of Asia, Africa, and America whose energies will be quickened by the demands of post-bellum reconstruction.

DISASTER SOMETIMES BENEFICIAL

Through fires which almost wiped them out, the economic renascence of Chicago, Baltimore, Boston, and San Francisco was accomplished, and these cities are to-day greater and richer than ever mainly because disaster put *everybody energetically at work*. The war is likely to have the same result. If it does and all those who can work become producers to the extent of only half their capacity, the recovery will be amazingly rapid.

This is, of course, too much to hope for. A world in which all those who can work shall be found working up to even half their capacity will be an economic Utopia impossible so long as men continue to be as lazy and as self-indulgent as they are.

It is, however, entirely possible that *national pride, spurred by need*, will increase the aggregate of productiv by at least 10 per cent., and if it d will be no cataclysm, for the ir addition to the world's wealth prodigious.

WAR A STIMULATOR OF INDU

In France, England, and Gerr war has already put most idlers and made men willing to labor lo more efficiently, and the fact tha ways has this effect probably exp paradox of the prosperity by wl nearly always followed.

It comes to this: The increase is in proportion to the intensity ficiency of human industry, for w is the greatest stimulus thus far k

War is, in fact, stimulating to both physically and mentally.

It not only makes men willing longer hours but it leads them ways of making their labor more e

With every great war there is ar in the use and invention of lab machinery.

Whether, like the alleged incre proportion of male babies born times, it is a case of cause and e cannot definitely tell.

In a previous article, I have re the quickened interest in econc technical literature as one of the in reflexes of the war.

Probably the fact that war economy predisposes men to th machines that economize humar but whatever the reason for t cidence, the consequences are ama

In Europe, the era of railroad that succeeded the Napoleonic creased the world's wealth by ma the sum the wars had cost. In country, industrial coördination use of automatic machinery was s extended after the War of the Cor that our national wealth, estir 7 billion dollars in 1850, had 187 billion in 1912.

Instances of this coincidence war and the subsequent increase through increased mechanical might be multiplied, but it is unn Who knows what effect in cheape

facilitating transportation may follow the military use of the aeroplane and the submarine? In this country, as a result of the war, we are developing our own supplies of dye stuffs and potash and seem likely to increase our national wealth accordingly.

Carlyle said that "without tools man is nothing; with tools he is everything."

In the manufacture of pins by hand, it takes 140 hours to manufacture twelve packages of one pound each, while the machine does the same amount of work in one hour and a half.

To make 100 pairs of shoes of a certain grade takes 1,800 hours by hand and 200 hours by machine, and the cost of the machine-made shoes is one-fifth of the hand-made.

When gingham cloth was made by hand it took 5,800 hours to make 500 yards. It takes 72 hours by machine.

In agriculture the same thing is true. A good man with a scythe could formerly reap one acre a day. A good reaper and binder can do it in twenty minutes.

The increased effectiveness, according to United States reports of man labor when aided by the use of machinery, as indicated by these figures, varies from 150 per cent. in some cases to 2,244 per cent. in others.

If it be true that war leads to the increased use and invention of labor-saving machinery, as well as greater individual industry, then there need be no fear of its economic effect. Economic readjustments may, indeed, be necessary, and as soon as they are completed there will be increased prosperity but no cataclysm. It is a law of physics that "action and reaction are always equal in opposite directions." The same rule applies in economics. Were it otherwise, the world would retrograde in time of war, and it doesn't.

What surer guarantee can we have that with the return of peace the productive power of mankind, unleashed and quickened by need and competition, will speedily be manifest in an addition to the world's wealth incredibly beyond precedent?

America at least has no reason to doubt this conclusion, for already we are by far the richest nation in the world and rapidly growing richer while the progress of our competitors is retarded by an epidemic of war madness from which we have thus far been immune.

WHAT I LEARNED AT PLATTSBURG

THAT PHYSICAL FITNESS IS THE GREATEST OF ALL THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF MILITARY EFFICIENCY, AND THAT A SOLDIER, MUCH LESS AN OFFICER, CANNOT BE MADE IN A MONTH EVEN WITH THE MOST VIGOROUS AND THOROUGH TRAINING — A NEW APPRECIATION OF THE STRENUOUS PROFESSION OF THE REGULAR SOLDIER

BY

RALPH W. PAGE

THE American Newspaper is constitutionally incapable of presenting even the first elementary accurate impression of the training camps recently held at Plattsburg Barracks for the benefit of the plain armchair citizen. A peaceful student like myself, recently Number 3 in the second rank of Squad 15, Company G, second battalion of the provisional regiment, finds it quite *impossible to proceed* with the narrative of his impressions and benefits received with the conception presented by the press as a background. I neither saw, nor heard of, nor have anything to relate about the camp I have been reading of in the Sunday editions. To my mind the attitude of the place has been totally and ignorantly distorted and misrepresented in the best of American journalistic style.

To begin with, from the papers one

might suppose this regimental drill—the incessant and thorough routine, the strenuous manœuvres and the dead level of the same uniform and the same diet and the same contempt for all precedents and authorities extant in the world not embodied in the corporal, the sergeant, and the captain of the company—was really only the masquerade of a society function.

The news of this great athletic camp, of this team composed entirely and exclusively of fighters and marchers and sharpshooters in the making, was ridiculously larded with the names of insignificant privates and amateur corporals, whose place in the scheme of things there was that of the novice. There is an obvious parallel between a football team and an army, and between the training of a fullback and a first-rate squad leader. And any graduate of Yale or Princeton, with the vaguest memory of the rigor of the early season and the discipline of the second team, would rightly receive with unmitigated disgust any attempt to report the training of his University eleven which dwelt exclusively on the abortive efforts of the heir apparent of some celebrity in the fifth scrub to drop on the ball without fracturing a rib. No one on earth is concerned with the pedigree or the floral home surroundings of the dirty urchins that charge up and down Soldiers Field in November in preparation for the annual battle with Yale, least of all the head coach. His eyes are directed exclusively to the selection of nerve and stamina, of steady eyes and strong wills and tough muscles and daring dispositions. And the sixty-yard punter is the hero of them all.

Now the most important and fundamental thing about this Plattsburg camp is that from start to finish this was exactly the attitude of the officers and of every private I saw. It is of enormous moment to the people of the United States that the men they have trained and rely upon for the making of their Army, and in the last ditch to revive the Spartan spirit and remold us into the stern stuff our soldiers are made of, should be thorough, efficient, and determined; that from the instant the roll is called the drab of superficial distinctions and the froth of histrionic interest be eliminated.

Now this was the case exactly. I went to Plattsburg as ignorant of military life as I am of celestial life, but with a schoolboy respect and pride in the Army. I came away tired and awakened, but with a firmer and deeper respect for the West Point graduate and the enlisted man. They mean business, and it was a tremendous satisfaction to have been forced to play a real game for all it was worth.

THE DAY'S WORK AT PLATTSBURG

However, the perspective of the reporter and the camera man was probably at its worst with regard to "propaganda." Let us suppose you had been called from a dreamless sleep making careful headway toward about eleven o'clock by the clear tones of a bugle blasting at sunrise, had lined up with your neighbors like a picket fence and proceeded to exercise every limb and crick in your body with the violence of a drowning man, merely as an eye opener—had played valet, chambermaid, bootblack, garbageman, barber, and policeman, eaten your breakfast and cleaned your gun, and like the tortoise put your house and your kitchen and your arms and your bed in a neat bundle on your back and proceeded down the big road at a lively trot by seven-thirty; had strained both your intellect and your tendon of Achilles in fantastic endeavor to obey the crisp final orders of a Czar involving every possible turn and gait, standing, kneeling, crawling, and extending over miles of territory; that you arrived back barely in time for the necessary swim before dinner and the cavalry drill; that one o'clock found your aching legs plastered to a horse with the habits of a fiddler crab, whose action for two hours you were supposed to conform to the vagaries of the commander; and let us suppose, which is the case, that you got back just in time to empty the vaseline can and mop your brow and shoulder your Springfield and tie on your belt and bayonet and march left front into line around and around and around while the band played and the divinity at the head of the column carried conviction that you were an ignoramus and a mollycoddle.

That is a long sentence. But it is no

hypothetical. It is the exact record of the eighth day until mess call. Now I wish to ask this: Suppose, having occupied your day thus, and eaten dinner, and then been lined up again and marched to listen to a lecture on ordnance as terse, accurate, definite, and instructive as a demonstration in calculus—and then some pleasant gentleman had arisen to make some ordinary remarks from the outside world about things in general and "preparedness" and such, wouldn't you be disgusted if your evening paper hailed him as the great card and listening to him as the day's work?

It was a mistake to have any "propaganda" at all. But the confusing of this month of shooting and marching and discipline with a talkfest is a crime.

THE MAKING OF AN OFFICER

The most biased observer would be compelled to admit that the provisional regiment received the most thorough and rigorous possible month's training in the school of the soldier. It is supposed that this training is to fit the men to be officers in volunteer regiments in case of necessity. To the layman engaged in this course it is very plain that the training could not conceivably make a competent officer of any civilian. First of all one must be a soldier. And then be leader of a few men. And at this point the art of war, of the tactician and the strategist, the ordnance officer and the engineer, begins. These branches were quite beyond the possibilities of the instruction provided. But it must be of great interest to thousands of countrymen ignorant of what it is all about to know exactly what a normal recruit in this game did, and what he learned, and what good he received.

To begin with, neither you, nor I, nor the moonshiner in the mountain, nor the moose hunter on the lakes in our normal state could be called of any use whatever as a soldier. I've heard this said. But now I know it. And this is worth knowing. On the other hand, it is not such a complicated thing. In the end it comes down to these things pure and simple—to be physically fit to march any distance; to be able to shoot *straight under the most* terrifying possible circumstances—and to acquire by practice the habit, equal to second nature, of obeying a few fundamental commands. The rest is hardihood, courage, the will to fight, and the spirit of the team.

Now the very essence of this is physical condition. That as a nation we are individually not in such condition was very strikingly shown at the manœuvres. This Plattsburg regiment was recruited largely from athletes—polo and football players, militiamen, big game hunters, and such people, probably far above the average of our citizens. They had a month's very vigorous training. And yet ten miles was the utmost limit they could cover as a body in march in one day. Yet the 30th United States Infantry two days before the amateur war began arrived at camp about 4.30 in the afternoon, the band playing "What the hell do we care," having covered thirty-two miles to a man since reveille.

TEACHING THE ART OF SOLDIERING

Here is the way they set about making soldiers of us: We rolled into camp in a string of automobiles and trucks, with one armored car, heralded far and wide as the only armored car in America, Captain Reynal Bollings, provisional captain, in charge of Captain Smedburg, United States Army expert in the matter of machine guns. We were equipped with nothing but an olive drab uniform, a tin can, called a mess kit, a blanket and a poncho, an automatic and a bolo. We were provided a dozen tents and a box of pegs, and proceeded to combine these into an orderly row of habitations.

We slept soundly, six in a tent. The trumpet called us forth at 5:30, and at 6 o'clock we were lined up in full regalia, and no time wasted in teaching the manual of arms, squad formations, and those details of the parade ground familiar to all. We proceeded at the double quick to the main camp half a mile away for breakfast. This breakfast was excellent and wholesome and quite plain and satisfactory. Then at 7:30 the assembly call brought the infantry companies to attention. Every man belonged to one of these eight

companies. Mine was Company G. This was marched out into the main road, lined up, and the men placed according to sizes and divided into squads of eight. These squads were placed in command of the nearest available recruit who had previous experience. Then for two weeks from 7:30 to 11:30 or 12, with diminishing periods of rest as the days wore on, we struggled through the formal close formation drills, each day with more and more equipment on our backs. I would not exchange the mere exercise for any other experience I have had since college days. Three hours each morning of invigorating action, the ever increasing appearance of form and cohesion to the company, and the spirit of loyalty and friendship for the men in the platoon began to give us a faint glimmer of what a *team* is—of what makes an army corps.

We were then told that these drills were mere one-finger exercises, the calisthenics of the Army, in no way a part of the real game, except in so far as they accustomed men to the feel of a rifle and to respond to the voice of command. Only one thing is of the essence: to be proficient in battle.

Men battle on their stomachs. From that day on we spent our mornings in extended order—which is to say in a long line stretched prone across the landscape, a mountain on our weary backs and the Springfield snapping at the visionary foe. We advanced in squads or platoons at top speed for miles—we crawled over ten thousand acres, and we charged, until dizzy, all over the country. This, my friend, is no easy task. It gives you an abnormal respect for the real fighting man. To advance a mile on your belly, or by rushes, carrying thirty-eight pounds, besides shooting an eight-pound rifle the whole way, after a long march, even when no burst of shrapnel enhances the entertainment, is very strenuous business.

THE DEMOCRACY OF PLATTSBURG

If the average youth throughout the country appreciated in the slightest degree what he would gain in physique, in mental stamina, and in broad democratic association by a month of this citizen soldiery, there would not be officers or pastures or bayonets enough in the country to accommodate them. I never had even a glimmering conception of what this country is, or by whom it was inhabited, until I ranged alongside a haphazard thousand men from its workshops, and sang in close harmony with them of an evening. They were all boys—impulsive, friendly, eager to know and to learn, gregarious and hearty. The uniform is a wonderful leveller. At the end of a long march when the ranks blew in, dirty and tired and unshaven, there was no human being could tell, and none cared to know, who was the millionaire and who was the plumber. The cheerfulest man was the greatest man, and the sturdiest man the leader. And your squad were your comrades, your chance bunkies your ancient pals, and men came to know in a natural and respectful way dozens of others from distant places, with different views and different connections.

And not the least of it is the discovery by the layman of the soldiers of the United States. We were all enlisted men by rank and by costume, and with the enlisted man we fraternized. Many an hour we spent discussing the details of soldiering with the veterans of our little campaigns, and it should be recorded that we were received by the professionals with a friendly and hearty courtesy, were instructed by them on the ranges and in the march and at odd moments—were rendered by them innumerable services for nothing, and treated by them on the manœuvres as comrades and soldiers. This is a very high tribute to their kindness and consideration. Coming from Plattsburg, one no longer views the Army as a mythical and unknown thing, composed of officers and God knows what or who.

Besides a modicum of health and a disturbing sense of ignorance and an enormous respect for the Springfield rifle and the advantage of cover and an understanding of what it requires to become as one of the regulars, not to mention a first lieutenant, we gained a certain amount of definite military information, which it is our duty to impart to our friends at home.

IF I WERE GOING INTO EXPORT TRADE"

FINITE PLAN OF RESEARCH, ORGANIZATION, AND SALESMANSHIP FOR A MANUFACTURER WHO PLANS TO EXTEND HIS MARKET

BY

CHARLES C. CHOPP

I UPPOSE I were the president of a successful manufacturing company that had built up its business entirely within the United States and that I had ıp my mind to see if we could not our business abroad—into South a, for example. What would be per course for me then to pursue?"

question has been asked of me times lately, so that I have had to : carefully my fifteen years' experi- the export field to frame my reply. first thing I should do would be to rom my own organization the man ıd in the highest degree these two ations:

complete knowledge of our busi- ɔth in its technical and manufactur- ects and in its general trade policy. he man whose openness of mind and ty of temper would seem best to ıim to work in foreign fields. Such might very well be the treasurer or resident of the company. He should ly be high in the councils of the ıy and one of the brightest men in it. ıy be just as well to pause here and the reasons why I would choose ın rather than a man who was famil- h the language of the countries in we purposed to extend our trade. ndamental reason underlying this is that your foreign consumer is ıying somebody's knowledge of ı—he is buying the American manu- r's goods. And what he is inter- n is not correct pronunciation or ic phraseology of his own tongue : hard, practical facts about your t. He is going to ask every con- : question about *it—the price of* it, whether or not it suits his climate, if not, how it can be changed, how it differs from your competitor's product and wherein yours is better and why—in other words, he is going to ask the most intimate details about your business and the most technical questions about your processes of manufacture. Mere acquaintance with a language will not supply the place of accurate and intelligent answers to these practical questions. It is easy enough to hire translators and interpreters. It is impossible to hire a complete understanding of your business and its product.

Having selected the treasurer of our company to be its foreign export manager I should direct him to devote as much time as he needed—a year, if necessary—to research work. By this I mean that he should devote his time to correspondence with the Pan American Union, in Washington, D. C., the National Foreign Trade Council, in New York, export managers of allied and competitive manufacturing concerns, the study of the geography, civilization, and economic conditions of the countries we propose to penetrate—in other words, to a comprehensive study of everything that could be found out about foreign trade in general. Armed with this information, I would then have him undertake more specific research work in those countries themselves. Suppose, for example, our company manufactured pianos and that the market we proposed to enter was South America. A personal trip through the Southern republics should be made to learn, first, whether there are enough people in those countries having sufficient means to purchase pianos to make it worth our while to seek them as a market. Second, to determine whether

our pianos are a product for which there is any demand or for which a demand could be created with a reasonable amount of effort. Third, whether their construction is such that they will stand the conditions of service to which they will be subjected, including the effect of climate upon the mechanism and finish. Fourth, if alterations in the standard design of our pianos be necessary, to meet different conditions of service, and whether those alterations can be made without too expensive changes in our factory.

Suppose, for the sake of the argument, we assume that the answers to all these problems are favorable to our entering upon this trade. The export manager by this time has returned to our factory having in his possession the exact facts about where the market is, what changes we must make in our pianos to meet it, and who the principal distributors in the foreign countries are. His task then is to create an organization for gathering orders from this field and for filling them after they are received. This involves, first, a sales force and, second, an office force. Let us consider the sales force first.

Our export manager has now before him the choice of entrusting the salesmanship of our goods in South America to some reputable exporting agency in New York, or to a combination salesman who handles the products of several allied but non-competitive lines, or to salesmen who devote their time exclusively to our concern. The first two methods are better adapted to small lines of manufacture. For ours we will assume that it is desirable to have salesmen who sell our goods exclusively.

This raises the question of the qualifications for a South American salesman. I should say without hesitation that the first qualification of a salesman is his ability to sell goods. Knowledge of a foreign language and knowledge of foreign customs are entirely secondary to the trained habit of persuading other men to exchange their cash for the salesman's product. Salesmanship is the same in all countries and at all times. I have sold paints in practically every country on earth and I have used exactly the same methods and the same arguments in selling to a man in Stockholm that I used in selling to a man in Key West and to a man in Cincinnati. The two primary qualifications of a salesman of anything, anywhere, are that he shall have a good product to sell and that he shall know human nature.

I should expect our export manager, then, to employ the best salesman he could afford (and I may remark in passing that a good salesman is cheap at almost any price and that a cheap salesman is rarely any good). Preferably he should be a man from our own organization but, failing that, the best man outside of it that could be obtained. This man, however, should devote several months of his time to a careful study of every process of our manufacturing work and also take a course in our office so that he will understand our methods of doing business and our office methods of handling orders. His understanding of factory methods is essential for reasons already explained. His understanding of office methods is equally essential because nothing is more important in the field than that a salesman should send the most accurate and explicit details with his orders so that the home office will not have to guess about any part of it.

Assuming now that an adequate sales representation has been gained in South America, what about the office correspondence? Also the question of credits, the problem of proper packing and shipping, and the questions of foreign tariffs, and foreign exchange. A good share of these problems is solved instantly by employing an intelligent young South American to do the routine office work of invoicing, translating letters of inquiry from Spanish into English and the sales manager's replies from English into Spanish, etc. The whole problem of packing, shipping, routing, etc., can be solved at a stroke by consultation with agencies in New York that have specialized in this business for a score of years and who are perfectly familiar with all the transportation facilities, methods of packing, details of custom duties, etc.

But before everything else in importance I place the preliminary research work and the high intelligence of the manager, and his familiarity with the business.

FOUR SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PROSPECTIVE EXPORTER

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

ıe WORLD'S WORK *will publish every month an article dealing with the concrete s of the increase in our export trade. The magazine is led to do this by the evident ead interest shown all over the United States in the possibilities of export trade, specific interest in this subject shown by the readers of this magazine in the answers ular letter sent to a group of subscribers, most of whom are not directly connected nufacturing or exporting, in all parts of the country.*—THE EDITORS.

PLANNING a campaign to obtain port trade many questions as to the visability of undertaking such an terprise naturally arise in the mind the careful manufacturer. He ı know just what trade conditions ıe South American republics, what ng is toward buying goods manu- in the United States, what are the ans to bring his products before lic, and whether he should appoint entative or deal directly with the ıt himself.

der the question "What is the of Spanish-Americans toward goods ı the United States and do they buy them?"

outh American continent is almost : as the North American; vast ins and rivers divide the country ctions whose people are utterly n tastes, characteristics, and even h. Though Spanish is the language najority, Portuguese is spoken in Therefore it should be borne l that in studying the attitude South American countries it is air to classify them under the one panish-Americans;" each nation considered separately. Thus pro-States feeling may be the keynote while the opposite may hold true guay, due, possibly to the same he United States Government. If luct be in the nature of a luxury it lily be seen that there would be no le for it in the region of the Andes ins or in the *sparsely settled dis-*tricts of the Amazon than there would be a market for such luxuries in the Canadian Northwest or Labrador. But the big cities would use these goods just as much as our great metropolises. So that domestic methods in selling apply similarly to foreign fields of endeavor.

A second important point is whether the Latin-American dealer will buy goods unknown to him, and what inducements may be necessary to make him do so.

Once more it is a question of common sense, and the answer is to be found at home. Certain localities will take up new ideas where others will not. Western merchants are more apt to take up new schemes than are the conservative New England ones. So the characteristics of the countries must be studied, but first of all, and this holds good in any locality, the article which is to be sold must offer more advantages in selling than the goods the dealer already carries. No dealer is going to burden himself with an unknown stock unless it can be definitely proved to him that it is to his advantage and profit to do so. And if there is no demand for the article the manufacturer must set to work and coöperate with the dealer in creating a demand. Such a demand, once created, automatically shows the dealer that it is to his advantage to carry such articles, and he determines to keep a sufficient quantity of them on hand to meet the demand. For creating a demand for the product, advertising, in the local papers chiefly, must be indulged in. Then samples must be generously used, and window displays

for the stores, until the public's attention has been aroused.

A third and important point to be raised is the advisability of appointing an exclusive agent to represent a firm, or whether it is preferable to sell directly to merchants themselves.

The class of articles to be sold must decide this question. If the products are automobiles, sewing machines, phonographs, or other high priced articles on which there would be a good profit for the agent himself, then the exclusive agent plan is the better; but on lower priced articles, which are more or less staples, the profit which the agent would make, would be so small that his desire to sell them might be problematical, and it is preferable to sell these directly to the merchant, aiding him, as has been said, with advertising and samples. In the appointment of an exclusive agency careful consideration should be given to the extent of territory over which the agent is supposed to sell. He should not be given sole representation over an area which he could not cover. No sane manufacturer would give a Boston wholesale or retail merchant the agency for the entire United States except on proof of his ability to cover the territory, yet cases are of everyday occurrence in which even the most careful manufacturers give the agency for all Brazil, or all Venezuela, even all South America, to a firm who probably could not sell goods outside of their own city. It is indeed a temptation for a firm who has never made a single sale in Brazil to agree when a dealer in Manaos sends in an order for $500 worth of goods on condition that he be given the exclusive agency for his republic for ten years. The manufacturer, knowing that in the ten years preceding he has never made a sale, and feeling that the order and implied promise of far larger ones is a godsend, seldom bothers to consult his atlas. Even if he does, and of course finds that Manáos is a thousand miles up the Amazon, he blinds himself to the impossibility of the would-be agent's covering the entire country—all because the order cannot be shipped unless the manufacturer agrees to the terms. A short cable offering the agency for Manáos alone would have, no doubt, been the correct solution. The merchant as a rule generally asks for more than he can handle. Furthermore, the agency should begin with a small yearly guarantee but with a promise of increase based on the volume of future sales, an agreement which stimulates the dealer's interest in selling the goods. But in considering the volume of sales made by the various agents the condition and size of the population of the territory which each represents should be given due heed. One could hardly expect an agent in Cohoes to sell as much as in Chicago, nor could one expect the sales of the agent in the little town of Waracapuri in Colombia to equal those of the agent in Santiago, Chile.

The question of samples is a most important one and deserves careful investigation. The sample is a great sales argument, but it must be effectively employed. By means of a sample a dealer can easily test and determine the merits of a product and its value to him in handling it. But the sample is no magician's wand to turn a rabbit into a gold watch or an inferior product into a superior one, as some manufacturers seem to think. Its chief value lies in the fact that it demonstrates at once the qualities of an article which make it superior to its competitors, or else it calls attention to some new convenience in size or shape of package. And in sending a sample specific reference should be made to the particular points of advantage of the product and not to the whole.

Furthermore, the size of the sample should not be too small. One manufacturer of food products complained bitterly that his miniature samples were money wasted, for although he had sold goods to a number of dealers in South America and supplied them with samples for gratuitous distribution he had not received a second order. Investigation proved that the smallness of the sample was the reason for the failure. The remedy was the use of a full sized package instead of the miniature sample.

However, if a manufacturer desires to introduce goods which are of such a type that time alone can prove their advantages, it is money wasted to distribute samples; instead, advertising, testimonials, and technical arguments should be used.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

ELECTRIC BLUE PRINTING MACHINE

A BLUE printing machine, designed for economy, that will print continuous rolls or separately cut sheets, is a recent device that is finding favor among draughtsmen. The paper, traveling with the feeding belt on an incline with the tracing, is carried to the feed roller and around the printing cylinder, in which is mounted the lighting apparatus. The blue print paper is then delivered to the light-tight storage compartment and the tracing returned to the operator. Any length of blue print can be made, from two to forty-eight inches in width.

AN AUTOMATIC MACHINE FOR MAKING BLUE PRINTS

The machine is automatic. The only work required is that of placing the tracing and the blue print paper on the continuous traveling belt. There is no need of working in a darkened room, as the light-proof compartments take its place.

DIGGING POTATOES WITH POWER

A MECHANICAL potato digger has been invented for use in large potato fields where scientific harvesting methods are required. It is drawn by horses and operated by a light-weight, 4 horse-power gasolene engine. This machine lifts out the roots and loose potatoes, separates the clinging potatoes from the dried vines, and deposits the potatoes in crates.

A POTATO HARVESTER

That grubs the potatoes, separates them from the vines, and deposits them in crates. The photograph has been *retouched to emphasize* the salient parts of the machine

WIRELESS TELEPHONES FOR TRAINS
The wireless laboratory of one of the great Western railroads. How the wires are coupled between cars

A NOVEL EXPERIMENT IN WIRELESS TELEPHONY

AT THE Omaha headquarters of one of the great Western railroads experiments in wireless telephony on trains have been conducted with a view to perfecting the system so that communication may be established with trains at any time. Messages have been received by operators on trains employing the ribs of an ordinary umbrella as antennæ and making connections by means of the high resistance of the human body. In the wireless laboratory illustrated herewith the six blocks represent cars. The method employed in coupling the wires between cars is also shown. It is confidently expected that the system will soon be perfected.

AN UMBRELLA ANTENNA
Operator receiving a wireless message through *the ribs of an umbrella*

FORESTALLING THE CARPENTER

IN California, where the majority of bungalows are built without basements, it is sometimes more convenient for the plumber to lay the necessary pipes before the floor is laid. The illustration shows such a case in which the plumbing work was done for a ten-fixture installation as soon as the foundations were laid and before any carpentry had been done. This system, however, cannot be successfully employed in districts where the houses are built with basements.

PLUMBING BEFORE CARPENTRY
Installing the plumbing system of a house before construction has been started on it

NEW FOLDING BUNKS FOR WORK CARS
consist of a canvas sheet stretched upon metal tubes and can be folded back out of the way

TARY BEDS FOR WORK CARS

HE ordinary bunk in a railroad maintenance "Pullman" is the antithesis of the sanitary, collapsible own in the photograph above. A sheet is stretched on a frame of tubing suspended by four springs hains attached to the ceiling. There lace for dust, dirt, or vermin.

chain at each corner of the canvas fastened independently to the ceiling the floor. By means of a small near the lower end and an eccentric lever each chain is given an initial tension sufficient to keep it firmly in position.

TESTING ARC LAMPS
ice of an electric company for testing street lamps on the roof of their plant

A NOVEL METHOD OF TESTING ARC LAMPS

IN order to test street arc lamps under actual service conditions an outdoor rack and a portable integrating sphere have been assembled on the roof of an electrical laboratory in New York.

The rack accommodates eighteen series lamps, and in making mean spherical candle-power tests each lamp is lowered into the forty-inch integrating sphere, the accuracy of which was verified by three other standard methods. When this sphere is not being used it is rolled into the compartment erected just back of the rack.

COMPACT AND SANITARY
Replacing the offensive, germ-laden bunk of earlier days

BENDING PIPES

THE pipes or tubing shown in the accompanying photograph were all bent on a recently invented machine. They range from one to six inches in diameter, the radii of the bends being from three inches to three feet. The time for making these bends varied from one half to two and one-half minutes. Some of these bends, done by hand, would have required a gang of men, gas or fuel of some kind, and several hours of labor, so that in the saving of expense this machine pays for itself in a short time.

A 5½-horse-power electric motor drives the machine, and it operates on any shape of pipe or tubing, and makes any shape or style of bend.

PIPES BENT INTO VARIOUS SHAPES

THE TELEPHONE METER

An inexpensive machine for ascertaining the length of telephone calls

TIMING TOLL CALLS

A SIMPLE, inexpensive machine for timing toll calls has recently appeared. When a connection is made the telephone operator starts the meter recording by moving to the right the lever at the top. Moving this lever to the left instantly stops the indicator, showing the exact time which has elapsed in minutes and seconds. The meter is placed upon the keyboard within convenient reach of the telephone operator, who can tell at a glance the length of a call.

A PIPE-BENDING MACHINE

By means of which a pipe can be bent to any desired shape in a few minutes

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. BRAND WHITLOCK

UNITED STATES MINISTER TO BELGIUM, WHO MAINTAINED HIS POST IN THAT CONQUERED *COUNTRY AND WHO* MADE POSSIBLE THE WORK OF THE BELGIAN RELIEF COMMISSION

THE
WORLD'S WORK

DECEMBER, 1915

VOLUME XXXI NUMBER 2

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE condition of our National Treasury's expenditures is at last crystallizing the question, Shall we change the government of the United States? Shall we abolish the pork barrel and substitute a budget and make the President responsible for the budget? The public is beginning to realize that not only national defense but almost every other national activity is dependent for efficiency upon a change in our system of governmental expenditures.

The Wilson Administration has already successfully handled certain great problems that have acutely vexed the statesmen of this country since the Civil War. It has placed the currency and banking system on a sound and scientific basis for the first time since the Civil War. The Administration has introduced an income tax that will remain indefinitely a part of our fiscal system. It has created a trade commission, which, it is hoped, will do much to solve the trust question. At the forthcoming session Congress will give the Nation more protection on land and sea than it has ever enjoyed in peace times. After these achievements the Wilson Administration can logically undertake a reform that concerns even more fundamentally the national welfare—the creation, out of the present *disorganized and incoherent* administrative activities, of something in the nature of centralized, responsible government.

The first step in this reform is the adoption of a budget system of expenditures. A committee of Congress, headed by Mr. Swagar Sherley, of Kentucky, has been working for several months preparing a tentative plan. President Wilson is coöperating with this committee. The system adopted for presentation to Congress, therefore, will represent the best ideas of both the legislative and executive departments.

Elsewhere in this magazine Mr. Burton J. Hendrick traces the origin and growth of the organized wastefulness which so much needs reform. Not only Congressmen, but department heads and bureaus, are tainted by the pork barrel. The Nation was greatly shocked by the extravagance and almost criminal carelessness of the last Congress in appropriating about $60,000,000 for river and harbor improvements. But we ignored the fact that recommendations for such improvements, as they came from the War Department, called for appropriations of not far from $100,000,000. It is time for a change in our government, and the change must come or else the government will break down under our increasing necessity of being an efficient nation.

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THE NEW PREMIER OF FRANCE

MR. ARISTIDE BRIAND, THE HEAD OF THE NEW COALITION CABINET OF FRANCE, FORMED *OCTOBER 29TH.* "THE CENTRAL POWERS," SAID MR. BRIAND TO THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, *"MAY POSTPONE DEFEAT BUT THEY* CANNOT PREVENT IT. . . . WE ARE DECIDED TO GO ON *TO THE END. WE HAVE THE* WILL TO VANQUISH"

GEN. JOSEPH S. GALLIÉNI

WHO SUCCEEDS A CIVILIAN AS MINISTER OF WAR IN THE NEW FRENCH CABINET. AN ASTE OF GENERAL JOFFRE IN THE REJUVENATION OF THE FRENCH ARMY, WHOSE APPOINTT INSURES THE COÖPERATION OF THE ARMY AND THE GOVERNMENT

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MR. EDUARDO SUAREZ-MUJICA

THE CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, WHO WILL PRESIDE AT THE FORTHCOMING SECOND PAN-AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS, WHICH WILL BE HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C., BEGINNING DECEMBER 27TH

MR. CLAUDE KITCHIN

RESENTATIVE FROM NORTH CAROLINA, WHO, SUCCEEDING MR. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD
RMAN OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, BECOMES THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER IN
SE OF REPRESENTATIVES *IN THE COMING* SESSION OF CONGRESS THIS MONTH

[See page 136]

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GEN. VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO, WHO WAS RECOGNIZED ON OCTOBER 19TH BY THE UNITED STATES AND SIX LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS, WHICH LEND *HIM THEIR SUPPORT IN HIS* TASK OF THE PACIFICATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF MEXICO

CARRANZA

E conference of the Latin-merican Powers and the United tates have recognized Carranza as of the Provisional Government of The United States has put an on arms against all other factions. ve committed ourselves, then, to 's success.

t task is to defeat and disperse all ned forces in the Republic. In he has two advantages that he hitherto had: the recognition of ountries, besides giving him an e in arms, is likely also to give dvantage in men and officers, for and file of Mexican soldiers are tuated by gain, and there is little e made unless one is on the win-

ese very men who are the First eatest help in the field are likely greatest hindrance in government. it office (as has been the custom ntry) for the opportunity office et rich. And their hold upon the es them doubly difficult to dis-

areer so far Carranza has shown ties which may help him in his of pacification and reconstruc-esty and stubbornness. Unlike is followers he is not in the revolu-hat can be got out of it, though y sometimes makes him seem self-seeker. He has stubbornly d his authority as First Chief nstitutionalist Party both against Mexican factions and in his deal-the United States.

yond stubbornness and honesty e he has shown few qualities to nfidence in his ability to rejuven-co. He has not himself shown eat military or administrative Nor has he gathered about him a ly able group of men.

ly leader of any of who has character o make an attempt nt. His stubborn to be chosen who *the fighting fac-*

tions at last won him the opportunity he has been striving for.

If he succeeds with the help of foreign recognition, Mexico will resume its progress with the great advantage of having worked out its salvation without outside intervention. The United States will also have the great advantage of not having intervened and, therefore, of not having reawakened the fears of our neighbors who have sometimes suspected us of wanting to use their misfortunes as a pretext to acquire territory. And any fair-minded foreigner should give us much credit, for we have had an elastic patience, and we have suffered much.

Despite our losses there is in this country an ardent hope that Carranza will succeed, and there is every disposition to help him. If he could accept the disinterestedness of the United States as it is, he could not only count on the help of formal recognition but also on the disinterested help of private agencies in relief work, in education, and in medicine. He could turn toward Mexico such agencies as have done incalculable good in Egypt, Turkey, China, Belgium, Servia, and in many other countries of the world.

II

General Carranza's plan of reconstruction, as outlined in an interview in the New York *Sun*, is more concrete, practical, and moderate than any previous programme that has appeared from that country. It deals straightforwardly with immediate questions without the usual indulgence in grandiloquent generalities.

The most important item in his programme is his agrarian policy. He intends to sell the land now in the Government's hands, or that shall come into its hands, in small lots to the peons, presumably at nominal prices. The Government will unquestionably acquire much land, because the plan is to take over the great estates unless they pay the back taxes which the Constitutionalists believe the estates have evaded.

"We wish foreign capital," the First Chief is quoted as saying, "but we will give not one special privilege, not one."

If that rule is adhered to, it will not only

save Mexico a vast amount of trouble but the United States as well, for one of the most dangerous elements in the Mexican situation has been the special privileges of various large foreign corporations.

The *Sun's* interviewer suggested that there was a feeling that the First Chief resorted to capital punishment too freely

> "Ah," he said vehemently, "political crimes, you say. The military chief who burns towns is not committing a political crime. The traitors who murdered Madero in cold blood were not guilty of political crimes. The men who blow up trains and slay, not soldiers, but civilians, women and children, they commit no political crimes. Those men are murderers, their crime, plain murder. Their blood deeds are notorious and I placed them beyond the pale of the law. If captured, every one is subject to execution."
>
> "Does that include Villa and his chiefs?"
>
> "It includes no one especially, but all who are responsible for the men who served fairly as soldiers, even as officers, and were not responsible for these heinous crimes, there is amnesty, and many have already come in."

These views constitute at least a concrete and definite policy. They are consistent with the ideals which started the revolution against Diaz.

In his effort to put such a programme into execution fairly Carranza will have the best wishes of the United States governmentally and otherwise; and if he wants it he can unquestionably count upon American coöperation.

President Wilson voiced the feeling of the United States when, in his Manhattan Club speech, he said:

> Our ambition . . . all the world has knowledge of. It is not only to be free and prosperous ourselves, but also to be the friend and thoughtful partisan of those who are free or who desire freedom the world over. If we have had aggressive purposes and covetous ambitions, they were the fruit of our thoughtless youth as a nation and we have put them aside. We shall, I confidently believe, never again take another foot of territory by conquest. We shall never in any circumstances seek to make an independent people subject to our dominion; because we believe, we passionately believe, in the right of every people to choose *their own allegiance and be* free of masters *altogether.*

AFTER THE WAR?

THE end of war and a means to bring about permanent peace! It is perhaps the question which most touches the minds of those people who look forward hopefully to the progress of civilization.

In the United States and in England there is a well organized movement to promote an agreement between all the great nations to apply their economic, military, and naval pressure against any country that begins a war. Such an agreement implies a kind of world congress—a congress which would have no military forces of its own but which would call upon the forces of its constituent members.

This is certainly the most practical suggestion that has yet come forth from the well-nigh universal desire for an added safeguard against war. But this agency, even if it is established, will not end wars. There is no way in which to insure that the member nations will live up to their obligations to the league. A nation that can defy as many neighbors as successfully as Germany has (or as an efficient Russia could) might be able to defy the league equally successfully. A spread of democracy might reduce the chances of one nation setting out to conquer the world, but the spread of democracy is slow.

Moreover, a league that has no military forces of its own but which relies on the forces of its members will not be efficient in war. The Continental Congress was just such a league of states, and it was superseded by our present Government chiefly because of its inefficiency, which grew out of its inability to force the different states to fulfil their obligations.

Yet the Continental Congress, with all its deficiencies, was better than the chaos which preceded it, and it led to better things after its demise. Similarly, a league to enforce peace would bring into a war against the aggressor many states that under present conditions remain neutral and would, therefore, make the risk of beginning a war even greater than it is now.

Such a league would affect the United States in some ways more than any other

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

So far in our history we have
d tremendous responsibilities in
estern Hemisphere and taken as
s possible elsewhere. If we live up
responsibilities we have assumed,
ll be amply fulfilling our duties in
rld. Yet if we do this and nothing
re cannot have a full membership
gue to enforce peace, for our tradi-
against meddling in European mat-
any reason. Moreover, if there
league to enforce peace, with the
orld as its province, it could hardly
as the peculiar rights in the Western
here which the Monroe Doctrine
If this plan for an international
s should mature the United States
e faced with one of the great deci-
its history. It is time that all
ans took a keener interest in our
relations, for it is not safe for a
with as little public interest as we
d in the past to ask a Government
ulate a foreign policy—particularly
s like these. Our examination in
relations is already under way.

DIRTY LINEN OF DEMOCRACIES

HE dirty linen of democracies is
always washed in public and in
times of stress particularly it is
ut in full view and attention is
usly called to it.
ngland one cabinet crisis follows
. The bungling of the attack on
danelles is hawked abroad. Kitch-
bility is belittled by one party and
by another. The early failure to pro-
h explosives is known to every one.
lure of the Allied diplomacy in the
s is heralded over the world by the
press. On every street corner and
y club in London the war is fought
unsparing critics. In France, too,
crises appear periodically. There,
ry move by those in authority is
rankness. It is the
t was particularly
ar.
e in autocracies.
sm in *Germany.*
tarted into Ger-

many as the Germans started into France and the public had believed, as the German public believed, that in a few weeks the enemy's army would be destroyed and his capital captured, and these things had not come to pass, there would have been a burst of criticism that would not have been stopped even by the splendor of what was achieved.

If the French had such a fleet as the Germans have, bottled up in their harbors, with their commerce killed and their submarine attack frustrated, there would be a cabinet crisis and the Minister of Marine would probably resign.

This might not do the navy any good but would keep up the spirits of the people, for with each change they look forward to the future with renewed hope. Sometimes they are right and sometimes they are wrong. When they are wrong they try again. It is not, perhaps, a model system for getting things done, but people are very wrong who believe that the blatant display of the dirty linen of democracies spells discouragement. Democracies are very hard to discourage, for they have an infinite number of remedies.

Autocracies, on the other hand, which tell their subjects what they shall think as well as what they shall do, can count upon such a marvelous unanimity as the Germans have so far shown as long as all goes well. But if events shake the people's faith and they cannot think what they are told to think, they are left at sea with no recourse to turn to.

Yet despite constant and heavy losses, the ruin of her trade, and high prices for food, the German Government can still show successes to hold the public confidence. The German papers may ask why the Allies do not ask for peace after so many German victories, and Maximilian Harden may complain of British stubbornness in not acknowledging defeat, but this is not immediately significant in the face of the record of the German armies. Everywhere but at sea Germany has been successful. Belgium, Poland, Servia—the German armies have conquered three kingdoms and taken a part of France. They convinced Bulgaria of their ultimate triumph, opened a way to Constantinople, and so

impressed the Greeks and Roumanians that they did not join the Allies when the Bulgars joined Germany.

THE PRINCES AGAINST THE PEOPLE

IN GREECE the popular hero, Venizelos, is against Germany. King Constantine, the hereditary ruler, is for Germany. Bulgaria joined the Central Empires more because Ferdinand wished it than because the Bulgarian people wished it. The Austrian Government states that King Emmanuel entered the war against Italy's former allies because he was forced to by the populace. It is certain that the Italian public is more friendly to France and England than to Germany and Austria. In Sweden, the democratic elements are pro-Ally, the military pro-German. Despite the fact that autocratic Russia is on the Allied side, the voice of the people practically the world over is against Germany, for everywhere men recognize that the Prussian system is the greatest menace to the existence of democratic civilization. Equally clearly the several hereditary rulers realize that if the Hohenzollerns should be subjected to the will of the people they, too, would soon come under the popular yoke. Even the Czar of Russia is leading his armies against the hereditary power of himself and his descendants, for if the Hohenzollerns were defeated and democracy ruled in Germany it would add tremendously to the rising power of the people in the Empire of the Romanoffs.

It becomes plainer every day that the war is a struggle for democracy and a test of the ability of democracies to survive.

ATROCITIES AND ASININITIES

THE shooting of the English Red Cross nurse, Miss Edith Cavell, for helping British prisoners to escape; the continuing Zeppelin raids on London, which kill non-combatants; the beginning of Austrian bomb-dropping on Venice; the Turkish massacres of the Armenians—these continue to prejudice neutral world against Germany and all her works. And among her enemies these things breed a spirit of revenge far keener than any enmity developed by a fair fight. They breed a feeling that is against any settlement by compromise, a bitterness that is out of all proportion to the number of people involved.

If Germany feels sure of ultimate victory, it is folly for her to stimulate her enemies to the last possible effort by making them expect neither humanity nor generosity when they surrender. If Germany does not feel sure of complete victory, she can look forward confidently to seeing her asinine atrocities chalked up heavily against her and her allies on the day of settlement.

Not the least of the German asininities are the continuing bomb and incendiary conspiracies which are discovered here.

No one knows exactly what connection the German Government has with the incendiaries and bomb makers in this country who are trying to destroy munitions and munition ships leaving our ports. But these attempts are too frequent not to be carefully planned. They are all in Germany's interest. It hardly seems reasonable to believe that carefully planned campaigns which are in Germany's interests are entirely unknown to the German Government.

These bomb and burning conspiracies have not succeeded in appreciably stopping the flow of munitions, but they do increase the sense of resentment which every American has that Germany holds us so cheaply in estimation that she carries on such outrages among us, particularly with the *Lusitania* still not disavowed and still unatoned for.

At the same time certain Germans in this country with American citizenship papers are using the votes thus acquired against the President of the United States because he did not acquiesce in Germany's violation of our rights—which even Germany now admits was unjustifiable. These political efforts of the German-Americans are not spontaneous. They have a histc a very enlightening history, to which An icans with their customary good nat have paid little attention in the pi There is a very interest nse of history fifteen yea

Thayer's "Life and Letters of
lay."

German propaganda has gone on
sted in the past, but there is no rea-
at it should continue. The Presi-
as right in calling upon the Nation
ık and act against those who use
tizenship for alien ends:

nly thing within our own borders that
en us grave concern in recent months
that voices have been raised in America
ng to be the voices of Americans, which
t indeed and in truth American, but
spoke alien sympathies, which came
en who loved other countries better
ey loved America, men who were par-
f other causes than that of America and
gotten that their chief and only allegi-
s to the great Government under which
e. These voices have not been many,
have been very loud and very clamor-
hey have proceeded from a few who
ter and who were grievously misled.
ica has not opened its doors in vain to
d women out of other nations. The
jority of those who have come to take
ge of her hospitality have united their
ith hers as well as their fortunes. These
o speak alien sympathies are not their
ien but are the spokesmen of small
whom it is high time that the Nation
call to a reckoning. The chief thing
y in America in order that she should
he world know that she is prepared to
a her own great position is that the real
f the Nation should sound forth un-
bly and in majestic volume, in the deep
of a common, unhesitating, national
I do not doubt that upon the first
, upon the first opportunity, upon the
finite challenge, that voice will speak
tones which no man can doubt and with
ds which no man dare gainsay or resist.

American Truth Society, a pro-
n organization which has attacked
sident and the United States Gov-
t in the interests of Germany, re-
telegraphed the President that Con-
an Bennet of New York, a Republi-
their efforts as a re-
Government. This
t some embarrass-
a warning to the
her political dif-
sed the coun-

THE NOTE TO GREAT BRITAIN

THIS task of championing the integrity of neutral rights . . . against the lawless conduct of belligerents, arising out of the bitterness of the great conflict which is now wasting Europe, the United States unhesitatingly assumes."

This is the keynote of the long note sent by our State Department to the British Government. The note explains carefully and courteously that we cannot admit that the British blockade is effective or legal; that we cannot acquiesce in a British policy based upon their expediency and not on international law; and that "the United States . . . cannot with complacence suffer further subordination of its rights and interests to the plea that the exceptional geographic position of the enemies of Great Britain requires or justifies oppressive and illegal practices."

The note very accurately states in legal language the prevailing public feeling in the United States.

We believe that our rights are as important when we are at peace as those of any other nation are when it is at war. If we did not believe this, we should have to go to war to get our rights on an equal basis with others. We with all other nations have agreed to accede certain unusual privileges to nations at war, but these privileges are fixed and agreed. They cannot be changed at the fighting nations' convenience. If we did not maintain this position, we should not be honest in our declaration of neutrality and we should lose our self-respect. If the necessity of maintaining this position hurts the Allies and helps Germany, most people in the United States will be sorry, for the majority want the Allies to win; yet this feeling will not deter us from the obvious duty of maintaining our rights against encroachments from whatsoever quarter they come. And this duty would be incumbent on us as a matter of principle whether or not it meant much to us commercially.

But we feel somewhat differently about interference with American commerce to neutral ports to which British commerce goes. If the American people become

convinced that the British Government is allowing British merchants to capture a profitable trade while the British Navy interferes with our merchants in their effort to get this same trade, we will begin to feel that the British blockade is hostile to us as well as to Germany.

No one can help contrasting the tone of this note with the notes sent to Germany. It is as different as is the difference between interfering with trade and murder. There is no threat of the use of force, no hint of our intentions if our point of view is not met. The note by inference at least assumes that the matters it discusses will be amicably settled as did our first note to Germany. It is unlikely that this British correspondence will ever acquire any other tone, for all our diplomatic relations with Great Britain for the last hundred years indicate that we can reach a satisfactory settlement in disputes with that country without the use of force.

THE BALTIC BLOCKADE

THE main submarine effort has passed from the German hands to the British. The submarine blockade of Great Britain is over. The effort to close the Baltic to Germany is under way. The possibilities of submarine blockades are made somewhat clearer by a glance at the means of defense against the undersea boats.

The German U-boat blockade wrought great damage, but it did not seriously interrupt the traffic of the British Isles. It did not interrupt the transport of British troops. It did not reduce the preponderance of the British navy. It failed because the British learned successfully to combat the U-boats. The ceaseless patrol of armored speed launches whose draft is so shallow that a torpedo passes harmlessly under the hull, torpedo boats, destroyers, converted cruisers, the battle cruiser fleet, and occasionally the great battle fleet—these make it dangerous for a submarine to come to the surface anywhere within the German-made war zone. And added to these are innocent looking tramp steamers which are, in reality, armed decoys. Aeroplanes and dirigibles act as scouts, for aircraft visible at a depth of one hundred feet. Nets—both floating and anchored—are scattered through the war zone; and the British harbors are protected by great booms and nets. A Franco-American improvement on the microphone, an instrument which detects the sound of the propeller of a submarine and the direction in which it is traveling, has added to the hazards of the U-boats. And a wireless call from the microphone station can bring the destroyer fleet to the scene.

Perhaps the most remarkable part of the British defense against submarines is that although the Germans had sunk, up to October 14th, according to the British official statement, 183 merchant ships exclusive of fishing boats, not a single transport or supply ship plying between England and France has been touched. The great nets defending the lane from England—the floating indicator nets which bob down when a submarine runs into one of them—the aeroplane and dirigible patrol and other devices have rendered the U-boats impotent in that area. Submarine efficiency depends, perhaps more than in other kinds of fighting, on the skill of the commander, and so many of the German commanders and crews have been lost that the former efforts toward blockading cost more than they are worth.

II

The British Government officially reported that in twelve days twenty German merchant ships were sunk in the Baltic. This is England's effort to cut off the supplies that Germany has been getting from Sweden. Elsewhere in this magazine Mr. D. Thomas Curtin, recently returned from Sweden, explains the importance of this trade and the commercial battles which England and Germany have been fighting on the neutral soil of Sweden. The English submarine blockade, if it were even reasonably successful, might deal an effective blow against Germany. It has an advantage over the German attempt in the North Sea in having Russian ports as bases and neutral waters as temporary havens of refuge. However, both [illegible] and submarines [illegible] the ice in the Ba[illegible]

In the meanwhile German submarines have slipped into the Mediterranean, there to menace the troop ships and commerce of the Allies, and the Allies' submarines slip up the Dardanelles with impunity and destroy the Turkish transports on their way to Gallipoli. Up to October 26th British submarines had sunk 213 vessels of all descriptions in the Sea of Marmora. These activities, however, are meant at best to harass the enemy. They are not main operations in themselves as the German blockade of Great Britain and the British Baltic blockade were intended.

A DISAPPOINTING ELECTION

THE result of the election of November 2d was disappointing. The Democracy of New York City won, which is a misfortune, for the Democracy of New York City is Tammany. The Republicans won in Philadelphia, which is a misfortune, for in Philadelphia the Republican machine is about as bad as Tammany. The draft of the state constitution was defeated in New York by an unprecedented majority and thereby a measure of great governmental progress was lost.

Various people have endeavored to get some consolation out of the election, but it is a rather fruitless effort. The suffragists point with gratification to the great number of votes which they polled. Yet unquestionably they had hoped to carry at least one Eastern state, and their failure to do so cannot help but be a disappointment. Moreover, it is not necessarily true that their next effort will be more successful than this one. In Michigan, for instance, suffrage was beaten by 760 votes in 1912 and by 106,144 in 1913.

The Republican Party can congratulate itself upon the election of a governor of Massachusetts. But even there the Democratic candidate, Governor Walsh, not particularly a strong figure, received more votes than he received in the previous election. There is not much national significance in this result except as it points a way toward a reunion of the Republicans and Progressives. In Massachusetts this reunion can be accomplished without Mr. Roosevelt; nationally, *it cannot.*

The Democratic governors of Maryland and Kentucky have been accepted as good signs for national Democracy, but the pluralities by which they were elected were not large enough to be of any particular comfort to the Administration.

The election proved nothing definite in national politics, except that Mr. Root is not a possible Republican candidate. The defeat in New York of the state constitution, of which he was chief sponsor, made this clear.

REPUBLICAN FAVORITE SONS

THERE are half a dozen "favorite sons" of as many states coquetting with the public in the hope of receiving enough encouragement to announce their candidacy for the Republican nomination for the Presidency—Senators Burton, Borah, Cummins, Weeks, and ex-Vice-President Fairbanks. Some of these are able men, Senators Burton and Borah in particular, but none of them has convinced the public that he has the ability of Justice Hughes or Mr. Root. The very evident feeling of the general public that Justice Hughes and Mr. Root are abler (though the defeat of the constitution in New York proves Mr. Root unavailable) somewhat dampens the enthusiasm for these other candidates. There is, moreover, another even more blighting influence over the whole field of choice for a Republican nominee: Mr. Roosevelt's shadow stretches from Oyster Bay across the whole Republican map. There is little hope of the rehabilitation of the party without his help. There is no hope against his active opposition. If the Republican Party does not name some one acceptable to Mr. Roosevelt, it can look for his active opposition, and, with it, defeat.

As matters stand now it is doubtful that any candidate, even with Mr. Roosevelt's help, could threaten the President's hold upon the public. It seems as sure as such things ever are a year in advance that he will be reëlected. The other practically certain fact is that if the Republicans want to rebuild the party into fighting trim they will have to do it with the advice and consent of Mr. Roosevelt

And unless the Republican organization has a change of heart (if not a change of body) it is not likely to get Mr. Roosevelt's endorsement. It still has too large an element of the old stand-patters who have their faces turned steadfastly back to the days and ways of the McKinley régime, who would like to forget the progress they made under Mr. Roosevelt. And this Mr. Roosevelt will not allow. In the whole situation, as far as personalities go, Mr. Roosevelt has the whip hand.

II

The Republican Party suffers from the lack of a platform as well as from a lack of leadership.

There are four subjects now particularly before the public mind on which the Republicans must present a better programme than the Democrats, or convict the Democrats of failure to carry through their plans. These subjects are:

(1) National defense, (2) the abolition of the pork barrel, (3) economic provision to meet the conditions after the war, and (4) Mexico.

The present Administration is now putting forward measures for national defense far more adequate than any previous Administration ever advocated. If these measures are passed, the defense issue will not be worth much to the Republican Party, for during fifty years of almost unbroken power it left the country unprepared. In the same category is the pork barrel issue. Democrats and Republicans alike indulged in the organized waste of public money. But the Republican Party was the dominant party during the era when this abuse assumed its present gigantic proportions. Only if the Democrats fail to provide a remedy can this issue be used to help a Republican canvass.

The problem of meeting the economic conditions which shall arise after the war is extremely complex. The business interests which usually look to the Republican Party to give them what they want desire a high tariff—on dyestuffs, for example—to protect their prices in the home market, *sidies for American* shipping, and a *l immigration law so t*

labor of Europe may come to do our unskilled tasks.

The Democratic Party, on the other hand, representing the consumer, proposes to check unfair foreign competition by the same laws that operate against unfair domestic competition. But in the shipping question and the immigration question its position is not so clear. Mr. McAdoo wants a Government-financed shipping company. This is an expedient to get ships without a subsidy, but it is not essentially a Democratic expedient. The Democratic House at the last session passed a somewhat stricter immigration law than the one we have now, but the President vetoed it.

But however these items in the programme to meet the changed economic conditions are handled, the Republicans can make capital of them only if the country is not prosperous. If prosperity reigns, whether because or in spite of the Democratic handling of these questions, the Democrats will get the credit for the prosperity.

The President has done the right thing in Mexico but in the wrong way. Unquestionably the majority of Americans want Mexico to attend to itself. That is also the main idea underlying the President's policy toward that country, But the agencies through which the Administration worked fumbled the policy so that it was much misunderstood both in Mexico and at home. And if Carranza cannot improve matters in that unhappy country, the Republicans will be able to make some capital out of the Mexican issue.

Altogether, then, the Republicans can only adopt a policy of watchful waiting for the Democrats to measure up to the tasks before them. If the Democrats fail the failure will spell opportunity for the Republican Party.

III

The most interesting question, th fore, in our political situation from national and from both partizan s points is whether or not the Demo Party continue to

· to maintain his leadership. He
l his leadership by directing the
ge of a great legislative programme.
sily demonstrated that his was the
t personality in Washington. He
n practice, more than any other
President, the theory of responsible
ship by the Chief Executive. He has
wer and the prestige which success
and the confidence and support of
neral public.

the other hand, he has a much smaller
ty in the House of Representatives
ie previously had. There is a new
of the House whose capacity to
nd to follow is still to be tried. The
mme that will come up this winter
like the original programme, called
the party platform. All Demo-
Congressmen are not necessarily
tted to it. The Democratic majority
large enough to warrant dispensing
he Tammany delegation, which is
hat disgruntled over its lack of
age.

notwithstanding these difficulties,
ances seem bright for the passage of
t adequate plan of national defense,
e furtherance of our relations with
America, for the growing prosperity
country, and perhaps for definite
ss against the pork barrel abuse.

LIFYING NATIONAL DEFENSE

HE Army and the Navy both exist
for one purpose: national defense.
Major Charles D. Hine, formerly
rge of the organization work on the
nan and other railroads, suggests that
o departments be consolidated into a
ment of defense:

vigation of the air over both land
a emphasizes the necessity for am-
us central administration. Wire-
ermits the local unification of con-
hich is the essence of military effec-
ss.

e absence of complete local control
bined land and water operations has
caused partial results if not total dis-
It may be safely asserted that it
exception rather than the rule when
um combined efficiency is *obtained*
by coöperating the forces of the Army and the Navy.

"Our Navy Department was segregated from the War Department and given an independent status in the administration of President John Adams by act of Congress approved April 30, 1798. The motive power of ships of that day was wind. Land transportation was confined to men and animals. All extensive communication was by human messenger. The steamship, the railway, the telegraph, the telephone, the automobile, the motor boat, the wireless, the submarine, the airship, the really long-range gun were all unknown in 1798. Their existence in 1915 demands simplicity and directness of method to offset complexity and intricacy of mechanism. Flexibility of personnel alone can give full force to the magic possibilities of scientific material.

"In the same big Government building in Washington are two Secretaries and two sets of officers, who for the main part find their activities running in parallel lines. The Secretaries of War and of the Navy are, from the viewpoint of business administration, performing similar service. The Adjutant General of the Army, as the head of its bureau of personnel, finds his counterpart in the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation. The Quartermaster General of the Army becomes of necessity for the time being a desk officer, as does the Chief of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts in the Navy end of the building. The Chief of Ordnance in the Army and the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance in the Navy study the same immutable laws of matter applied to the resistance of containers, the flight of projectiles, or the composition of explosives. The Surgeon General of the Army and the Surgeon General of the Navy deal with similar hygiene and the same anatomy whether the treatment be given ashore or afloat. The Bureaus of Construction and Repair and of Yards and Docks of the Navy Department, having to do primarily with naval things, find less in common with the Engineering Bureau of the War Department, which plans and constructs fortifications, buildings, dikes, harbors, and jetties. The motive power branch of the Navy,

reau of Steam Engineering, has no complete counterpart in the War Department.

"The fundamental error has been in attempting to reason that because some bureaus of the two departments are admittedly different, therefore all bureaus must be highly segregated. The practical conclusion should be that all bureaus should be consolidated when that is possible, and only such left segregated as may be necessitated by the essentials problem of national defense."

Major Hine has pointed out th suggestion is not altogether new. dent Garfield, when chairman of the mittee on Military Affairs, and G John M. Schofield, when Secretary o both recommended it. But the incr complexity of the machinery of war it more and more necessary to si their management.

THE WISDOM OF INVESTING THROUGH BANKERS

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *will publish in this part of the magazine an arti experiences with investment and the lessons to be drawn therefrom.*

A LITTLE more than a year ago, a man who lives in one of the suburban towns not far from New York City called at the office of the WORLD'S WORK to discuss the advisability of putting a considerable amount of money into the stock of the corporation that controlled the International Correspondence Schools. The man explained that the stock, which was being offered at the time at $125 a share, had been called to his attention by a friend, a former student in the schools, whose subsequent career had been eloquent of the genuine value of the educational work which the institution had long been carrying on. He said he had read a good deal about the institution, that he had become deeply impressed with its purposes and its methods, and that he had decided he would like to become a partner in its laudable and apparently sound enterprise. But he realized that he ran the risk of allowing sentiment to control his judgment in too great a degree, and that when it came to investing hard-earned money in any way whatsoever sentiment could not safely be allowed to enter into the calculations. He wanted to know, therefore, what conclusions were deducible from the facts about the stock as they might be

ed

In the discussion which followed attempt was first made to impress this prospective investor's mind tha manner in which this corporation ma financial statements placed prac insurmountable difficulties in the w determining the status of the sha all accurately. It was suggested example, that the statements of ea as regularly furnished to stockholder much too abbreviated to enable judge whether the business, whi account of its many peculiar phases not logically be compared with any was being carried on with due reg efficiency and economy—and thi withstanding that rather substanti pluses were being shown from year t

It was pointed out that of the co tion's assets, then standing at the i sive total of about $16,000,000, considerable part was made up of sec of certain affiliated corporations which there was an almost comple of essential information, and t assets might conceivably be of li than nominal value.

And, finally, it was explaine corporation had branched c tain lines of activit slightly compatible w

in

ly had to assume what might be "contingent liabilities," which prove serious handicaps. Unfortunno means of measurement of these ies had up to that time been provided. r shortcomings of somewhat difsignificance were called to the r's attention; for instance, the ably active and extensive way in the principals in the corporation's ement had engaged in the promof a number of untried industrial es, in many respects of doubtful e; and, again, the way in which promotion activities were being lly looked upon as affecting the ying structure of the established ises of the group, notwithstanding ere was not in all cases direct interate relationship.

hort, the only conclusion which it l possible to draw from an adly inadequate supply of essential as that, to say the least, purchase stock would involve risks of both and income which the average r could not afford to take.

the case was one of the many in the investment critic is necessarily siderable disadvantage in justifying clusions. At the close of the interhe caller was obviously, at most, no han half convinced that he could safely rely, with possibly slight ations, upon the representations the merits of the stock as made by rporation's officers themselves. In ent, he wrote a letter a short time rd, in which he said he had pura number of the shares, although many as he had originally intended. w weeks ago he wrote again. This s letter was very brief. It said:

u were right. Now I should like to our opinion of the revelations in the d document. What do you think outlook?"

rsity had overtaken the corporation and its complete collapse had been ly averted only by the prompt and, ny respects, public-spirited action part of local bankers, with the tion of a few individual investors. nds had been cut off and *the stock* had declined in value until it was quoted nominally at only about $28 a share.

At their annual meeting about the middle of the year the stockholders had been astounded to learn officially that of the $16,000,000 assets boasted by their corporation only $49,000 was represented by cash—enough to cover scarcely 8 per cent. of the outstanding accounts payable. They determined to find out more about how matters stood, and to that end appointed a committee to dig as deeply as possible into the corporation's affairs. After several months of work, with the aid of expert accountants, this committee of stockholders had summarized its findings in a report which was the document referred to in the investor's letter.

Several reasons were given in the report for the corporation's deplorable condition (aside from those directly pertaining to the war and its effect upon business in this country). A few of the more important may be referred to here. Such were:

(1) The mistake of investing a large amount of capital in a manufacturing enterprise carried on by a company which at the time of the investment had practically no domestic and comparatively little foreign business, and which lacked both means and promise of profitable development; (2) the ill-advised policy of making advances to this and other affiliated enterprises—advances shown on the assets side of the books to have amounted to nearly a million and a half dollars, subject even in more favorable circumstances to very large shrinkage and now practically uncollectable; (3) the lavish expenditure of more than a half million dollars in unnecessarily increasing the organization for producing new business; (4) extravagance in expenses of administration and operation measured by the committee's discovery of means whereby "the business can be conducted efficiently at a saving of at least $400,000 a year"; and (5) the practice of carrying under the head of assets items running into several millions, some at greatly inflated values, and others "unfairly" treated as assets at all, "partially to justify a large surplus account."

This case is outlined here in its essential particulars, not with the idea of making a

merit of the judgment (so fully affirmed by later developments) which might have been the means of saving the man of the story from investment misfortune; nor yet with the idea of suggesting to investors generally any of the short-cuts to the science of accounts as a means of criticising the management of the corporations which bid in one way or another for the use of their surplus capital. It is outlined rather as an especially striking illustration of the sharp and bitter correction which is certain to be administered sooner or later to those who let their capital out at the bidding of any one but a responsible banker.

The corporation in question had long been boastful of its complete independence of the machinery of distribution employed in the legitimate market-place for securities. And for a time it seemed to have made of itself a somewhat notable exception to established rule and practice. But what may have been in the beginning merely financial independence became, as ex ence had amply demonstrated it was apt to become, financial license—an inevitable happened.

Of course, it cannot be denied occasionally the same kind of fiction as discovered in the financing of the e prise referred to here has manifested in the financing of enterprises that had the sponsorship of careful, cons tive banking houses. But such occa for the most part, have served to show the more clearly what it means to investor to deal with bankers who ta pride in their service to clients, r than to become the mere customer o kind of people who frequently masqu as bankers, but who seldom are foun have any lofty idea of the fiduciary pacity of a banking house; or to partic directly in the class of financing th refused and scoffed at by the establi investment firms.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC LEADER CONGRESS

MR. CLAUDE KITCHIN, OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTE WAYS AND MEANS—HIS CAREER AS A POLITICIAN AND HIS VIEWS ON TH NATIONAL ISSUES NOW BEFORE CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

"SIT down, Lenroot! Sit down!" Impatient Joseph Cannon, for many years the powerful Republican Speaker, was thus unceremoniously addressing the intrepid statesman from Wisconsin. The occasion was the debate on the tariff bill of 1912. Mr. Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina, had for several hours been expounding the orthodox Southern Democratic attitude. Mr. Lenroot had been persistent in his interruptions—to his own discomfiture and that of his party.

"Sit down, Lenroot, sit down!" the Speaker insisted. "Don't you know bet-

ter than to interrupt Claude Kitchin when he is talking on the tariff? I you know that every time you inte him you make him stronger? Don't know that every question gives him a place in which to hit the Repub Party? . . . Sit down, Lenroot, sit do

Two things always arouse Mr. Kitc finest oratorical shafts. He was atta both of them on this occasion. The the Republican Party and a high prot tariff. More than most Southern st men, his political career represents a cessful onslaught against the Repub organization. Most Congressmen the South are merely the survi political battles within the Dem

; Mr. Kitchin has actually waged
ot campaigns against formidable Re-
:an hosts. His predecessor in Con-
was a Republican—an exceedingly
man named White; and Republicans,
ırious colors, have represented the
ct off and on since the Civil War.
ı, the old-fashioned Democratic idea
evenue tariff had for years been Mr.
in's choicest possession. His father,
sh-buckling "untamed rebel," as his
ıern fellow-Congressmen called him
ery spirit whom the Baptist Church
expelled for over-indulgence in pro-
—had taught the present leader this
l doctrine from the cradle. Claude
in began reading the *Congressional*
d as a boy of ten—a practice which
ecome an ingrained habit long before
mself descended upon Washington.
Republicanism and anti-protection:
were his great articles of faith; these
ssessions explain his success in Con-
they explain Mr. Cannon's sugges-
that Republican protectionists stop
ing on his toes; they likewise explain
ıct that Mr. Kitchin, as chairman of
Ways and Means Committee and
r of the majority party, occupies the
powerful post of any Democrat in
gislative branch.

elevation emphasizes again the prom-
part Southerners are now playing in
nal affairs. Strangely enough, North
ina, with Mr. Kitchin chairman of
and Means and Mr. Simmons chair-
of the Senate Committee on Finance,
polizes the most influential places
th the upper and the lower chamber.
Nation has become accustomed to
Southern leadership; Mr. Oscar W.
rwood, of Alabama, was chairman of
Committee of Ways and Means from
to 1915.

t Mr. Kitchin represents a different
of Southerner from Mr. Under-
. The touch of the Southland rested
r lightly on the gentleman from Ala-
. His father had been a Unionist
ıerner and a close friend of Lincoln;
himself, though born in the South,
pent his childhood and adolescence
ıtate so far removed from his native
as Minnesota. Consequently his speech contains few traces of the Southern accent. His well tailored appearance suggests, not the cotton planter, but the prosperous Wall Street broker. His city, Birmingham—the "Pittsburg of the South"—is really a piece of Northern industrialism planted near certain coal and iron mines that happened to be located in Alabama. Certain Southern newspapers actually objected to Mr. Underwood in the Baltimore Convention as a Presidential candidate on the ground that he was no fit representative of the South.

Mr. Underwood's successor, however, has no such disqualification. Everything about him, from his genial John Bunny face constantly crinkling into smiles, his loud voice, which, even in private conversation, carries at least a hundred feet, to his broad-brimmed black hat and his huge overcoat, with its skirts trailing in the wind, suggests the fine flavor of the agricultural South. Mr. Kitchin's personality differs from that of Mr. Underwood in the same degree that Scotland Neck differs from Birmingham. Mr. Kitchin's "district," which embraces Halifax County, contains about three Negroes to every two whites. It raises in great abundance, not pig iron, steel rails, and barbed wire, but cotton and peanuts. Perhaps its largest crop is an abundant brood of Kitchins. Mr. Claude has nine brothers and two sisters living; he himself has nine children; one brother raises more peanuts than any one else in the United States; another, after serving several terms in Congress, was more recently elected governor of North Carolina. Kitchins are so numerous that they are sometimes found in the law courts fighting on opposing sides: Claude's first case was defending a man accused of murder in which his own father appeared as prosecutor—and the son won the case. But life in the Kitchin district is simple, Southern; its interests and diversions are essentially agricultural. By ancestry, education, and interests, Mr. Kitchin is the embodiment of this section. His grandfather was a great slave owner; his father fought in the Civil War, though he died, in 1901, entirely reconciled to the result. The present leader's political career represents the tri-

umph of his Southern ideas. Despite his adolescent interest in the *Congressional Record*, he had no early ambition for a Congressional career. Necessity, not ambition, pushed him into his present eminence. It was the necessity that has inspired so many Southerners—the determination of the white element to prevail over the black.

HIS FIGHT ON NEGRO DOMINATION

This struggle assumed a peculiar phase in Mr. Kitchin's district. In the latter 'nineties a faction known locally as the "fusionists" dominated public affairs—and, what was more to the point, filled all the public offices. A combination of Republicans, Populists, and Negroes occupied every position that paid a salary, and even sent a Negro to Congress. Negroes uninterruptedly represented the district from 1880 to 1900. Mr. Claude Kitchin became the leader in a great Caucasian uprising against this coterie. He had already graduated from Wake Forest College, had acquired a comfortable law practice, had married, and started to rear a large family. His ambition was to become, not a political head-liner, but the leader of the Bar in his section, a goal toward which he had already made good progress. His own success, the prominence of his family, the decency and sobriety of his life, his fighting qualities, and the holy enthusiasm he had for white supremacy soon made him the active campaigner in this struggle. The attempt succeeded. Negro domination ended for all time. As already said, there were three Negroes to two white men in the district; that Mr. Kitchin succeeded showed that his methods must at least have been slightly extra-legal. A mathematical count of noses would clearly have left him on the wrong side of the ledger. More than pure mathematics, therefore, decided the election. The present leader of the majority spent part of his time stump speaking, and part nimbly eluding the sheriff, whose pockets were packed with warrants for his arrest. When the campaign ended Mr. Kitchin one day found himself serenely sitting as prisoner in court charged with *intimidating* voters. The judge, a white Republican, held in his hand a copy of the Washington *Post*. This gave the h ing details of a spirited meeting b Mr. Kitchin and the white Rep teacher of a Negro school. Mr. K the correspondent related, had calle this gentleman in the interest of taining public order. The peda activities were making exceedingl blood between white men and blac a consequence, there was a gener that race riots might break out on e day. Mr. Kitchin now informe learned gentleman that the Dem would hold him personally responsi any disturbance. If the Negroes loose, the man responsible for their u said Mr. Kitchin—nodding at the teacher—would probably be lynched he might forestall any chance of such and such punishment falling upon h therefore, Mr. Kitchin advised the teacher to leave town. The latte the hint and safely deposited his pe Raleigh until the crisis had passed. episode, told in great detail in the ington paper, had led to Mr. Ki arrest—and to his position in the pri pen. It was all a plot of political e of course; still, circumstantial evide not lacking.

"Is that a true account of wha pened?" asked the unfriendly judg ing down the newspaper.

"Not quite," replied the culprit says that I met the teacher in 'his Just insert the word 'school' b 'his' and 'house' and the story is as gospel. It fills two columns in the paper, but that's the only mista reporter made."

A QUIET CONGRESSMAN

Nothing in the way of punishm course, was visited upon Mr. Kitchi little thing like this; the episode court room had only one tangible and that was to send him to Cong which ultimately he was to become th powerful member. His popularit came so great that it was unne to make any canvass. Mr. Kitchi the campaign in his office at his law not deigning even to make a single His victory ended the hyphenated

ican régime in his section. From
ir. Kitchin has himself represented
County in Washington.

A GENIAL PERSONALITY

episode might convey the idea
r. Kitchin is a Congressman of the
hod school. This is not the case.
ty has impressed Congress as his
nportant trait. Far from being a
alker, the open chamber has really
ittle of him. Any one seeking light
Kitchin's mentality and opinions
little from a search through the
sional Record. A few set speeches
e, especially on the tariff, Kitchin's
topic; but the amazing revelation
man could reach so high a position
t speak so little. Champ Clark
d that Mr. Kitchin is one of the
debaters in Congress; others have
ibute to his knowledge of public
ns, to his cavalrylike prowess in
on, and to his wit. Most people
e his failure to speak more fre-
to modesty. Mr. Kitchin himself
at he has been affected with a kind
e fright. Thus he declares that
ny occasions he has had the in-
n to get up; many times has he
self possessed of information that
have clarified the situation; but
ed him to his seat. Whenever he
oken, however, he has had good
es; his speeches have abounded in
ogic, and a good natured raillery
s given him the dangerous reputa-
being a humorist. With the ex-
of a speech on Roosevelt—which,
circulated nearly a million copies—
ord contains little to substantiate
tatements. Mr. Kitchin assailed
nt Roosevelt because he had once
d Jefferson Davis as a traitor, be-
n his "Life of Benton," he had said
through the Southern character
an a streak of coarse and brutal
m," because he had written disre-
lly of many of his predecessors, and
, among other things, his published
s contained equivocal remarks on
g that certainly seemed at variance
olonel Roosevelt's subsequent de-
ions of that practice.

For the larger part Mr. Kitchin, oratorically speaking, restrained himself; he was more distinguished as a "cloak room debater" and exercised his influence on legislation in committee. His honesty, intelligence, and sincerity stood uppermost. He did not betray a legislative vice that especially affects his state—a hunger for the Pork Barrel, or, as he calls it, the "Po'k Bar'l." He once voted against a public building bill that granted a post office in his own district. Halifax County contains plenty of creeks, but Mr. Kitchin cannot be prevailed upon to get appropriations to develop them. In this he appears at excellent advantage when compared to his senatorial compeer, Mr. Simmons, who is one of the most diligent pursuers of local appropriations in Congress. Lumber is one of the greatest industries of North Carolina; it testifies to Mr. Kitchin's sincerity that his few speeches were an argument for putting this local industry on the free list. All but two of North Carolina's representatives, of whom Kitchin was one, voted against free lumber.

A DISCIPLE OF BRYAN

Excellent as Mr. Kitchin's record has been, the fact remains that only the peculiarities of the American system have made him the majority leader in the House. He went on Ways and Means in 1911; the retirement or promotion of his Democratic associates have left him the ranking member. No country in which a real parliamentary system exists could present the spectacle we now have at Washington: that of a leader of the dominant forces in the popular branch at variance with the head of the Administration. The change from Underwood to Kitchin is more than a change from a pseudo-Southerner to one of the unadulterated breed; it is a change from an anti-Bryan leader to one who distinctly represents that wing of the party. Mr. Underwood and Mr. Bryan were scarcely on speaking terms. Mr. Bryan had denounced Mr. Underwood as a tool of the Steel Trust of Wall Street; Mr. Underwood had stood up in Congress and called Mr. Bryan a liar, practically in so many words. Temperamentally and by conviction the two men

disliked and distrusted each other. Mr. Kitchin, on the other hand, has always been a Bryan man. He hates liquor, gambling, and other prevailing vices as ferociously as Bryan does himself. Like Bryan, he is a Prohibitionist, though he does not believe in making this a national issue. More startling still, at the present juncture of affairs, Mr. Kitchin has Mr. Bryan's pacifist enthusiasms. He is, like Mr. Bryan, greatly devoted to arbitration. Like Mr. Bryan, he has been against increasing the Army and Navy.

HIS VIEWS ON PREPAREDNESS

So far as the break between Mr. Bryan and the President is concerned, Mr. Kitchin now stands on the President's side. He thinks Bryan made a mistake in resigning and that the President adopted the proper attitude toward Germany. However, he does believe—or does at this writing—that Mr. Wilson has made a great mistake in yielding to the "militarists." An army of 100,000, Mr. Kitchin believes, is large enough for defensive purposes, though he has no particular hostility to volunteer "Continentals." But the proposed increase in the Navy rouses his wrath. It is largely the work, he says, of the munition traffickers and the jingoes. On the Navy Mr. Kitchin asserts that he is especially well informed. He has studied it minutely for many years; he served for a time on the Navy committee. This great question has occupied all his thought in the last few months. It has so preyed upon his mind that he has literally lost a great deal of sleep. It is clearly one of those matters of conscience upon which he feels that he must disagree with his chief. The American people, he says, have been deceived. Congressional agitators and interested persons have persuaded the Nation that it is infinitely weaker than it is. In particular we have been led astray about Germany. Mr. Kitchin declares that the American Navy, as at present constituted, is greatly superior to Germany's, and expresses his willingness to prove his statement at any time. The attempt to demonstrate that we are weaker is, he says, a huge conspiracy engineered by people who are guided *by unworthy motives.* This campaign has misled the President as well people. Mr. Kitchin declares that not opposed to an adequate Navy even willing to build against any except England; but he says that in we already stand second. This vi plains the circumstance that, whi President's programme for defens filling the papers, Mr. Kitchin, the s man of the Administration in Co was giving out interviews opposing

HIS INDEPENDENCE OF THE PRESI

This is the question that make Kitchin's personality and ideas so i ant. Mr. Wilson, more than any predecessors, has stood for the part ership of the Executive. This is conception with him; it is the i preached as a college professor and he successfully practised as gover New Jersey. Many Democratic Co men have not tamely accepted it. still have old-fashioned ideas abo separation of executive and legi functions and the independence o gress. President Wilson's habit dressing Congress at Speaker Clark and his custom of "sending for" trants to discuss legislation have son irritated these men. Mr. Kitchin ally belongs to this class. He admires Mr. Wilson; "he is one of greatest Presidents," he says; altho sat in the chamber in close associati Champ Clark and Oscar Underw championed Mr. Wilson's cause at more from the first. The last however, found Mr. Kitchin assert independence of the White Hous though the heir-apparent to the lead he opposed several of the biggest policies. He was against repeali Panama tolls provision, against th ping Bill, against the war ta Burleson, for the Administration, dance attendance on Mr. Kitchin, attempt to swing him into the Adm tion's camp. Shall we have a Dem leader fighting a Democratic P this winter? Mr. Wilson and Mr. K Washington says, have discussed th tion in friendly terms, and clearly stand each other. There are certai

tions, Mr. Kitchin says, that are matters of principle with him. Upon these he will insist on maintaining his convictions. On all others he will give the President the benefit of the doubt. He accepts the Presidential leadership up to a certain point. That point, he thinks, is defined by the party platform. The President is the leader, even over Congress, so far as carrying out the party will, as expressed in the platform, is concerned. When it comes to new issues, however, his leadership is not so certain. But Mr. Kitchin is willing to accept the Wilson leadership even in these matters, unless they involve a question which is with him a clear matter of conscience.

These conflicting ideas do not augur well for Democratic harmony. The likelihood, however, is that little will be heard of them after Congress assembles. If Mr. Kitchin opposes, we may be sure of one thing—that he does so from worthy motives.

ARE AMERICANS MORE GERMAN THAN ENGLISH?

AND ARE GERMAN-AMERICANS MORE GERMAN THAN AMERICAN?—HOW THE TENACIOUS GERMAN CULTURE (NOT KULTUR) HAS BEEN STEADILY GIVING WAY TO THE AMERICANIZING INFLUENCE OF THE LIFE AROUND THE GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

JAMES MIDDLETON

I am not deceived as to the balance of opinion among the foreign-born citizens of the United States, but I am in a hurry to have an opportunity to have a line-up and let the men who are thinking first of other countries stand on one side—biblically, it should be the left—and all those that are for America, first, last, and all the time, on the other side. . . . I would a great deal rather be beaten than ostracized. I would a great deal rather endure any sort of physical hardship if I might have the affection of my fellow-men. We constantly discipline our fellow-citizens by having an opinion about them. That is the sort of discipline we ought now to administer to everybody who is not to the very core of his heart an American.—Woodrow Wilson.

There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americans. When I refer to hyphenated Americans I do not refer to naturalized Americans. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were naturalized Americans born abroad. But a hyphenated American is not an American at all. . . . For an American citizen to vote as a German-American, an Irish-American, or an English-American is to be a traitor to American institutions, and those hyphenated Americans who terrorize American politicians by threat of the foreign vote are engaged in treason to the American Republic.—Theodore Roosevelt.

PROBABLY no question occupies the American mind to-day more than that of the German-American. Americans are seriously asking whether the hyphen performs a purely descriptive function or whether it stands for disloyalty and possible disunion. Is the German-American a German or an American? Native patriots refuse to believe that he can be both. In case of difficulties with Germany would his sympathies go to his adopted country or to his Fatherland?

Judged simply on the basis of numbers, the question assumes serious proportions. If our citizens of Germanic origin should solidify into a compact and hostile organization, they could make a formidabl

showing. German contributions to our population are very large, though no one knows just how many Germans, or German-Americans, or people of immediate or remote German origin now enjoy American citizenship. The materials for an exact statement do not exist. What, first of all, is a German-American? Students of immigration statistics use this term with considerable elasticity. Many limit it merely to American citizens born in Germany; others stretch it to include native Americans one or both of whose parents started life on the other side; still others apply it generally to all Americans who possess a trace of Germanic origin. On this last basis Charles M. Schwab, Henry C. Frick, John Wanamaker, and Charles T. Yerkes, all descendants of the Palatinate Germans who settled in Pennsylvania long before the Revolutionary War—the famous "Pennsylvania Dutch"—are German-Americans. According to the leading writer of this class, Prof. Emil Mannhardt, we have been laboring under a huge delusion concerning the racial origins of this nation. The dominant trait, most people believe, is British. Not at all, says Professor Mannhardt; the American people are primarily Germanic. He finds that, of the 100,000,000 who make up the American people to-day, about 27,000,000 trace their origin to Germany, whereas only 23,000,000 find their racial roots in the British Isles. Despite the fact that the national traits and general modes of thinking and speaking and of social life are English, this country, in its racial origin, according to Professor Mannhardt, is an outpost of the German Empire.

It is hardly necessary to examine this estimate in detail. The great German statistician, Richard Böckh, has reviewed and disproved Mannhardt's work. In 1775, Professor Böckh finds, there were 225,000 Germans and their descendants in the American colonies. Between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 landed here in the nineteenth century. Using the familiar methods of statisticians, Professor Böckh calculates that there are probably 18,000,000 men, women, and children in the United States who can lay claim to German origin, *either in whole or in part.* There are several millions whose veins contain nothing but German blood and there are many millions more in whom it is considerably diluted. On the same basis, Professor Böckh finds that America shelters 20,000,000 English and nearly 14,000,000 Scotch and Irish people. Americans whose ancestors spoke English, that is, number about 34,000,000; Americans one or more of whose ancestors spoke German, 18,000,000. Any one who studies American immigration figures discovers one surprising fact: that is the large part that England and Scotland played in the immigration of the nineteenth century. Current discussions and agitations make few references to this subject. When we think of immigration, we think of ships packed tightly with Germans, Irish, Swedes, Italians, and, in latter days, with Jews and Slavs. In the eighteenth century our population was overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon in character; that the immigration of the nineteenth century made great additions is a fact we seldom recognize. Yet the Englishmen and Scotchmen who landed here were about as numerous as the Irish, far more numerous than the Scandinavians and Italians, and made a fair second to the Germans. In that period 5,000,000 Germans came, 3,800,000 Irish, 3,000,000 English and Scotch, 1,400,000 Scandinavians, and about 1,000,000 Italians. In addition we received 1,000,000 immigrants from Canada; if we add these to the arrivals from England and Scotland, we have a total of 4,000,000 against 3,800,000 Irish and 5,000,000 Germans. English-speaking immigrants numbered nearly 8,000,000 against 5,000,000 who spoke German. If we add to these the descendants of 4,000,000 English-speaking natives who occupied the Atlantic Coast in Washington's time—and these "native Americans" of a hundred years ago had exceedingly large families—we have reasons enough for the persistence in the United States of the English tongue, English laws, customs, and "culture."

Still, in the larger sense—that larger sense which regards Englishmen themselves as Teutonic—America is a Germanic nation. With the start which the Germanic element has gained, there seems

chance that the Latin, the Slav, or emite will gain a numerical predome-e. Americans who believe in the iority of the civilization of north-rn Europe can, therefore, rest their in patience. And, in the narrower , Germans have made great contribu- to the American population. Next e British Isles, the German Empire ie American Fatherland. German is far more pervasive than most icans suspect. As though subtly ious of racial affinity, it mingles with nglo-American fluid far more readily does that of any other immigrating

There are few Americans who, if scan their family tree carefully, will ind some traces of it; few who have t least some relative who has married the German stock. Just as contem-y Americans have forgotten that Ger-immigration is a movement that has going on in good volume for two hun-years, and has given us such institu-as the county fair, Santa Claus, the tmas tree, the kindergarten, and rye , so have they overlooked the sub-nean stream of Germanism that waters d section of American life. There nany American John Smiths whose tors reached these shores as Johann idt, many Carpenters whose name riginally Zimmermann, and many a r who embarked on his American r as a Schneider. Many important ican families trace their origin to any. Johann Jakob Astor, whose -grandson, William Waldorf, is now ibuting liberally to the cause of the , spoke English with a German ac-

The Vanderbilts are Dutch, which course, Low German. The Have-rs, Leiters, Drexels, and Rhinelanders ng established American families of an origin. Johann Peter Rockefeller, tor of Standard Oil, was born in any in 1682. General Custer, the Indian fighter, was directly des-d from a Hessian general, who, after ng in the Revolution, decided, like nds of his comrades, to stay in the d States. Bayard Taylor was Penn-nia Dutch.

ctically all these families, *however*, belong to the "native American" stock; their ancestors figured in the large German immigration of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the pioneers who came chiefly from the Palatinate, established large communities in Pennsylvania, and, with the Scotch-Irish, played a large part in opening up the Western country. In the main, these Germans were religious refugees, and they form a class quite distinct from the larger German influx of the nineteenth century. This latter immigration, in certain respects the most remarkable in history, divides naturally into two classes: that extending from about 1848 to 1870, and that extending from the latter date to the present time. These two classes represented differences as great as the Germany of 1848 differed from the Germany of the last forty years; the changed character of the Fatherland, indeed, finds its expression in the changed character of the individuals who passed through Castle Garden.

GERMANY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

In 1848 there was really no Germany, except in a geographical sense. The Germans who came in that and succeeding years did not call themselves Germans. They were Bavarians, or Hessians, or Württembergers, or Saxons, or Prussians. They knew no kaiser—they had had merely kings and grand dukes; there was then no German Empire, no German navy, no German colonies, very little German shipping or foreign trade. In "kultur" the lands from which they came had hardly emerged from the feudal period. Taxation and misgovernment robbed the peasant; his wages averaged perhaps thirty cents a day, he lived upon black bread, smeared with goose grease in place of butter, and if he had a small piece of meat on Sunday he belonged to the more prosperous classes. In the early 'fifties, when immigration averaged about 45,000 a year, the condition of these peasants was particularly severe, as there had been failures in the vintages and the potato yield.

It may seem strange that living conditions of this kind should have produced a high grade of immigrants. The fact remains, however, that the Germans who

came over in the 'fifties and 'sixties represented valuable additions to American citizenship. They had a high appreciation of the political and industrial opportunities that awaited them on this side. They were idealists in government, they had loyally supported their princes in crushing Napoleon. In doing this, however, their aim was not to set up again the autocratic political system which Napoleon had overthrown. But this was the practical result. The Congress of Vienna placed all the petty princelings and kings back on their thrones and reëstablished the old absolutisms. This led to the revolutions of 1848; the failure of the political upheavals left the sturdy Southern Germans discontented and caused thousands to emigrate. Large numbers, the most conspicuous of whom was Carl Schurz, were political exiles. These men were republicans; for years after settling here they plotted to set up a republic in Germany. Some regarded themselves merely as sojourners, looking fondly to the time when they could return to a democratized Germany.

TWO CLASSES OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION

A fact of the greatest significance is that these men, for the larger part, were Southern Germans, not Prussians. In 1855 William J. Brownell published carefully collected statistics of the immigration which had flowed into this country up to that time. His figures have the utmost interest. He arranges his newcomers from the Fatherland under two heads: those from "Germany" and those from "Prussia." He found that, from 1819 to 1855, 1,206,087 had come from Germany and 35,995 from Prussia. In 1854 we had received 35,963 immigrants from Germany and only 8,955 from Prussia. This shows clearly that in overwhelming majority our German immigration, up to 1870, came from the southern states—Bavaria, Baden, the Palatinate, Saxony, Württemberg, and certain smaller states; those parts of the present empire which, historians and ethnologists tell us, represent the finer and softer side of the German character. They came from the land of Goethe, Schiller, and Wagner, not from the land of *Bismarck, Moltke, Von Tirpitz,* and Von Hindenburg. And these non-Prussians showed their finer traits in this country. The mass, as already said, were peasants, but there were thousands who belonged to the educated classes, with a large sprinkling of scholars, poets, journalists, and teachers. In certain sections of the Northwest many German colonies excited a mild ridicule among the more homespun American backwoodsmen, who used to call them "Latin farmers." These men established the German-American press upon an intelligent and substantial foundation; they organized the German theatre in certain large cities, and they did a great work in spreading an appreciation of music in this country. Indeed, from practically all viewpoints, these Southern Germans were settlers of the highest class. One characteristic above all others distinguishes a good immigrant from a poor one. It is not a question of illiteracy or worldly possessions. The one preeminent point is this: does he bring his wife and children with him? Southern Italians, Slavs, Greeks, and Asiatics do not do this in appreciable numbers; this means that they are not really settlers and prospective citizens, but merely sojourners. But these mid-century Germans came in families, sometimes in communities. They brought not only their womenfolk and children, but their community clergymen and physicians, their domestic and agricultural implements. They were as truthfully pioneers as were the passengers of the *Mayflower*—as were their own countrymen who came in large numbers a hundred years before.

THE DREAM OF WISCONSIN

Jealous Americanism, it is true, sometimes distrusted them. At times these Germans showed a separatist tendency. They had no great empire at their back, but German "kultur," even sixty years ago, possessed their minds. The most zealous aspired to establish a Deutschtum in the United States; to erect a kind of German Quebec. These enthusiasts selected Wisconsin as a place to found an exclusive German state. It was planned to divert the mass of German immigration here, to establish German as the legal

age, found a German university and an schools, and to make the courts he legislature German. Many even l to create a German-American lit- re. . This, however, proved only a ı. The fact was that life in this ry became so interesting that the ties Germany rapidly loosened. The politi- tuation here interested the new Ger- citizens. Certain Pan-Germans have ı the tendency to rewrite American his- nuch as they have rewritten European y. Just as certain Germans have overed" that Michael Angelo and ı were not Italians but Germans, and Shakespeare "improves" by being lated into German, so other Pan- ans on this side have discovered that ıam Lincoln was a German—his real , they say, was Linkhorn—and that ans really started the anti-slavery ment. Not Garrison, but Karl Fol- a name probably unfamiliar to most icans—was the original abolitionist. gh this view is absurd, the fact re- ; that the Germans early espoused the ıern cause and did much to elect Lin- President. Before the slavery agi- ı became acute, they were, for the part, Democrats—natural worship- ıf the Jeffersonian ideal; as the Union drew closer, however, they went over : Republicans and they fought splen- in the Civil War. Nearly 200,000 ed, and several German generals, the famous of whom were Carl Schurz Franz Sigel, rose to eminence. In these Germans displayed a high grade icanism in every regard: they tilled oil profitably, they educated their en, they early became citizens, they ipated in public life, they fought ally for their new country, and they fraternized and assimilated all the tials of citizenship.

E ERA OF PRUSSIAN IMMIGRATION

the Civil War German immigration ased. About 1871 it started again arge scale. The Austrian and French and the economic losses they caused atherland probably gave the move- its new impetus. In the three years 1872, and 1873, 373,344 arrived at Castle Garden. These Germans represented almost a different race from those who had come earlier. In the first place they came as Germans—not primarily as Bavarians, Saxons, and Prussians; they were the subjects of a new and powerful empire. Their nation had just won an amazing victory. The heavy taxation and militarism that followed had largely forced this new immigration; still the consciousness of their new national importance affected their outlook. Religious and political persecution had inspired the earlier immigration; economic pressure impelled this latest movement. The newcomers after 1870 knew little of revolutions and republicanism; the broad acres of the West offering a homestead to every family on easy terms, and the city markets for skilled labor were the temptations that beckoned them on. They were not idealists—primarily they were seeking the fleshpots. They were hard-headed, practical, enterprising men. They felt that they were giving much to the new country—giving perhaps even more than they received. Pride characterized these immigrants of the 'seventies and 'eighties, just as republican idealism had marked those of the earlier period. Statistics do not tell us how many were Prussians and how many Southern Germans; but the Prussian note was now distinctly heard. "They were mostly of the working class," says Frederick Münch, a German student of the subject, referring to the immigrants of this period, "with far better schooling than the same class of thirty years before. In comparison with the earlier immigrants they were overbearing, dissatisfied with conditions as they found them in their new country, and too well impressed with those they had left at home."

Despite this tendency Deutschtum apparently made little headway. In the decade from 1880 to 1890, 1,450,000 Germans arrived in America. This was the high-water mark in the German immigration. The rapidity with which Americanism absorbed all these Teutons was a constant grievance to the Fatherland.

Recent manifestations have indicated that our German-Americans still have a certain allegiance to the Fatherland; pre-

vious to the war, however, the barriers to assimilation were rapidly breaking down. The greatest of these, of course, was the language. Though nearly one fourth of our white population, either partly or wholly, is of German stock, the German language has shown little vitality in its struggle with the English. The Germans established German-speaking private schools, German theatres, German newspapers, and German book stores. German immigrants invariably brought up their children to speak the German tongue. They made as conscientious attempts to preserve their language as the French in Canada did to preserve theirs. But they have not succeeded so well. The magic of American life has defeated German attempts at separatism. German writers refer sadly to the fact that German children learn to look down upon German customs and the German speech. They refuse to be Teutonized; they regard it as "high time" to resemble the native stock. Hence they dislike the German schools and insist on attending the real American institutions. Consequently their English speech is undistinguishable from that of the "old stock." German-American homes provide a queer kind of polyglot. The old folks will address questions in German to the young people, who usually answer in English, both sides understanding. Strangely enough, German-Americans sometimes seem ashamed of knowing German—unconsciously they resent any imputation that they are at all different from other Americans. Consequently, until the outbreak of war, Teutonism was dying out. German newspapers were losing circulation and advertising. German theatres were losing patronage and deteriorating in artistic quality. German schools were struggling for existence and German bookstores were going bankrupt. Some Lutheran churches were even using English in their services.

During the last fifteen years certain influences have worked hard to preserve Teutonism in this country. Pan-Germanism has not overlooked the presence here of many million Germans. The building of the German fleet, the rise of German industry and the German mercantile marine, the great progress of Germany in science, manufacturing, and the industrial arts, the determination of the Kaiser to extend German influence throughout the world—all this has reacted upon Germans in this country, especially those who have arrived in recent years. The immigration that followed 1870, as already described, represented different ideals from that of earlier years and presented a more fruitful soil for German agitators. Such agitators there have been in abundance.

PAN-GERMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES?

In 1901 the German-American Alliance was founded. The date is significant; it is the period when the German Navy League started its activities, when Anglophobia became a ruling German passion, when the Kaiser became especially outspoken in demanding his place in the sun. It is difficult to believe that the German-American Alliance was not an outpost of Pan-Germanism in this country. In seventy-five years German-Americans had founded an endless number of organizations—singing societies, turnvereins, shooting clubs, and the like. These associations were entirely harmless; their general purpose was to promote social intercourse and give exercise to well known German tastes. The purpose of the German Alliance is to federate all these societies—to organize them into a unit for the glory of Germany. It seeks to have German taught in the public schools, "it recommends the establishment of educational associations as centres for fostering the German language and literature, a systematic investigation into the part played by Germans in the development of their adopted country, in war as well as in peace, and in all fields of German-American activity from the earliest times on, as a basis for commencing and combining a German-American history." Its constitution keeps it aloof from party politics; but it "reserves the right to defend its principles vigorously, also in the field of politics, should they in any manner be endangered." Clearly, therefore, the German-American Alliance aspires to be a political organization for the perpetuation of Germanism in the United States. Its national

ident, Mr. C. J. Hexamer, has noisily
ocated the German cause in recent
ths. The president of the New York
e Alliance, Mr. Alphonse G. Koelble,
recently quoted in the newspapers—
rrectly, he afterward said—as advising
nans not to fight for the United States
ne event of war with Germany. The
rman of the New York Alliance legisla-
committee, Mr. Henry Weissman,
y disgraced himself and his organiza-
by denouncing President Wilson as "a
ical bankrupt," because of his German
y.

THE WAR AND TEUTONISM

he Alliance claims to have 2,000,000
bers; to what extent the member-
is perfunctory, and to what extent it
esents undying allegiance to the Kaiser,
ot apparent. Certainly the war has
e many Americans remember a fact
had nearly forgotten—that they them-
s, or their immediate ancestors, were
Germany. It has put new life into
German newspapers here, which have
tly increased in circulation. It has
ired many agitations and statements
have angered that vast majority of
ricans who have lost all traces of their
nal origin. The present year has cer-
y witnessed a revival of Teutonism.
in the opinion of most observers, this
esents merely a national sympathy of
nans with the German cause, and does
fundamentally affect their American
iance. As history has shown, the
ts of German-American alliances are
icial—they cannot change certain fun-
ental facts. These facts are that Ger-
s, in the second generation, refuse to
k German, preferring the American
n, that they will not patronize Ger-
schools or German theatres, and care
for German newspapers and books.
nan girls, in the second generation,
a decided tendency to marry
ricans of native stock; a few years
merican public schools and Amer-
social life makes the *hausfrau*
r unattractive. The Germans have
r affiliated as a mass with any party;
is no reason to think that they will.
These facts reach the *heart of the*
problem; a war may disturb things temporarily, but not permanently. It is absurd to suppose that twelve to seventeen million people of Germanic stock, most of whom have never seen Germany, who speak precisely the same kind of English as their fellow citizens and are a product of the same institutions, can be organized in a cohort for the glory of the Kaiser. Human nature does not function that way.

This does not mean that certain elements in our German population have not behaved in reprehensible fashion. The conduct of the German-American press has been little less than infamous. In the negotiations between the United States and Germany over submarine warfare they have invariably taken the German side, have justified the barbarity of the Fatherland, and lost no chance to sneer at American pretensions. The editors of many of these are probably honest; numerous other editors, however, such as George Sylvester Viereck and Henry Braun, have been caught sidling up to the German Treasury with their hands behind their backs. Professional Germanism and, in a few cases, professional Irishism have joined hands in an attempt to utilize the United States as an instrument for the destruction of England. These performances, indeed, represent the professional attitude. But the orator always attracts more attention than the millions whose business is not to stir up trouble but to earn a living and educate their children. Perhaps these newly arrived Pan-Germans whose business is to agitate really believe that they can organize the "German vote" and defeat President Wilson's re-election. That they have such hopes is evidenced by the meeting of representatives of forty-six German-American organizations at Worcester, Mass., in October. These societies are all within Massachusetts, and their representatives voted a resolution declaring their belief in "the desirability of unitedly discussing the question of gubernatorial candidates," and added, "we are firmly opposed to the re-election of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States." The prospect of success in these efforts, however, is not disturbing.

ITALY AND THE GREAT WAR

I. A SPIRITUAL EXERCISE IN "SACRED EGOISM"

HOW ITALY CUT THE GORDIAN KNOT—NATIONAL HONOR IMPERILLED BY NATIONAL INTEREST—ALBANIA AND THE ADRIATIC—ITALY FACE TO FACE WITH RUSSIA AND THE SERBS—COLLISION—PAN-SERBISM AND ITALIAN IMPERIALISM

BY

W. MORTON FULLERTON

MR. FULLERTON is an American who has lived abroad for many years under circumstances that have given him a peculiarly intimate and confidential relation to European politics. As an associate of the late M. de Blowitz in the Paris office of the London *Times*, and later as M. de Blowitz's successor as correspondent there, Mr. Fullerton had extraordinary opportunities to study international affairs through personal acquaintance with the foremost statesmen. It was during his service with the *Times* that Mr. Fullerton outlined the formation of the *entente* between England and France a year before it occurred. His book, "Problems of Power," published in 1913, clearly showed the inevitability of the conflict which began a year later, and is still probably the most illuminating analysis of the causes of the Great War. The following article is the first of a series on the aims and personalities of the strategists of diplomacy.—THE EDITORS.

It is high time to leave a policy of expedients, of opportunities, of entanglements and crooked ways, of parliamentary hypocrisy, concealment, and compromise that characterizes the languid life of worn out nations, and return to the virgin, loyal, simple, logical policy that derives directly from a moral standard, that is the consequence of a ruling principle, t[illegible] always inaugurated the young life of peoples that are called to high destinies.—Mazzini: "To the Italians."

Neutrals are almost always sacrificed, and peace is usually concluded at their expense.—Ancient maxim of the princes of the House of Savoy.

THE history of the world war is almost entirely a history of hesitations. The word "hesitation" provides a convenient key to most of the war's mysteries. Germany willed the war and for years had been preparing it. But England's "hesitation" to do the one thing needful—make Germany understand that she was not afraid of war, and stood shoulder to shoulder in arms with France, not only in the week preceding the German invasion of France, Belgium, and Luxemburg, but during the four or five years before the fatal August of 1914—caused the particular war that occurred just when that war occurred. On the other hand, if France and Russia and Italy, prudently pacific Powers, had not chronically "hesitated" ever since 1904, in face of wanton German aggression, a world war would have come earlier than it did. Again, after the Great War broke out, the record of the nations, great and small, has been a series of continued-stories of "hesitations." But there are "hesitations" and "hesitations." The sole problem for the historian is to arrive at a clear statement of the nature of these hesitations. Each nation has had its own reasons for delay, its own special and often tragic decisions to make as regards neutrality or active participation. The blow dealt by hammer of the German Thor, on the 1 August, 1914, was so astounding that impact was felt in every country of the planet. The account of how the nations reacted constitutes almost the entire

KING VICTOR EMMANUEL AND CROWN PRINCE UMBERTO OF ITALY

In August, 1913—one year before the outbreak of the Great War—Austria proposed to attack Servia and appealed to Rome for coöperation. Italy refused to sanction such an attack

FORMER PRIME MINISTER GIOLITTI

The leader of the anti-war party in Italy, who strove to prevent Italy from declaring war upon Austria and was forced to retire by popular feeling in consequence

subject matter of any adequate history of our time. The immediate reactions of

PRINCE VON BÜLOW

Former Chancellor of Germany and one of its most skilful diplomats. He was sent to Rome as the last hope of the Teutonic allies to placate Italy. He failed in his mission

France and Russia; the less imme and hesitant, yet definitive, reactio England; the hesitation of Italy d a period of nine months; the hesit for more than a year of the Balkan Po the singularly interesting hesitations United States—all these long delays, justments, procrastinations, belated cisions, slowly dissipating illusions a many separate chapters in the most esting record of historic psychology human annals have to show. The ch of the hesitations of Italy—*Guer neutralità?*—is one of the most instru and it is not one of the least hono It may instantly be stated that I hesitations were in reality Italian pre tions. It will be seen that, unlike Fr unlike England, and unlike Russia, when she went to war, was prepare war, and prepared both morally and terially. Italy was not driven into against her will. Italy decided to war only after a resolute and remar effort to weigh in the balance the re profits and losses of neutrality and vention. This operation took some but when it was concluded it was cl Italy that neutrality would be folly; to make war would be to act wisely; that, as a matter of fact, the war was own" war.

For thirty-two years, Italy had b member of the Triple Alliance, the pa of the German and the Austrian an Hungarian. That the maintenance Triple Alliance made for peace, n torian has ever doubted. It was, in an almost ideal method, invented by marck, for preventing war between A and Italy. It had, furthermore, for many, the admirable advantage of verting Vienna and Rome into Ge prefectures, and thereby consolid German domination in a Europe al gagged and rendered inarticulate b bonds of the Treaties of Frankfort a Berlin. The German Chancellor, F von Bülow, has declared with reaso *Politique Allemande*, page 75) that r if ever, has the history of Europe b an alliance so solid. Italy forme integral part of it from 1882 to the s

time of 1915, and the Alliance was regularly renewed, whenever it lapsed, in the interests—let it be repeated as often as the Germans may desire—of world peace. Prince von Bülow tells the soberest of truths when he remarks that the Alliance was an instrument conservative in its tendencies and that, founded to maintain Italy, the third member of the pact, parted company with her fellows. For thirty years she had stifled in her soul every memory of a long half-century of Austrian tyranny. When the Great War broke out a million men of her own blood were still doing obeisance to the Monarchy of the Hapsburgs. No wonder that Count

BARON SIDNEY SONNINO

He declared that Italy desired to exhaust every chance of realizing her national aspirations [recovery of the Austrian provinces inhabited by Italians] before having recourse to war, but that the problem of compensations must be settled on the basis of the Italian provinces of Austria demanded by the popular sentiment of nationalist Italy

the European *status quo*, it was necessarily, in so far as it went, a temporary guarantee of peace.

These are statements that no competent observer of European events will dream of contesting. Moreover, the circumstances of the destruction of the Alliance are the best proofs of their accuracy: indeed, it was only when the Alliance ceased to be an instrument of conservative tendencies, and when its character was altered by one of its partners, who thought to use it for revolutionary, even anarchic, ends that Nigra remarked once to a German statesman: "Austria and Italy must be either allies or enemies."

It was natural to feel and to say that Italian intervention in the war would be the moral condemnation of Austria-Hungary and Germany. Indeed, Germany's motive in sending Prince von Bülow, her subtlest negotiator, to Rome to prevent the declaration of war was, no doubt, prompted as much by a desire to forestall the moral effect throughout the world of Italian intervention as to post-

strategic consequences of the
a million Italians in the Alpine
ding toward Munich and Vienna.
ntelligence is a dull instrument of
n; its normal incapacity for in-
sympathy, the difficulty it always
es in shifting, even for temporary
dvantages, to the point of view
s, has uniformly exposed it to
istic blunders that have con-
wrecked the diplomatic interests
German State; and this partial
to every "verity" not stamped
Prussian hall-mark has been
ed to almost total cecity by the
ming pride of the race. Never-
ome glimmering of light reaches
urtained pupils of the colossal
eye-ball; and the desperate man-
f the Wilhelmstrasse to prevent
n cutting loose from the stifling
in which she had been so tightly
Austria and Germany for thirty
wed that Germany knew that,

THE LATE MARQUIS DI SAN GIULIANO
Whose diplomacy had much to do with carrying Italy into the war on the side of the Entente

for the "neutral" nations, an Italian decision to declare war would be tanta-

THE FORMER FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ITALY AND AUSTRIA
e Marquis di San Giuliano and Count Leopold Berchtold. A week before the outbreak of the war protested that Austria's ultimatum to Servia was contrary to the spirit of the Triple Alliance and would be under no obligation *to aid Austria in the* event of war. Count Berchtold was ostensibly of the ultimatum

mount to a casting vote settling the verdict of guilty.

But though an Italian declaration of war was bound to be the moral condemnation of Austria-Hungary and Germany, it is truer still—and this is a far more important point—that Italian non-intervention, at the outset of the war, was an even more striking condemnation of the Central Powers.

RACCONIGI

Here, in 1909, Czar Nicholas of Russia and King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, accompanied by their Ministers, laid the foundations of an *entente cordiale*, the basis of which was their common hostility to the ambitions of Germany and Austria in the Balkans

The public opinion of Europe and the world was ignorant, on the 1st of August, 1914, of the fact revealed by Signor Giolitti on December 5, 1914, that in August, 1913, during the Balkan War, Austria-Hungary had definitely proposed to attack Servia; that on that occasion—and a year before the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand—Vienna had appealed to Rome to cöoperate in giving a definitive quietus to *the troublesome* Servian nation; that Italy *had refused to belie the idealism* of her own birthright as a nation, and had solemnly warned Austria-Hungary that she could never be counted on to further the Pan-German pretension, to shatter the independence of Servia, while upsetting in the Balkans that balance of power which was one of the main safeguards, as well, of Italian independence. Who knew, furthermore, in the first weeks of August, 1914, when the German armies were plunging through the neutral territories of Belgium and Luxemburg, in their mad rush toward Paris, and when an anxious world was wondering what Italy would do, that, a week before the declaration of war, Austria-Hungary and Germany were warned by their ally that, in the opinion of Rome, the Austro-Hungarian demands for an apology from Servia were a flagrant infraction of the Triple Alliance? Skeptical as to the optimism even of a Delcassé, and of those few students of European politics ac-

SIGNOR TOMMASO TITTONI AND MR. ALEXANDER ISVOLSKY

Ambassadors at Paris of Italy and Russia, who helped to lay the foundations of the *entente cor-* ch in the present war became an open alliance. Signor Tittoni is also in large part responsible ordiality which exists between Italy and France and England

with the facts, who had never in their confidence that, in case ue to Austrian or German aggres- ly would part company with her he public opinion of the world behold the Italian fleet bombard- rta and Corsica, and asked itself the summits of the Franco- Alps were not already echoing the of shells bursting from guns which ed to a French inventor.

fears and the miscalculations of pinion were based on a complete eption of the clear aims of Italian The clauses of the Triple Alliance er been published. If Austria, by t, secured firm guarantees against ibility of Italian expansion in the emed" Italian regions owing alle- to the Hapsburg monarchy—the Alsace-Lorraine—Italy, also, had quite appreciable compensations. ad prohibited Austro-Hungarian on in the Balkans, and had pre- he Latin sea inviolate. In fact, VII of the famous *pact blocked the* Austrians, and the Germans as well, on the road to Salonica. It even bound the Hapsburg monarchy to engagements directly contrary to the principle of the Pan-Germanic dreams of the *Drang nach Osten*. It made, in all its implications, for a stable Balkan and Macedonian world. "Austria-Hungary and Italy," said this clause, "whose sole aim is preservation of the *status quo* in the East, bind themselves so to use their influence as to avoid any territorial change capable of prejudicing the interests of either of the contracting Powers. They will offer each other all possible explanations as to their respective intentions as well as with regard to the intentions of other Powers."

Nothing could have been franker or more comprehensive than this: it was a reciprocal promise, if not of sincere, at all events of constrained, coöperation. Yet Austria-Hungary, as was seen by the revelation of Signor Giolitti of December 5, 1914, fulfilled only a portion of this contract when, in 1913, she apprised Italy of her intention to attack Servia. Indeed,

the very fact of "offering explanations" as to such intentions as these was in itself a breach of the clause which she hypocritically pretended to be respecting. For let it not be forgotten that she had assured Italy that her "sole aim" was the "preservation of the *status quo* in the East," and that she had promised to coöperate with Italy in doing all in her power to prevent any territorial change.

COUNT OTTO VON BISMARCK

Who devised the Triple Alliance between Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy as a guarantee of the peace of Europe. As the Alliance bound those Powers "so to use their influence as to avoid territorial change capable of prejudicing the interests of the contracting parties" and especially to preserve the *status quo* in *the Balkans, it did for a long* time stave off the in*evitable conflict in that region*

Thus, in 1913, she had sounded Italy as to Italy's interpretation of a pact concerning which, however, there could be no sort of ambiguity, and she had learned that Italy—still resentful because of the rigor with which, during the Turco-Italian War in 1911, the Austro-Hungarian ally had invoked this very Clause VII and thus effectually vetoed any bombardment by the Italian Fleet of the Albanian, that is to say Ottoman, coast-line of the Adriatic—meant, while protecting her own interests, to keep to the letter of her pact, and to defend the sovereign rights and independence of the Servian peoples. Neither Vienna nor Berlin, therefore, had the right to feel the slightest shock of surprise when, on July 25, 1914, a week before the declaration of war, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Marquis di San Giuliano, wrote to the Italian Ambassador in Vienna with regard to the Servian ultimatum:

> Signor Salandra [the Italian Prime Minister] and I have observed to Herr von Flotow [the German ambassador] that Austria had not the right, according to the spirit of the Treaty of the Triple Alliance, to take such a step as it has taken at Belgrade without a previous agreement with her allies. . . . We therefore declared to Herr von Flotow that, in virtue of the method adopted by Austria, the defensive and conservative character of the Treaty of the Triple Alliance was essentially altered as regards Italy, and that Italy was under no obligation to come to Austria's assistance in case she, in consequence of this step, were to find herself at war with Russia, because in that case any European war would be the result of an act of provocation and aggression on the part of Austria.

This language was clear: even Prussian shortsightedness could not mistake its meaning. But it was not only clear; it was impeccably loyal. The allusion to Russia, however, had a mysterious air. It must have seemed to Count Berchtold and to Herr von Jagow as perhaps bordering on Italian malice. Russia? Why Russia? Who had commissioned Italy to raise that bugaboo? Why allude to Russia at all, since Austria's contemplated action as regards Servia was avowedly a mere "punitive expedition," and was not

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The meeting of the representatives of the European Powers in 1814 to redraw the map of Europe after the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Congress planned to bring permanent peace to Europe but by ignoring the national aspirations of the Balkan people they succeeded only in laying the foundations for future trouble which culminated in the present war. "This terrible war," said King Nicholas of Montenegro, "is, after all, a century old. It is, let us hope, the final revolt of the nations oppressed by the unjust labors of the Congress of Vienna"

conceived with any intent of upsetting the *status quo* in the East? Was it not already disloyal on the part of Italy even to suggest that Russia could resent the efforts of Austria-Hungary to suppress such anarchistic propaganda as that which had resulted in the murder of the Archduke, an atrocious act of the same nature as those acts of anarchy which the Czar's Government had so often had to suppress with an iron hand? Was not the duty of Italy obviously to support her ally, Germany, in an effort to draw the ring round the little Servian cockpit, and to help Austria to "localize the war?" What, after all, was such a declaration as this of the Marquis di San Giuliano but an act of treason? . . .

KING NICHOLAS OF MONTENEGRO

With his daughter, Queen Helena of Italy. At the outbreak of the war he sent word to the King of Italy: "We put our confidence in Italy. . . . *Help us to win the place awaiting us on the steps of the altar of justice!*"

As the Berchtolds and the Jagows reasoned thus, simultaneously they must have whispered to each other: "*Racconigi!*"

Racconigi? It was at Racconigi that, in 1909, King Victor Emmanuel and the Czar had met for a quiet talk. Moreover, they were accompanied at the time by their Ministers. What had they said and done there? Their business had been a simple one. The Czar, who is one of the idealists, not to say fanatics, of peace in Europe, and Victor Emmanuel, who is the custodian of Italian honor, and who was then bound by Clause VII of the Treaty of the Triple Alliance to help Austria and Germany to keep peace in the Orient, had laid at Racconigi the foundations of an *Entente Cordiale* between Russia and Italy, the exact aim of which was nothing more or less than the maintenance of that very *status quo* which Italy and Austria had sworn to defend! In other words, the Racconigi agreement was one of those curious "re-insurance" treaties of which the type had been admirably fixed by Bismarck himself when, with the same pen, almost with the same ink, with which he signed an alliance with Austria, he endorsed a certain famous counter-guarantee of security with the Czar. Italian diplomacy had evidently been to a good school. But if Italy had thought it prudent to sign with Russia a re-insurance treaty for the maintenance of Balkan *status quo*, it was obviously because she had had her excellent reasons. She had, indeed, begun to doubt the sincerity of her partners. She had come to share Russia's apprehensions concerning German and Austro-Hungarian aspirations in the Balkans, and at Trieste, and in the Adriatic. When, therefore, after her own war with Turkey, and after the Turco-Balkan War and the Inter-Balkan War, she beheld a discontented Austria contriving to destroy the temporary balance of power and the temporary peace secured by the Treaty of Bukharest; when she perceived her enemy of a full

CROWN PRINCE ALEXANDER, OF SERVIA

ians and Montenegrins are really one people. At the moment when Austria handed her ultimatum the King of Montenegro wired Crown Prince Alexander, his grandson: "My Montenegrins are n the frontier, ready to die for the defense of our national independence"

tury pleading with her to belie her ast, to disown the ideals of justice the freedom of peoples that had er name glorious in the world's and to sacrifice all her dreams of a alian Italy to the over-weening lism and the cynical statecraft Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern interests, she gloriously proved traitor to treachery, and remained herself and her own ideal of Latin ristian civilization.

at could it profit the resurgent people to gain provinces and to wn soul?" asked one of the makers on in England. "In the name of exclaimed the Prime Minister of I declare that we refuse to be the or protégés of any one. The dream rsal domination is shattered. The as risen in revolt." The German lor, von Bülow, remarked in the on Italy in his *book on "German* Policy," a year before the war, that "the value of an alliance is tested only in case of war." The implication of doubt herein formulated in regard to Italy's possible conduct in view of a European war was inexcusable—unless the phrase was penned in bad faith, when it would be less excusable still—on the part of a statesman as keenly aware as Prince von Bülow of the realities of the European situation. But with all Prince von Bülow's experience of men and things, his cosmopolitan training, his profound, even philosophic, acquaintance with European history, he was, after all, a Prussian statesman; he shared, in spite of himself, the conviction of his race that diplomacy is only a makeshift, a comparatively poor provisional method of composing differences, a system of action to be abandoned without a qualm if the results thought to be secured by it are long in coming, and if a show of force, or the diabolic arts of terrorism, are likely

THE KING OF ALBANIA'S PALACE AT DURAZZO

The Kingdom of Albania, the No-man's Region of the Ottoman Empire, was created at the close of the Inter-Balkan War by Germany and Austria (who by threatening war compelled the acquiescence of the Triple Entente), to prevent Servia from obtaining a base on the Adriatic Sea

to bring about those results more speedily. It is interesting to observe that even a King Nicholas of Montenegro is better endowed than a Prince von Bülow for the comprehension of international things. In October, 1914, the King of Montenegro sent to King Victor Emmanuel of Italy a remarkable message, which contained the following passage:

> This terrible European war . . . is, after all, a century old; it is, let us hope, the final revolt of the nations oppressed by the unjust labors of the Congress of Vienna. . . . *The neutrality thus far observed by your august Italian Fatherland has been a powerful assistance to the cause of Right against the cause of Oppression.* We, the Servians of Montenegro and of Servia, who, in turn, are about to conquer that national unity which our poets, our thinkers, and our sovereigns have sung, implored, and prepared, following the path traced by *Mazzini, Cavour,* and Garibaldi, we put our *confidence in Italy.* . . . Help us to win the place awaiting us on the steps of the altar of Justice! We firmly believe that Italy . . . will inaugurate an era of close and friendly relations with the young Slav world, which has received from her such immense benefits, and which, in exchange, offers the coöperation of a young and enthusiastic race in the great task undertaken by our Protectors [Racconigi! Racconigi!] in the name of Civilization and Liberty.

This admirable appeal of the father-in-law of Italy's King was made at what Bismarck used to call "the psychological moment." The Great War had broken out in August, 1914. The message of King Nicholas was sent in October. On the 9th of December, as has been seen, the Italian Foreign Minister directed the Italian Ambassador in Vienna to inform the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister that Italy desired to begin friendly negotiations with Austria-Hungary, with a view to obtaining "compensations" from

WILLIAM OF WIED ON THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF, 1915

of a "convenient" kingdom, which collapsed within five months after its completion, when otectors, Austria and Germany, withdrew their support at the outbreak of the war

WILLIAM OF WIED, AS KING OF ALBANIA, 1914

rule Albania because as a German he would have no Pan-Slavic ideas, as a Protestant he al to both Moslems *and Catholics, and as* a relative of the King of Roumania he would have kan *councils. He reigned but five months*

DURAZZO

THE HARBOR OF DURAZZO

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Albania contains two excellent ports on the Adriatic Sea, Durazzo and Avlona, which both Italy and Servia have long wished to possess—Italy for their strategic value and Servia to gain an outlet to the sea that would free her from Austria's control of her commerce

that Power for the latter's infringement of the essential clause of the Treaty of the Triple Alliance. Italy had thus waited more than four months since the bom-

AVLONA

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On December 25, 1914, Italy seized the *opportune* moment, when the Triple Entente and Germany and Austria were endeavoring *to secure her support in the* war, to land marines and occupy Avlona in Albania, ostensibly *to quell the anarchy there, but in reality* to further her plan of dominating the Adriatic Sea

THE MARQUIS GUGLIELMO IMPERIALI
Italian Ambassador to Great Britain, who helped persuade Italy to leave the Triple Alliance and join the Triple Entente

bardment of Belgrade by Austria before reproaching her ally with disloyalty. Even then her representations were made in the most courteous and conciliatory tones. As to the vital object that she had in view, however, there could be no doubt whatever, and she lost no time in loyally apprising Germany of the full extent of her intentions. "Kindly explain to the German Foreign Minister," telegraphed Baron Sonnino to the Italian Ambassador in Berlin, "the state of public opinion in Italy, and the relation which exists here between questions of foreign policy and matters of domestic politics. The current manifested in a portion of public opinion in favor of neutrality does not mean that it renounces Italian interests in the Balkans and in the Adriatic, nor yet the national aspirations, but rather that it is convinced *of the possibility of protecting those interests, and of realizing those aspirations, while still remaining faithful to neutrality.*" In other words, Italy sincerely desired to exhaust every chance of "realizing her national aspirations," that is, of recovering the Austrian provinces inhabited by Italians, before having recourse to war. The very first thing that Baron Sonnino said to Prince von Bülow after the ex-Chancellor's sudden arrival in Rome in order to play, in the old Bismarckian way, the rôle of "honest broker" between Italy and Austria, was that, though the majority of Italians were in favor of neutrality, the reason for this attitude was the belief that they could thereby "realize some of the national aspirations"; and the Minister added with singular force: "It is possible that the solution of this problem may even affect the stability of the Government; but this is a matter of no special moment. *The great force of the monarchy of Savoy arises from the fact that it represents the* national sentiment."

ay be said parenthetically that
, when all efforts of peaceful
ion had been vain and Italy
eclared war on Austria, the Chan-
f the German Empire, Herr von
n-Hollweg, was to give his mali-
rsion of this great verity of the
f feeling between the House of
nd the Italian people who owed
House its unity. "With the
nt tolerance and the support of
ng members of the Cabinet gorged
e gold of the Triple Entente,"
the Reichstag the irate Chancel-
e populace, led by unscrupulous
, was driven to a sanguinary
which even threatened the King
olution and all men of moderate
ith assassination if they did not
to the madness of war." The
only one more instance, though
ly perfect one, of the phenome-
ility of the German intellect to
the temperament and the
of the foreigner, and its fatal
of all "the imponderables" that
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ompetent observer of European
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o oblige Vienna to grant her cer-
-belated "compensations," clearly
for by the Treaty of the Triple
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nt five months, after her first
appeal, in seeking to realize her
'sacred egoism," protection of her
interests; and this ideal she
to realize without making war.
nly when she perceived that her paramount obligation of being true to her national self could never be fulfilled until she had broken with her allies that she let loose the dogs of war.

The policy of "sacred egoism" had come to fruition. King and people, united in a "sacred union"—"*the great force of the monarchy of Savoy arises from the fact that it represents national sentiment!*"—had taken the step for the realization of the national ideal; but so intent was Italy on this ideal that, as will now be seen, Italy seemed almost ready, at certain moments of her negotiations with Austria, to limit her action to the sole realization of this dream, and thereby even to repudiate the nobler elements of her birthright, all those disinterested impulses that the King of Montenegro so finely invoked in his touching appeal to Italy's King. This is a significant part of the story. It is an essential phase of the Italo-Austrian negotiations, and it cannot be left in the dark: just because it is somewhat of a sombre phase it must be courageously brought out into the light. To suppress it from any record of Italian hesitations would be to deprive the reader of certain indispensable data for the comprehension of the problem of Italian national duty, as the Italians themselves conceive their duty, their interests, and their international obligations. It is an episode, moreover, that throws a useful light not only on the intricacies of the Italian temperament, but on the complex question, as well, of the hesitations of the Balkan Powers, particularly of Servia.

ITALY'S OCCUPATION OF AVLONA

On the day after Christmas, 1914, when Austria-Hungary had been at war with Russia for almost five months, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister was suddenly informed by the Italian Ambassador at Vienna, the Duke of Avarna, that Italy felt obliged to land marines at Avlona, the Albanian capital. She put forward the disinterested pretext of the need of quelling anarchy there. The measure, it was explained, was to be entirely provisional, and there was to be, of course, no question of occupying Albanian territory outside the town.

Now, in taking this very interesting step, enabling her to secure so unexpectedly a foot-hold in Albanian territory, just at the most important strategic point of that territory—less than a month, moreover, after the opening of negotiations with Austria for "compensations" for the latter's assault on Servia—Italy knew quite well the full signification of her action. None of the Great Powers, above all the Powers of the Triple Entente, protested. Those Powers, in fact, had acquiesced in the original creation of that opera-bouffe State—temporarily governed by the Gilbertian sovereign, William of Wied—solely because they had been blackmailed, morally bludgeoned, into such acquiescence by their rivals of the Triple Alliance, and because it had long been their practice to do the hests of Germany whenever Germany blustered and threatened war. In order to keep Servia from Durazzo and the Sea, Austria and Germany, after the Inter-Balkan War, had forced Russia and France and England to adopt their absurd device of creating a neutralized Albania out of a composite people that was not a people and to whom the idea of nationality was unknown. Italy, more or less half-heartedly, supported her allies, because she saw in the plan one immense advantage: at all events, that of rendering Austro-Hungarian intrigue in a region that she had long coveted a little less easy than in the past. Thus a "Kingdom of Albania" was invented and delimited and placed under the protection of Europe; but it was thereby removed from risks of Austro-Hungarian protection.

THE CONSENT OF THE POWERS

The recent new status of this No-man's Region of the Ottoman Empire, however, in nowise warranted the Italians in seeking to extend their sphere of influence thither. Logically, indeed, it precluded the realization of Italian dreams—unless it should suit the Powers of the Triple Entente to seize the event of the Great War in order to try to undo their blunder of allowing the formation of an Albanian State, and thus to placate Italy by instituting her to satisfy her ambitions in going when and how she liked. Such authorization was, indeed, willingly granted to Italy by the Powers of the Triple Entente, and, as was anticipated, Austria was both too busy and too eager to conciliate Italy to consider it prudent to protest. Moreover, the question of "compensations" for an even greater breach of faith on the part of Austria was already being debated between Vienna and Rome. That Italy could go to Avlona without any serious risk had, indeed, come out clearly early in the Austro-Italian negotiations. The Austrian Ambassador at the Quirinal, Baron Macchio, had himself maladroitly raised the point. It was in one of his first official conversations with the Italian Minister. But Baron Sonnino had instantly retorted to Baron Macchio that when Italy talked "compensations" she was not for a moment thinking of Albania; "that, in fact, that country had no sort of attraction for her"; that Italy's one concern was to prevent any other Power from going thither; and that, indeed, her chief desire was to avoid becoming involved in the network of Balkan interests and being pitted, for instance, against Servia and Bulgaria: the problem of "compensations" for the assault on Servia, therefore, must be settled on another basis, *that of the Italian provinces of Austria demanded by the popular sentiment of nationalist Italy.*

Baron Sonnino had thus been perfectly clear in his statement of the essential Italian *desiderata,* but he had not been so intent—and this is the interesting fact—on making his own point as to forget the implications of the Austrian Ambassador's suggestions as regards taking over a part of Albania; and he himself had obviously exaggerated in affirming that "that country had for Italy no sort of attraction." Thus, a few days later, as has been seen, Italy went to Albania, where she occupied not only Avlona, but Kanina and Svernez. Her Royal Commissioners took over the administration of the finances, the police, the customs of the whole immediate region. This action marked the beginning of a new era in the Adriatic. What had really occurred was that Italy had thereby secured her first guarantees for the domination of what she had always regarded as

n private sea. Tripolitania had
r a war. The happy coöperation
ncidence of two elements, a com-
Triple Entente and a provisionally
ed Triple Alliance, had won for her,
st no cost whatever, a greater prize
ie of the commercial gateways of
ıtinople.

. stroke, then, of admirably au-
diplomacy Italy had taken posses-
one of the commercial gateways of
ıtinople. She had thrown a bridge
e Adriatic. The *Via Egnatia* was
ng once more the Roman route by
its of Otranto. Signor Tittoni, the
Foreign Minister, had declared in
the Chamber that Albania was not
of much importance, but that its
and ports would ensure to their
rs "the uncontested military and
upremacy of the Adriatic." Italy
v ensured to herself the earnest of
premacy. The policy of "sacred
' was being justified by its works.
has been said, so intent was Italy
realization of her ideal that she
almost ready to limit her action to
materialization of her own purely
dreams, and thereby even to
:e the nobler elements of her birth-
l those disinterested impulses that
g of Montenegro invoked when he
f to his son-in-law of Savoy to
te with the Serbs in the struggle
Austria. That appeal had been
g and pathetic. It breathed no
yet, in 1912, the Montenegrins
to abandon Scutari, and the Serbs
, at the bidding of the Powers,
the injunctions of Austria.

ıITY OF SERB AND MONTENEGRIN

Serbs and Montenegrins are vir-
ne people was shown at the very
ıg of the Great War. When Aus-
sented its ultimatum to Servia,
rian Prime Minister, M. Pashitch,
dvice from Cetinge. The Monte-
Government demurred to giving
and recommended taking the
of Russia. It added that, what-
pened, Montenegro stood shoulder
der with Servia, that Servia could
bsolutely on the fraternal aid of
Montenegro. When, moreover, the Servian reply to Austria was handed in, and Austria declared it to be unsatisfactory, the Servian Crown Prince telegraphed to his grandfather, Nicholas of Montenegro, thanking him for his reassuring promises. By return of wire King Nicholas replied: "My Montenegrins are already on the frontier, ready to die for the defense of our national independence."

There was, thus, no doubt concerning the solemn sincerity of King Nicholas's appeal to Italy; and these facts should not be forgotten in connection with the justification which it is now imperative to offer of the foregoing remark about Italy's readiness, at a certain stage of her negotiations with Austria, to repudiate even some of her noblest traditions, provided she could realize all her national aspirations without the trouble and expense of going to war.

The proofs of this statement are as follows:

It has been seen that Italy, not only on the eve of the Great War, but a full year before that war, solemnly informed her allies that they could not count on her in a policy of aggression against Servia: "infringement of the territorial integrity and of the political and economic independence of Servia is contrary not only to Italian interests but also to the stipulations of the Treaty of the Triple Alliance." "Never," declared the Italian Government, "never can we permit any such infringement." Such an attitude as this was what was to be expected. It was discounted by the members of the Triple Entente; it was one of the main grounds of optimism of the Serb states. The certainty of it dictated the tone of the King of Montenegro's appeal to the King of Italy. But when Italy went to Avlona she took a step which, whatever its advantages, was bound, at all events temporarily, to injure her cause with the Serbs, and also to impair the fine quality of the righteousness of her dealings with Austria-Hungary. By going to Avlona she provided her interlocutor with a dangerous argument impugning her complete good faith; and indeed, as a matter of fact, the initiative of the Avlona expedition did turn out to

be, in this respect, so dangerous that it finally led Italy into adopting an attitude and into making certain corresponding declarations that deeply compromised her with the Serbs.

It was inevitable and natural that Austria-Hungary, when challenged by Italy to begin a serious conversation as to the extent of the "compensations"—in the form of cessions of Austro-Hungarian territory—which Austria was willing to grant Italy as a price of Italy's non-intervention during the war, should try to gain time by raising the question of Italy's action in Albania. That action, she argued, was at all events just as much an infringement of the Triple Alliance Treaty as was, for the purposes of argument, her own action against Servia. If the former was "temporary police action," the latter was merely a "punitive expedition" without a morrow. If Italy wished to talk "compensations," therefore, let the matter be taken up in all its bearings. "Compensations" were perhaps due all round.

If Italy had consented to negotiate on this basis it is obvious that she would soon have found herself some leagues away from the sphere within which it was her firm resolve to confine the discussion. The question of going to Avlona was a brilliant thought, which, from the point of view of the Italian Government, had nothing whatever to do with the great aims that it was holding clearly before it, the realization of the national aspirations: Trent and Triest were names to conjure with, Avlona meant to the Italian people very much less. The Italian Government, therefore, refused to allow the Avlona question to assume the importance that Vienna hoped to ascribe to it, and steadily pressed home the question of principle: "Will you, or will you not, agree to pay for our non-intervention in this war with fair strips of your own soil, the unredeemed Italian lands we want?"

ITALY'S RENUNCIATIONS

This question, first put quietly, was reiterated more and more bluntly, until finally—it was on the 8th of April, 1915—*it became a* veritable ultimatum. The *affair of Avlona had now* become so much a matter of ancient history, so solid Italian *fait accompli*, that Italy inser it in the list of conditions she presented the Austro-Hungarian Government. S gave it exactly the same importance was given to the prospective affairs of t cession of Trent, the creation of an aut omous Triest, the surrender of a score Adriatic islands. "Austria-Hungary," s clauses VI and VII of the Italian clai "recognizes the complete sovereignty Italy over Avlona and its bay, includ Sasseno, *together with all the territory the hinterland necessary for their defe* Austria-Hungary utterly abandons all I interests as regards Albania as delimi by the Conference of London." And so complete, and it may be said so humili ing, a surrender by Austria-Hungary of I essential dynastic interests, Italy promi "to maintain throughout the present w strict neutrality as regards Austria a Germany, as well as *to renounce during war the right of invoking afterward in favor the disposition of Clause VII of Treaty of the Triple Alliance, Austria-Hu gary making a similar renunciation as gards Italian occupation of the Dodecan Islands.*"

Whether the King of Italy's father-i law—still anxiously awaiting, there in t Black Mountain beyond the Adriat some tangible proof that his noble, *domo*, above all pro-Servian, appeal w being heard in Rome—was kept inform of the progress of the conversations l tween Rome and Vienna is a questi which the present writer cannot answ But that the potentially terrible "renunc tions" of Italy were known in politi circles, and almost in every household, Servia is certain. Yet these renunciatio were disastrous renunciations for the Ser for if Austria-Hungary accepted Ital proposals she would finally be free to cru Servia out of existence without riski Italian protest or intervention. Wh then, had become of Italy's fine decla tions of only a few months before, wh she had so solemnly informed her alli that never could they count on her to he them in browbeating Servia? And wh of "Racconigi?" For Trent, and autonomous Triest, and a rectified fronti

Alps, and about twenty Adriatic and a dozen more in the Ægean, eady having snapped up so dex- Avlona and a goodly slice of the hinterland, was Italy, then, shatter one of the pillars of her he maintenance of the balance of the Balkans between the Slavs Germans? For the assurance of so a booty, won in a spirit of barter by war, was she ready to leave the Serb in the lurch and to sacrifice one of the noblest of her traditions, f the principle of nationalities?

would appear to be no doubt that such was the case. The explicit; there is no ambiguity. ich was the case, her only excuse, speaking, would be that she had p her mind to war whatever l, and yet was bound, in dealing ally of thirty-two years' standing, eak off relations without a show of and so to manœuvre as to pre- all events the rules of the duellist's other words, Italy's list of con- *sine qua non*, for maintenance of y was hypothetically an ulti- which she knew Austria could not, ld not, accept, and which would r to break the shackles binding the Triple Alliance. If Austria pt, Italy would recover all her st lands without a war; by the ken she would render the Triple the most serious services by the not having gone to war against nd, as regards her treason to the the Serbs, that was a matter easily manageable, for before Austria dertake to profit by the shameful hat she had forced Italy to sign sburg Monarchy would be in the *combinazione*, in a word, that had beauty of a construction in the limension! But release from the Triple Alliance was, after all, the essential. That was the thing that really counted. On the supposition that, after all, Austria-Hungary would accept the Italian ultimatum, there might be some risks as to Italy's realization of her dream of independence; and whatever the services rendered to the Triple Entente by the maintenance of her neutrality, there was, nevertheless, the danger of somehow alienating those Powers. Those Powers had been, no doubt, very active in Rome throughout the war. But the activity of their ambassadors had been singularly to the honor of Italian intelligence. Those ambassadors had never for a moment ceased to declare at the Consulta their confidence in what they conceived to be the real Italy. One and all they were convinced, and they let their conviction be known, that Italy would eventually intervene in the war, and intervene on the side of the nations that were fighting for the freedom of peoples. To this the present writer can bear witness; but they were entirely ready to give Italy time, for they knew, with her, that *il tempo è galantuomo*. They understood Italy's special plight, all the peculiarities of her difficulties. But that somehow she would find a way to cut loose from the bonds of her alliance, without exposing herself to a legitimate charge of treason, they never doubted. That there was one chance in a thousand of her inability to achieve this *combinazione* was for a long time recognized. That even that one chance had finally and happily vanished was acknowledged by the perspicacious when they saw that, at last, the Italian Nation was becoming articulate, and that the spirit of the Risorgimento was once again flying on broad pinions, from Sicily to the Alps. "What" indeed, "what could it profit the resurgent Italian people to gain provinces and to lose its own soul?"

nd article on the Italian phase of the diplomacy of the European war, by Mr. Fullerton, will appear in the WORLD'S WORK *for January.*

BEHIND THE GREEK AND BULGAR SCENES

HOW THE HAND OF AN OLD QUEEN ROCKED THE CRADLE OF BALKAN HISTORY—THE PARADOX OF GREECE AND THE LOGIC OF BULGARIA—A SUCCESSFUL CHAPTER IN GERMAN DIPLOMACY

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

IN THE shadow land, behind the vivid struggle for the Valley of the Morava, we discern the figure of an old queen. The present King of Greece, Constantine, was at the time of his marriage the hereditary prince of Greece. It became a royal question at Athens whether to send him for the completion of his military education to St. Cyr, in France, or to Berlin. Since 1887 two French missions had been in Greece: one in charge of public works, the other reorganizing and reëquipping the army. The Prince's early education had been obtained in the national Greek military school, which was at that time entirely in the charge of the French mission. It would, therefore, have been a natural development of this beginning for the Prince's future military education to be completed at the great French school.

Enters now the old Queen of Denmark, mother of King George of Greece and grandmother of Constantine. She and her son held counsel together. They both feared the consequences of sending a royal prince for several years to a place of republican influences, but King George most cordially hated the Germans, against whom he had fought as a cadet in the Danish navy twenty-five years before in the Duchy War. Nevertheless to Berlin Constantine was sent, where he became a member of the First Regiment of the Guards, and while there, six feet of Viking in the glitter of a German uniform, he was betrothed to the German Princess Sophie, the homely sister of the Kaiser. The old Queen of Denmark, who had brought him to Berlin, managed also his betrothal.

This seems to have been a very remarkable old lady. She has left the impress of her character and personality upon the affairs of Europe. She was one of the divinities that shape the affairs of kings and people, rough hew them how they will. One of her daughters became Queen of England, Alexandra of eternal youth; another, Czarina of Russia, mother of the present Czar; another, Queen of Sweden—she was a great *marieuse*, as the French say. And finally she brought off the coup of marrying her grandson into the Hohenzollern family in spite of the fact that her son, King George of Greece, most cordially hated them and all their works.

Behind the King, too, the Greeks themselves, popularly speaking, have for a long time been anti-German. France, England, Russia, *Les Puissances Protectrices*, as they used to be called in southeastern Europe, had favored the independence of Greece in her great struggle for freedom. More than that, these "protecting powers" had practically closed that struggle by the battle of Navarino, when they combined to destroy the Turkish fleet on the 20th of October, 1827. All through that struggle for independence Prussia and Austria, following the views of the Triple Alliance, had thrown the weight of their sympathy and influence on the Turkish side. The extraordinary thing is that, in spite of the King's sympathies, in spite of the weight of popular opinion, the old Queen of Denmark "got away with it," got away with her German education for the hereditary prince and his betrothal to the homely Hohenzollern sister of the Kaiser. Con-

vas married to Sophie at Athens
r, 1889.
ing of the Greeks, then, has a
nilitary education and a German
s wife, the Queen of the Greeks,
also remember, is a sister of the
Emperor, and family ties run
ong the Hohenzollerns. She has
n popular in Greece—a clever
ut stiff and formidable, as almost
n princesses, barring such glowing
s as the Crown Princess of Ger-
the Duchess of Luxemburg, are
. During her twenty-six years
c life she has shown no instinctive
ty to the country of her adoption
ıbeth of Bavaria has so notably
Belgium—and apparently she
very little effort to win popularity
Greeks, who are very free and
nanner and temperament. All
cts acknowledge readily enough
ıntial qualities, but she does not
em.

without saying that the Kaiser
enough about this match. He
s interest in the ceremony with
ent desire to visit the Near East
ind of diplomatic Mardi Gras.
Athens in October with a full
d all the panoply and circum-
an itinerant court of the first
. It was the biggest wedding
er saw: Edward, the Prince of
s there, Nicholas of Russia, the
father King of Denmark, and a
crowd of grand dukes, lesser
rincipalities, and powers.

the Emperor William it turned
rather an empty show. He was
y received both by the King and
e and his imperial feelings were
e Kaiser's sister has never over-
first impression she made on her
ple, and nothing in recent Greek
with Germany has altogether
the impression the Greek people
89 on the Kaiser. He departed
on his way to Constantinople,
met the Sultan Abdul Hamid,
and then started with him his
l Turkish policy, a policy which
d in the present alliance. From
nople the Kaiser *sent back many* cables to Berlin, full of appreciation of the beauty of Stamboul and the possibilities of Kultur in the development of Turkey; great praise for Santa Sophia but not a word about the Parthenon. The greatness of the Kaiser appears in this, that though he turned, mortified, away from Athens to cement a friendship with the arch-enemy of Greece, he still clung to the hold he had on the domain which one day would be ruled by his new brother-in-law, and in the intervening years he has left no stone unturned to strengthen that hold.

INCONSTANT CONSTANTINE

Up to November, 1912, the Kaiser had shared the opinion of most good judges in Europe—which some of them still entertain—that "the glory that was Greece" was B. C. After two sharply fought wars in the Balkans in 1912–13 he began to change his opinion of Greece. He saw that the army had made some distinct progress and he concluded that the King, his brother-in-law, was not altogether such a stupid fellow as he had at first thought him.

Promptly he came out with a rapprochement. He made Constantine Field Marshal in the German army and Constantine, to accept this great honor becomingly—for with the exception of the old Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria he is the only sovereign in Europe who is a German Field Marshal—made a tour of thanks to Berlin, including in his plans at the same time visits to both Paris and London. Observe again here how the vital play of personality weaves its determining thread through the story.

When the Greek King's train rolled into the Potsdamerbahnhof and Constantine stepped out of his carriage on to the red carpet stretched across the quay, he was met personally by the Emperor, who offered him then and there the baton of his new office. Constantine had apparently not prepared a speech for this occasion or had packed the speech in his valise to be delivered "extemporaneously" at dinner—for sovereigns are like other great men in this respect—or upon some future more formal occasion. At all events, he stammered through a somewhat

embarrassed reply, which was honestly enough impromptu, and in which he dwelt, not without a certain gracefulness, on the reiterated statement that "he had during the victorious war only made an application in the field of the principles which had been so well taught him by his military education in Germany."

Next day that speech, to his great surprise and embarrassment, was published in the Official Gazette at Berlin and telegraphed all over Europe. It was printed in the Paris evening papers the same day and immediately stirred up a big row there, for the French have always considered, and rightly, that the renaissance of Grecian military affairs was due to the work of two successive French military missions in Greece. And was not the King's early military education, before he was decoyed away into Germany, also French? The people in Paris considered that Greece owed much more to France than to Germany for her victorious Balkan campaign. Probably, therefore, they suspected ingratitude, disloyalty, or even international treachery, so sensitive had Franco-German relations become since the incident of Agadir.

And so it happened that when the Greek King, who himself regretted the impression so unfortunately made, changed his plans and went directly to Paris from Berlin, German shrewdness had already produced its desired effect. He was received by President Poincaré and at the official dinner given in his honor gave a very excellent toast to the Republic, in which he warmly recognized the work of the French missions in Greece. But on the following day, as he left the Hotel Lotti, a French mob repeatedly and grossly insulted him.

"As long as I live," said Constantine to a Frenchman in Athens, an old and intimate friend, "I shall never pardon the French people for those insults."

So now we must add to the old lady of Denmark, who by this time is dead and gone, and to the Kaiser's irritated plans, and to the quiet German Queen of Greece with a will of her own, the King's anti-French disposition. Let us see now why *the King counts in his nation's councils.* No amount of French insult wo terially affect Greece through sovereign. Why should Constant be strong enough to break two m and still to oppose successfully— writing—the great majority of opinion in his country?

THE KING AND THE ARMY

In the war of 1897 Constantine, tary prince, made a very poor s The country was unprepared, there money, only the shell of an arm Turks in '97 plowed straight ah to the gates of Athens the way the plowed from their borders throu Ottoman furrows to Tchatalja i

After the war of 1897, with a indemnity to pay and overw territorial sacrifices only prevented Powers, Greek sentiment set more than ever against Germany, the of Turkey, and Constantine, as imagined, became very unpopul in the army and out. In the arm cially the opposition to him gre was charged with giving importan to favorites and being unrespon modern ideas, such as French comm and field artillery. Dissatisfact creased steadily until in 1906 a re —in reality a mutiny—took plac garrison of Athens camped outsid city and demanded of King specific military reform. They manded that the Court should Cretan official to be Prime Min Greece. That man was Venizel Cavour of this decade, perhaps century.

This extraordinary man has id himself with Greek progressivism impressed his personality upon the leaders of Europe. Cambon ar cassé consider him the biggest in in Europe to-day. He is, like m tans, slender and tall and very of movement. Behind golden- spectacles shine the most wond eyes, large, compelling, naive i expression. His is the person tinction of an aristocrat, mani stinctive, speech deliberate, and has come up out of nothing, the

farm laborer. When he speaks in public, a rare voice adds to his distinction of manner and the charm and magnetism of his personality. He grips and holds silent every audience he addresses. Such voices are not rare in Crete; "it takes the heart," as the French say. He always calls the people *Paidia*—Children.

VENIZELOS VERSUS GERMANY

The first thing Venizelos did was to take away from the royal princes all military rank except honorary distinctions. By so doing he promptly antagonized them all. There were four of them. Also, he called the second French military mission in 1908, whose main work was the establishment of the Greek commissariat and field artillery which counted, more than any other military ingredient, for the unexpected success of the Greek armies in their wars against Turkey and Bulgaria in 1912–13.

When the Balkan War broke in October, 1912, the world suddenly became aware of the real power of Venizelos, for he it was who had performed the impossible: had knit together the supposedly irreconcilable Balkan states into a compact Confederation, and had done his work so quietly that in all the diplomatic and secret services of all the Powers of Europe no one had an intimation of his plans until Montenegro suddenly jumped in on October 8th. Within a week the combined armies of the Confederation were driving the Turks helter-skelter out of Macedonia and Thrace. Almost they drove the Sultan and his Empire and his armies across the Bosphorus into Asia where they belong.

And at the head of the efficient Greek army, a surprise to all the world with its new commissariat and its new field artillery, Venizelos had the patriotism, the good sense, and the nerve to put the same Prince whom he had pulled down after the military revolution at Athens in 1906.

In the intervening years he had studied that Prince. He had discovered his strong will, his high seriousness, his courage, simplicity, and native democracy. He knew that the military collapse of 1897 had occurred in spite of anything that Constantine could have done. The appointment of the hereditary Prince also suppressed jealousies among the other generals, coördinated the army, and probably saved the transplanted monarchy, which at that time was tottering on its foundations. Another unsuccessful campaign in 1912 would have overthrown it.

Greece, as many people do not know, is a country managed by 500 families who hate one another like poison in true classic Greek fashion. The peasants, the hack-drivers, and the fishermen talk radical politics all day long, but when election day comes they vote for a member of one of these big aristocratic—i. e., "best," in the Greek sense—families. A republic for Greece would mean anarchy, chaos.

No one then appreciated, no one now appreciates, this situation more than Venizelos. Naturally and necessarily he is a monarchist. He would retire rather than threaten the monarchy. He has often been credited with presidential ambitions, but no supposition could be more wrong. In placing Constantine at the head of the army in 1912 he had the courage of his convictions.

As all the world knows, Constantine more than made good, more than justified the judgment of Venizelos. He was in Salonica within a few weeks, beating out the Bulgars into that much-desired haven by three hours. He fought some battles creditable to his leadership even though won against disorganized second-line Turkish troops, and he took the fortified city of Janina against a determined and able Ottoman resistance. When he marched home again at the end of the war he found himself as popular as he had been unpopular before. More than that, he found he had become a kind of demigod to the army.

WHAT HOLDS THE GREEK ARMY

Constantine is the handsomest sovereign in Europe; a strong, tall figure, a strong face, pale, fair-haired, a Dane. Before the last wars he had become, in comparative idleness, rather stout. But a year of hard campaigning trained him down fine, made a Viking of him. His personality is like his figure and his face—strong. Less intelligent than his father, the late King George, he also lacks his father's magnetism and vivacity. He is rather heavy and slow

of address. It is a pleasure to hear him or any one of the princes, his brothers, speak, their voices are so deep and clear. But Venizelos could easily win a crowd away from him by sheer magnetism. In some respects he resembles in character the King of the Belgians, but is perhaps less chivalrous than Albert, less domestic, though equally honest, candid, and obstinate. He combines the rare genuineness of being in his court all king and in camp with other soldiers nothing but a soldier. He loves hard and he hates hard, is a man of deep passions, resentful, exceedingly proud.

You can imagine the hold a man of this kind maintains automatically upon soldiers. No wonder they adore him, with success as an additional reason. The Greek army is not aristocratic. In that it is like the French and Turkish armies and unlike the British and Russian armies. Peasants' sons are high officers in it. Constantine is exactly the same to all of them. The army is a unit behind him now and that is why what the King thinks or feels, and what the King decides to do, makes a difference in Greece.

Now let us turn for a moment from this consideration of personalities to matters geographical and political which will help to make clear the relation of Greece to Bulgaria and the relation of both to the gigantic European struggle.

The Conference of London, which concluded the first Balkan War in 1913, partitioned Macedonia fairly accurately on the basis of work done by the various Balkan states in overwhelming Turkey. It was arranged that Bulgaria should have Kavala and the rich tobacco region around Seres; Servia, which took a big slice of Macedonia, should nevertheless be cut off from access to the Ægean or Adriatic; Greece came up northeastward around the corner to the rich port of Salonica. The Treaty of Bukharest, which concluded six months later the second brief war between the members of the broken Balkan League, resulted in great territorial gains for Servia and Greece, obtained at the expense of Bulgaria. After all their heroic fighting all that was left to the Bulgars was about one fourth of their original Macedonian territory and the open Ægean roadstead at Dedeagatch, where you can't unload a schooner when the wind blows strong from the south. Greece spread out eastward from Salonica to include Seres and Kavala; Servia walked off with all the rest of Macedonia and an Adriatic port.

It is this territorial situation which has formed for many months the crux of the Balkan deadlock. During fourteen months of the war it kept any one of the three states of Greece, Bulgaria, and Roumania from entering the conflict, and the inability of the Allies to solve it threw Bulgaria at length in October into the Germanic alliance while Roumania and Greece remained still nominally neutral.

The scene in which the great personalities, the diplomacy, and the international politics involved struggled during August and September for mastery may be called the field of Seres-Kavala. There, for two months, it was the Emperor versus Venizelos, or rather, the Emperor plus the Queen and the Greek King with the army behind him, plus the Greek expansionist ambition—all that line-up versus Venizelos and all the rest of Greece. (Greek expansionists must be carefully distinguished. Those just alluded to are the Greek *continental* expansionists; Venizelos himself wants—and has worked for—Greek expansionism in the Ægean isles and the coasts of Anatolia.)

The Kaiser, as we all know, never wanted the Balkan Confederation to form again. The best way to prevent its forming was to keep Greece and Bulgaria irreconcilable on the question of their debated boundaries. Accordingly he created between them an Alsace-Lorraine called Seres-Kavala.

A good topographical map will show, east of Kavala, a natural boundary line of mountains and defiles forming an excellent basis for defensive works. Between Kavala and Salonica, on the contrary, the hills are rolling and low; it is an unnatural, a surveyor's, boundary, without even an ethnic value to recommend it. Furthermore, the territory all about Seres, between Salonica and Kavala and commercially drained through the latter port, is the richest in all Macedonia, particularly in tobacco for cigarette manufacture. A

proportion of all our "Turkish" and ptian" cigarettes come from the lonian plantations around Seres.
ther Kavala as a port nor Seres as a nine was necessary to Greece, with ' of similar territory and as good or ports. Both were vital to an im- shed Bulgaria, without any unob- ed ports at all. But the commercial ' Greece is in many respects the heart reece; a typical Greek merchant a Jew look like a spendthrift. iercial Greece craves Seres. And, important still, the Greek General sincerely believes Kavala is a neces- ır Greece on account of the strategic of the frontier. They know that the ca frontier is weak and could be led only with great difficulty. The al Staff, therefore, organized and d on French lines, is in its logical ry ambitions working along lines are in reality pro-German. Here, s where the King comes in with this y opinion strongly supporting him t amounts to a pro-German attitude. hief of the General Staff, General ienis, is another personality to be ed with in this military *impasse.* mes of noble Venetian blood, was n the Ionian Islands, and got all his y education in Germany. Grim, ard-working, he resembles a German closely enough to be one, and he ly supports the views of the King or of holding on for dear life to a. Leaving personalities and politics out of the question, the dominant f the King and his General Staff at Greece could not enter the war Bulgaria entered on the same side. for a long time abundantly evident Bulgaria would under no circum- s enter the war on the Allies' side her territorial demands, including a *and, more recently, Salonica also,* omplied with. So all through those irst fourteen months of the war a held the key to Balkan disunion : Kaiser.

izelos tried his best to deal with this on and to defeat German diplomatic . With the same unprejudiced which he had brought to other military affairs he clearly saw trouble in keeping Kavala away from the Bulgars. In his vehement desire to purchase the reëstablishment of the Balkan League and thus swing Greece into line against Germany he inevitably "got in wrong" with the King, the grasping commercial class, and the army, and that combination broke him for the second time in October. The trouble was that he had to fight almost single-handed. He was handicapped by what may variously be regarded as an unenlightened, or a stupid, British policy.

THE AUCTION POOL

In the auction pool in the southeast of Europe, where the nations which once constituted the Powers were frantically bidding against each other for Balkan support while their armies were fighting over most of the rest of Europe, the Allies made these offers—they made them, but they did not make them strong enough, did not insist upon them, buy them, compel them: They offered Kavala and Seres to Bulgaria and encouraged the reëstablishment of the Balkan League; likewise they offered to give back a good slice of Old Servia to King Ferdinand, except a generous strip bordering Albania, which would serve to keep the Servian-Greek frontier intact; they offered to compensate Servia with Bosnia and Herzegovina and such seaports on the Adriatic as Italy didn't want; and they offered to Greece her long-desired Ægean isles, populated almost entirely by Greeks since ancient times, Smyrna, and the rich Turkish Asiatic province of Aidin. In such a redrawing of the map Russia was to get both sides of the Dardanelles, Syria went to France, and England was to run the German-built Bagdad Railway down through the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates to a British Persian Gulf. But all this is dreaming. Let us get back to the facts.

In August and September both Greece and Bulgaria began to see things differently. It was not so much that they questioned the good faith of the Allies, but they began seriously to doubt the ability of the Allies to pay. And the farther into Russia Mackensen and Leopold and Hindenburg blasted their seemingly irresistible

way the lower fell the credit of the Allies, especially in Bulgaria. And all the time, day and night, Germany was busy working, persuading, buying, drugging, hammering away by any and whatsoever means to hold the Balkans safe until they could attend to them.

Since July, Greece has been overrun with Frenchmen and Englishmen, but plenty of Germans have been there, too. At the same time, on the far side of those mountains eastward from Kavala, Bulgaria is and has been for several months alive with Germans. They are on the railroad trains, on the tramcars, in the restaurants, in the factories. The infiltration is thorough, civil as well as military, and was recognized long before the time when, in October, German uniforms began to appear at the Bulgar concentration camps. The newspapers have been filling us up with wrong ideas about Bulgaria. The Bulgar's hatred of the Turk is now a long way in the background. Straight up in front of their eyes looms the vivid hate they feel for Servia, Roumania, and Greece, in that order. "*Gott straffe Servia,*" they would say, if they could speak German, and in the case of Greece and of Roumania their hatred is further intensified by contempt.

The attitude of the Bulgar toward his Roumanian neighbor across the Danube is a good deal like that of a Texan toward his Latin neighbor across the Rio Grande. And the attitude of the Bulgar toward the Greek is like that of nearly all bigoted Christian communities toward the Jews, except that you must realize, in accounting for Bulgar or Turkish provincialism, that in the Levant a Greek is a Jew raised, or lowered, to the *n*th power.

The Greek military performance in 1912 and 1913 has done something to raise them in the estimation of the rest of Europe but it has not qualified either Ottoman or Bulgar opinions of them. Roumania has done nothing at all since Plevna to justify the military rating commonly accorded that country. For a number of years it has been credited with a paper strength which has made it appear the most formidable of the Balkan nations. When it comes to the acid test of actual war on even terms or against great odds it may prove to be the weakest. It lacks the morale of Bulgaria. It lacks the unity of Servia. The Latin in its ethnic admixture has given it a lighter, a more trivial, flavor. Travelers get and propagate favorable ideas of the country because they are more comfortable there than in Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, or Turkey. There is more steam heat, electric light, open-faced plumbing; they are less bitten by bugs; there are more roads to motor over, pleasanter cafés to sit in; more amusement. You would think at evening time in any Turkish city that the coffeehouse life was the dominant social note of the town. So it is. But not in the sense of Paris, or Vienna, or Bukharest. You will never find a woman in a Turkish coffeehouse and the Turks never drink anything there but coffee.

In quite another sense café life is the dominant note of Roumanian cities. Coffee and conversation are minor considerations there. The impression conveyed in the cafés is borne out by men of different points of view who have lived in the country. In Transylvania, across the border, in the region colonized by half a million Roumanians, they are regarded by the Austro-Hungarian population as the gypsies are in southern France, almost as the Negroes are in our Southern States.

England and her allies missed their diplomatic chance in the Balkans. It was perhaps impossible for them to get enough concessions from Servia and Greece to buy Bulgaria's aid as they were allied to Servia and hoped for Greek aid. On the other hand it was comparatively easy for Germany to offer Bulgaria anything Servian which Bulgaria wanted, for Germany was already at war with Servia. But the Entente Allies not only failed to hold Bulgaria's neutrality but failed to gain Greece and Roumania as allies to meet the first shock of the Bulgar attack. Their diplomatic problem was greatly increased by the German military successes in Poland, which convinced Czar Ferdinand of Bulgaria that it was safe to take the Teuton side and made Roumania and Greece consider whether or not it was safe to join the Allies.

'EDEN'S RÔLE IN THE GREAT WAR

CONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE OF THE BELLIGERENTS IN SCANDI-AVIA — "BEATING THE EMBARGO" — POPULAR SENTIMENT TOWARD THE GERMANS AND TOWARD THE ENTENTE ALLIES

BY

D. THOMAS CURTIN

WHAT is Sweden doing? What do her people think of the war? Are they going to enter into it? Is the war welding ıree Scandinavian peoples more together? Is Sweden maintaining t neutrality? These and similar ns are constantly asked me by ans.

roar of battle along fronts aggre- more than 1,500 miles drowns out at silent conflicts waged elsewhere: s of diplomats and conflicts of , a single one of which, in a war of ion, may more directly affect the ıtcome than a series of bloody but ive Neuve Chapelles. The nations are not only fighting one another h grips in the lands of belligerents y strive unceasingly to defeat each n neutral lands. Efforts may be l to induce the neutral to join in r or to keep out of the war, or to trade privileges to the one or the or there may be a combination of ı. Of these silent battle-grounds, is perhaps the most interesting.

e traveler would not rush from boat and from train to train in his whirl ı Scandinavia, but would tarry a ıd closely observe conditions in such ıs Stockholm, Christiania, Göteborg, lmö, he would realize that Sweden is ıed, very much concerned, with the s of the Great War. If he contin- investigations, he would find him- a network of plots which would be r a Conan Doyle, a Stevenson, or -carried on in many cases by men to the limit by the mighty nations they represent. *No scheme is too* ambitious to be seriously considered, no amount of goods too small to smuggle.

Although Sweden is immensely rich in iron and timber, it is when she plays the rôle of reëxporter that she most interests the warring nations. She early put an embargo on such war materials as guns, ammunition, swords, etc. To be exact, the date of this embargo was August 2, 1914. This was obviously a most sensible course for the smaller nations of Europe. In a war in which the avowed policy of one belligerent is to blockade the enemy to exhaustion, it is clear that Great Britain would be the nation most desiring a rigid embargo in those nations contiguous to Germany and Austria. Other nations, however, contributed their share of pressure to force Sweden to add extensively to her original embargo list. England would gladly have paid a high price for German dyes shipped via Sweden, and Russia would have welcomed all sorts of things from Germany by the same roundabout route. Germany would have paid tremendous prices for Russian wheat and petrol. Therefore it became vividly clear at an early date that Sweden's only salvation, to avoid being cut off from goods actually necessary to her life, lay in the compilation of a long embargo list and its strict enforcement. This list now covers eight or nine pages of fine print.

Officially no government could have conducted itself with more consistent neutrality than that of Sweden, and it zealously seeks to enforce its embargo laws to the letter; but Sweden, like every other nation, has her quota of citizens who are willing to take business chances, legal or illegal, which offer big rewards. Beating the game was elevated to the dignity of

an applied science, wits baffled other wits, or succumbed. Some made fortunes; ugly looking bales of cotton inspired enthusiasm in men who formerly might have been considered utterly lacking in temperament.

Were a visitor to judge by appearances, the gorgeous world-renowned Grand Royal Hotel in Stockholm was turned into a stock exchange overnight. Knots of men put their heads together in the lobby and discussed any kind of a business transaction from the collecting of junk to the purchase of an oil ship; other groups sat in whispered discussions behind locked doors, while telephones were tingling, ever tingling, in the rooms throughout the great hotel. The atmosphere was that of Wall Street or the wheat pit of Chicago. The Continental presented a similar scene, as did also the other hotels to a lesser degree. Many Germans and a few Russians trying to buy and get their goods home to their respective countries, Englishmen trying to forestall the one and aid the other, and a sprinkling of neutrals garnered from Teheran to San Francisco playing the game—that is the transition from the sporting Stockholm of the Olympic Games to the Stockholm of the game of war.

Cut off from the great oceans, Germany redoubled her efforts in the Baltic. In Germany I was impressed with the contrast between the dead ports to the west of the Kiel Canal and the bustling ones to the east. A solemn hush hung over the rivers at Hamburg and Bremen, but Stettin swarmed with shipping activity, and Lübeck suggested the flourishing days of the Hanseatic League. Until an article went on the embargo list, it was, of course, permissible to export it from Sweden, and the vast quantities of needed commodities which Germany contrived to get not only from and through Sweden but from and through other neutral countries afford added proof of her up-to-the-minute alertness and efficiency. Two British consuls have told me that she even succeeded in getting machine guns through some neutral countries in the early days.

In the game of "beating the embargo," buying soon became a comparatively *simple matter* compared to delivering *the goods. Once Sweden* placed a commodity on the embargo list the chances of getting it out of the country by crooked means grew exceedingly slim. Successful delivery, on the other hand, meant profits. It became clear that Germany was making prodigious efforts to get cotton. Sweden did not place it on the embargo list until June 6, 1915. On June 30th cotton was selling for less than sixpence (twelve cents) a pound in Liverpool and more than two marks (forty cents) in Bremen. The British Government had not yet declared cotton contraband, although a portion of the press incessantly hammered it on the subject.

While Parliament debated the question and the Cabinet considered it I saw the German ring of cotton buyers in Sweden quadruple their efforts. On one occasion, after a pleasant chat on the Grand Hotel veranda with a neutral diplomat and a well-known American cotton king who was just then making a tour of Sweden to inspect his cotton interests, I stepped inside and was accosted by three Jews who were fighting Germany's trade battles on the Swedish front. I had already talked with these men several times, and if I had entertained any doubts of the nature of their activities these doubts were now expelled.

"Who was the strange gentleman to whom you were talking just now on the veranda?" asked one of them.

"He is one of the greatest cotton men in America," I returned with warmth.

I shall never forget the devouringly eager manner of the three men at my simple announcement. They came at me with outstretched arms. "Introduce us!" "Introduce us!" they pleaded in unison. It is significant that this was in late July.

SWEDEN'S GROWING EMBARGO LIST

Every month Sweden added to her embargo list, which at present includes nearly every imported article. It is interesting and instructive to examine the causes which produced this exhaustive list. Let us consider copper as an extreme example. During the first months of the war German buyers sought to purchase every ounce of copper obtainable in Sweden, as elsewhere, and numbers of Swedes naturally accepted the high prices offered, some manufac-

indeed, temporarily running short lves. The director of one of the paper mills in Sweden told me that ; continually pestered by German trying to buy all kinds of scrap but especially copper.

there was a time in Sweden's when her production of copper was mount importance. That was the vhen Gustavus Adolphus referred famous copper mine at Falun as asury of Sweden. It was a mine began to be worked during the nth century and which, during the enth and part of the eighteenth, e most important copper mine in rld.

sh agents in Sweden, however, are ntly well informed to know that ce famous Falun mine now yields an 200 tons a year. In fact, less ,000 tons of copper are mined ly in Sweden. These industrial kept well posted on what was ing, and, the fortunes of war giving control of the sea, some people in began to experience considerable ty in importing much-needed copper.

industrial espionage, organized a capable leader who made no of his mission, sought to collect e data on all foreign transactions of h business houses; and firms which exporting to Germany often had able orders to America nullified in d.

e is a story of one German attempt ggling which is amusing. It has ported on good authority that Ger- t one time ordered several hundred d copper busts of Von Hindenburg y delivery. The Englishmen did not s. They did not object to Germany g the great hero by placing a te of him in every home in the land if she chose, but they did insist the statuettes were to come from they would have to be of wood, mâché, or some other innocuous ce—but not, not of copper.

can Swedes send nothing out of the which is on the embargo list, you k? They can, under certain con- . The war has *brought about* a state of economic exchange which reminds one of those early days in the history of the race when goods were directly bartered for other goods. To make clear, Sweden is in dire need of coal. Germany agrees to let her have 600,000 tons, in consideration of which Sweden allows Germany to purchase to equivalent value something which is not on an enemy contraband list. Then it is that the Swedish merchant applies to the Board of Trade (connected with the Foreign Office) for permission to export a commodity on the embargo list. On one occasion Sweden bartered 10,000 horses for German products.

Thus we see that the great commercial struggle of outside influences in Sweden during the war has been primarily a struggle between Germany to get and Great Britain to prevent.

ENGLAND'S SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Toward the middle of October a new and possibly consequential phase of the war began to develop. I have already referred to the striking comparison between Germany's North Sea and Baltic ports. My inspection of Swedish east coast harbors confirmed my impressions, formed in Germany, that there existed no real blockade of that country, and I felt that the British Government would be confronted by a perplexing problem in the Anglo-American controversy that was brewing. Then came the reports of British submarine activity in the Baltic, resulting in the sinking of numbers of German ore ships. The natural question arose whether such acts were merely an extension of Great Britain's war on German trade, or if they possessed a deeper significance. Was this Britain's answer to the charge that her blockade of Germany through Scandinavia was illegal?

The nature of the cargo of the ships sunk leads us to a further consideration of Sweden's rôle in the war. The rôle is the triple one of connecting link between Russia and England, reëxporter, and source of supply for both sides. The first two have been discussed.

Staples of food, the forests, and the iron mines are Sweden's chief sources of wealth. Both sides in the conflict need great quantities of iron, and Sweden mines the

A COMMERCIAL BATTLE-GROUND OF THE WAR

Sweden's part in the Great War has been to serve as a connecting link for travel between Russia and England, a reëxporter of goods to and from Germany, and as a source of supply for both sides. The great iron ore fields of Sweden are located at Gellivare and Kiruna, in Lapland, and at Dannemora and other districts in Central Sweden. Since the outbreak of the war the entire export of Gellivare has gone to Germany via the Gulf of Bothnia, and the bulk of Kiruna's export, which reaches Narvik via an electric railroad, goes to England; but England has found it increasingly difficult to obtain the Dannemora supply—an ore which is world-renowned for the fine quality of steel that can be made from it

best iron in the world. In 1912 Sweden exported to Germany 4,127,764 tons of iron ore; that is, more than six times the total of her iron ore exports elsewhere. The country is both in quantity and quality rich in this metal. In the whole world 45 per cent. of iron ore is pure; in Europe, 36.7 per cent.; in Sweden we find the astonishing average of nearly 60 per cent. The total iron ore deposits of Sweden are estimated at 845,000,000 tons of pure metal, of which 95,000,000 tons are located in the old mines of central Sweden, and the great remaining bulk is stored in the iron mountains of Lapland. These mines lie farther north than the Klondike.

Far up above the Arctic Circle a ribbon of steel winds across dreary Arctic wastes through a desolate land of eye-tiring stretches of rolling swamps and nameless streams, and between mountains whose upper slopes are forever mantled in eternal snows; a ribbon lured on by fabulous treasures of iron ore. Boden is the junction of the railroad which branches around the Gulf of Bothnia nearly to the Finnish border, and the line which runs through Lapland. But Boden is more than a mere railroad junction. It is the great key fortress of the north, built to check the Russian Bear, should he ever attempt to claw his way across Lapland to the warm water port of Narvik.

THE ORE FIELDS OF LAPLAND

There are two great ore fields in this weirdly silent region of the Lapps, the one at Gellivare, the second a hundred miles northwest at Kiruna. The first accounts of the iron ore of Gellivare date from the beginning of the eighteenth century, when mining and iron production on a small scale were attempted, the ore being transported by reindeer to some small blast furnaces in the neighborhood. Various attempts at exploitation proved fruitless, however, for more than a hundred years, partly because of the high percentage of phosphorus, but chiefly because of the want of communications. It was not until the invention of the "Thomas Method" and the completion of the railroad in 1888 that an era of prosperity began. The Grängesberg Traffic Company gained control of the mines in 1903, but in 1907 the Government entered as partner in the association, and by a contract in force until 1938 the production of ore for export is fixed at 22,500,000 tons for the period 1907–1938.

At the outbreak of war the total annual output of the Gellivare ore field averaged 1,200,000 tons; but for the Swedish industry, which, owing to lack of coal is based chiefly on ores with a low percentage of phosphorus, the Lapponian ores have been used only to a small extent. The shipping port for this ore is Lulea, twenty-four miles from Boden on the Gulf of Bothnia, and in peace time the export went chiefly to Westphalia (via Rotterdam) and to Silesia (via Stettin); a minor part went to England, America, and else-

To-day all the export goes to
ıy via Stettin and Lübeck, and
he middle of October it went as
sted as though Europe basked in
ıshine of peace.
work at Gellivare is underground,
s the mining operations in the
around Kiruna are simply the blast-
ay of a great mountain of iron es-
l to hold 800,000,000 tons of ore, of
70 per cent. is pure metal. The pre-
y work was started in 1898, and in
00,000 tons of ore were exported.
:y years ago there was not a single
n these desolate wastes, where the
nains below the horizon for more
month at Christmas time. It was
n of reindeer and nomadic Lapps.
Kiruna is a hustling mining town
00 inhabitants, thoroughly up-to-
ith a moving-picture theatre, excel-
ıds, and a local division of the Salva-
rmy. The most northern trolley
world runs from the town along the
t shore of Lake Luossajärvi to the
f the iron mountain, without the
:e of which the region north of
re would remain the undisputed
of the nomad and his herd.
road from Kiruna northwest to the
gian border is electrified, the power
from the great station recently
ted at Porjus, a brilliant example of
i's determination to harness water-
d lakes to atone for her serious lack
Before the war fourteen ore trains
y cars each rumbled along this road
day. They broke the age-long
of Arctic lakes and crags; at one
a tunnel which pierces the border
ins of Norway and Sweden, the
ıed between the Atlantic and the
they enter from rocky wastes,
save for the most stunted of birch-
ınd they emerge through the other
o a more kindly land of strikingly
ıque fiords and stately pines, and
ıe on to Narvik, washed ice-free by
: efforts of the Gulf Stream, ten de-
orth of Cape Farewell, Greenland.
is the magnet which Sweden has
night draw the steel that Russia has
:ross Finland. Like other small
Sweden has *come to realize that* sympathy plays scant part in the chess game of great nations, and she has viewed Russia with the same growing alarm as that with which Belgium viewed Germany and Servia viewed Austria-Hungary.

The Great War has diminished the fourteen ore trains a day to six. At Narvik, which has changed in character from a Norwegian hamlet to a Swedish iron port, the ore is dumped into vessels of a special type which carry it over the seas. Of the 3,000,000 tons annually exported from here before the war 70 per cent. went to Germany, chiefly through Emden. Now little more than 5 per cent. of the Narvik export reaches that country, and that through Rotterdam. The bulk of it goes to England, though some reaches America.

The Swedish boats carrying ore destined for Germany slip down the coast, keeping as much as possible in the protecting shelter of Norwegian waters. When forced to go outside they trust to fog and darkness, when possible, to avoid the vigilance of the British fleet. Usually they are successful, but sometimes they are conducted to Kirkwall or other British ports, where the cargo is purchased, and they return to try once more to beat the game. As iron ore is not contraband of war neither ships nor crew are running undue risks.

THE MINES OF CENTRAL SWEDEN

Two days south of Narvik on the Lapland Express and we are in the iron ore region of central Sweden, a smiling country of lake and stream, where the hills which once offered Gustavus Vasa refuge from the Danes now reëcho the roar of blast furnaces and rolling mills, whose managers have learned their art in Yorkshire and Pennsylvania. Unlike the ore of the north, much of the ore here contains a very low percentage of phosphorus and can be smelted by charcoal. The mine at Dannemora is world-renowned for the superior quality of tool steel which is made from its flaky magnetic ore, the output of which is purposely kept below 50,000 tons a year in order that a high price may be maintained. Now tool steel happens to be a much demanded commodity in these times of high explosives, and when England found that she was able to import

from Sweden only 1,580 tons in May, 1915, against 4,604 tons in the corresponding month of the previous year, she naturally wondered whether Germany had the inside track or whether Sweden needed more for herself in her feverish preparations for armed neutrality.

It is worthy of note that Germany took two thirds of the French iron mines, chiefly at Longwy and Briey, in the first weeks of the war, and that she has been working them to the limit. Furthermore, although the Swedish iron mines in Lapland are exporting only about one half their normal output, the Austrian Freya Company with mines at Koskullskulle, near Gellivare, have increased their export from two- to threefold, the ore being shipped from Lulea to Witkowitz in Bohemia by way of Stettin.

Whereas Germany at the outbreak of war was the greatest purchaser of Swedish iron ore, Great Britain was by far the greatest buyer of Swedish wood products. German submarines, however, have taken deadly toll of Scandinavian ships laden with pit-props bound for England.

POPULAR SENTIMENT TOWARD THE WAR

Before considering the sentiment created in Sweden by the war it would be well to examine briefly into the state of affairs at the beginning of hostilities, for the pulse-beat of national feeling was quickening perceptibly. Back in 1855, in the days of the Crimean War, England and France, bent on thwarting the Russian Bear wherever he might seek to break his ice-bound fetters, signed a treaty guaranteeing armed assistance to Sweden—which then included Norway—in case of Russian attack. In 1899, however, the buffer state of Finland was militarily incorporated into the empire of Nicholas II, and Sweden awoke with alarm from her dream of security, aghast at the shadow of the Cossack looming large across the narrow waters of the Bothnian Gulf, while a military railroad crept up to her very border.

To make the clouds seem blacker Norway, taken from Denmark after four centuries of union and united to Sweden in 1814 by the peace of Kiel, indulged in a *bloodless revolution* in 1905 and became *a separate kingdom* under Haakon VII, brother of the present Danish King. land allowed Russia to encroach Persia, while the growing rivalry bet England and Germany caused Swed feel that to rely upon the former to her from Russia would be to co national suicide.

Yet despite the significant tren events, Sweden—like the Americ to-day—developed her quota of o who went about the land preachin blessings of unpreparedness. In with Europe trembling on the brink o the Radical Socialists continued to for disarmament. It was then that Hedin, championing the cause of the servatives, issued his "Word of Warn a tremendously popular pamphlet c out against the danger from Russia. price of a battleship was quickly rais popular subscription, and after the es age exposures in 1914 which involve Russian wife of the second son of the the popular clamor for protection be so great that 30,000 peasants march from the country through the stree Stockholm to the Royal Castle to a the King that they would be willing to any added taxation for national de The Foreign Minister resigned and Conservatives came into power on th of Armageddon.

Therefore, the visitor to Sweden her pro-German in sympathy with an Russian war party in power. The Sv tell you that they have a close bond Germany racially and culturally. To ciate entirely with army officers wou to believe Sweden on the brink of into the struggle on the side of Gern One sees flashes of the spirit of Ch XII, whose three-cornered hat is the worn by the Swedish soldiers when do not wear the more warlike spiked met, which from the distance appears the exact counterpart of that worn i armies of the Kaiser.

But the unreasoning ambition o dashing Charles XII, though often m the Sweden of to-day, is safely tem by such men of power as the great ba Wallenberg, Minister for Foreign Af who is determined to keep out of struggle, and by the Social Democra

ıom are opposed to war and most of ı consider Germany the greatest ıent of the militarism they hate, and l consequently use all their influence :vent their country from joining her.

August 9, 1914, the governments of en and Norway agreed to maintain neutrality, and the three Scandina- monarchs have subsequently met to r upon protective measures. Such nay be portentous, and they certainly important for Scandinavian unity viewed from afar. But it should not rgotten that the peoples of these ern lands are decidedly democratic hat the people rule. The disastrous ; of jealousy which raged in them for ries have by no means been totally extinguished. They have not a common enemy. Denmark is favorably impressed by Germany's quick apologies for transgressions, and she does not dread her as much as at the outbreak of war; yet she cannot look upon Russia as an enemy as does Sweden. The average Swede fumes against English meddling with his trade, while he glosses over inconveniences inflicted by Germany. The Norwegian feels just the opposite. A Norwegian cartoon showing a ball room in which Sweden dances with Germany and Norway with England depicts the present situation. Whether they will go on with the dance, or their monarchs will induce them to forget the rivals and be friendly, is a question which the future, probably the near future, must solve.

ıERICAN COMMERCE AND BRITISH VICTORY OR DEFEAT

NALYSIS OF THE WORLD'S INTERNATIONAL TRADE—AMERICA'S SHARE IN IT —THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE NATIONS NOW AT WAR—RECIPROCITY AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION OF TRADE EXPANSION

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE

[THE THIRD OF A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR.]

HUXLEY defines life as the correspondence of an organism with its environment, and maintains that death supervenes when that correspondceases. The plant draws nourishment nitrogen from the soil and air by ı it is surrounded. It will speedily ı if placed in a vacuum.

it is with the body commercial. Its ued existence and healthy develop- presuppose a responsive environment which an active correspondence can nd is maintained. Commerce is a pondence which issues in the exchange ds by barter effected through the use ney. It implies a meeting of minds esult of bargaining.

is difficult to *think of such mental* accord as possible between peoples that are sufficiently antipathetic to be at war, and it is, therefore, logical to assume that after the present great struggle is ended commercial intercourse between the Allies and the Teutonic Powers will be but slowly reëstablished.

Despite the formal neutrality of our Government it also seems unlikely that there can be a speedy revival of the completely paralyzed commerce between this country and Germany. We have been so revolted by the brutality and lawlessness of German militarism and brought thereby into such acute and outspoken sympathy with the Allies, particularly England, France, and Belgium, that the element of good will, without which business cannot thrive, is almost entirely lost as between

ourselves and Germany and can be but slowly recovered.

From the unsentimental standpoint of practical self-interest we are, therefore, chiefly concerned to know whether the United States will be benefited by the extension of Great Britain's trade which would certainly follow the triumph of her arms, or whether we shall suffer by such loss of mercantile prestige as Great Britain might sustain in the event of partial success or complete defeat.

America is distinctly a commercial nation—too commercial, some of us think—and in weighing the commercial future which the self-destruction of Europe has opened up to us some have come to believe that the defeat of the Allies and the consequent ruin of British trade would be to the advantage of the United States in that it would leave us without serious competition in the struggle for world-wide commercial dominion.

Those who take this view ignore the oft-repeated and as often forgotten maxim that he who sells must buy. The necessity for the recent Anglo-French loan was a demonstration of this truth.

The complete cessation of our temporarily one-sided commerce was averted only by our willingness to extend credit, and since that process cannot go on indefinitely it is plain that at some time in the not distant future we must equalize our purchases and sales, or cease business.

The extent to which trade depends upon reciprocity is so poorly understood and an understanding of it is so essential to an appreciation of the opportunities that now await the business men of the United States in the field of international commerce that I have felt justified in resorting to some rather elaborate statistics to demonstrate a truism that is frequently ignored.

On pages 186 and 187 will be found a tabulation of the exports of every important nation, country, or political group to every other important nation or political group. As the exports from one community become imports upon arrival at destination, the entire international trade (*i. e.*, exports and imports) of all the countries *dealt with are shown.*

The exports to and from Greece, the Balkans, and some other compar unimportant communities are omit the interest of brevity. For the sar son, all the West Indian Islands are g with Central and South America.

The table does not, therefore, sh world's entire trade, but it gives a accurate idea of the currents and of at least 90 per cent. of all i tional commerce during 1912.

The total of each vertical column the aggregate imports into the co grouped at the top of the table. horizontally, the figures give the exports from each of the countries on the left-hand side of the table aggregate of all exports is, of course to the aggregate of all imports. Thi not be otherwise, as exports from o are imports at another, but the al equality in the value of the world's and imports taken together thus plain is continually overlooked by th who believe that a country can gr only by selling more than it buys.

This illusion is one of the most per and fallacious with which the eco has to deal, and a careful study table will do much to dissipate it.

To the eye of the thoughtful b man, the most striking disclosure these figures afford will probably distribution of the world's export a port trade among the various nati the world and the groups in whic have been assembled.

To study better the effect of t upon trade, the totals have been ar in seven main groups as follows:

(1) The British Empire, includi United Kingdom and all British d encies.

(2) The other "Allies": France gium, Russia, Italy, Japan, and colonies.

(3) The Teutonic Alliance: Germa the German colonies, Austria and T

(4) The Neutral European Powers way, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, S land, Portugal, Spain, and their c

(5) China.

(6) Latin America: Mexico, Sou Central America, and the West Ind

(7) The United States and its co

tal world imports equal the total
They are distributed as follows:

f		
Empire	£1,149,300,000	— 31.8%
llies . .	729,000,000	— 20. %
c Alliance	690,000,000	— 19.1%
Europe .	396,000,000	— 11. %
. . .	62,700,000	— 1.7%
merica .	209,100,000	— 5.8%
States .	382,400,000	— 10.6%
l imports	£3,618,500,000	100. %
from		
Empire	£1,073,700,000	— 29.7%
llies . .	700,300,000	— 19.4%
c Alliance	570,300,000	— 15.8%
Europe .	491,200,000	— 13.6%
. . .	57,500,000	— 1.6%
merica .	269,600,000	— 7.5%
States .	455,900,000	— 12.4%
ports	£3,618,500,000	100. %

imports and exports together
unt to £7,237,000,000, distributed
:

pire		
. .	£1,149,300,000	
. .	1,073,700,000	
. . .	£2,223,000,000	— 30.7%
s		
. .	£729,000,000	
. .	700,300,000	
. . .	£1,429,300,000	— 19.7%
lliance		
. .	£690,000,000	
. .	570,300,000	
. . .	£1,260,300,000	— 17.5%
rope		
. .	£396,000,000	
. .	491,200,000	
. . .	£887,200,000	— 12.5%
. .	£62,700,000	
. .	57,500,000	
. . .	£120,200,000	— 1.6%
rica		
. .	£209,100,000	
. .	269,600,000	
. . .	£478,700,000	— 6.5%
tes		
. .	£382,400,000	
. .	455,900,000	
. . .	£838,300,000	— 11.5%
al .	£7,237,000,000	100. %

In round figures, the world's international trade prior to the war was distributed as follows:

Great Britain and her Allies . . .	50%
United States and Latin America . .	18%
Neutral Europe and China	14%
The Teutonic Allies	18%
Total	100%

Of the goods exported from the United States and its colonies 57 per cent. went to the Allies and 14 per cent. to Germany, Austria, and Turkey.

Of the goods imported into the United States and its colonies 46 per cent. came from the Allies and 11 per cent. from Germany, Austria, and Turkey.

WHAT IF GREAT BRITAIN LOSES?

With these figures before us, we may proceed to an intelligent consideration of the effect of British victory or defeat upon American commerce.

We say British victory or defeat rather than the victory or defeat of the Allies because practically all the world's trade is now carried under the protection of the English and American flags, and anything short of unconditional success for Great Britain means a complete reallocation of international commerce and the destruction of much of it that might otherwise survive the war. The question is, would the United States profit or suffer by such a revolution?

Thus far the war loss of Europe has been largely our gain. Though we are cut off from all the German trade that we previously enjoyed, the needs of the Allies and of the neutral markets they are unable to supply have provided us with a demand for everything that we can produce and have increased our exports amazingly.

This abnormal activity leads many to feel that it would be a good thing for the United States if we had the commercial world to ourselves and were no longer compelled to meet British competition.

The absurdity of this belief is made clear by the table on pages 186 and 187. Of our ante-bellum exports 57 per cent. was bought by Great Britain and her allies, and of the remainder a large portion was financed by the credit England supplied and carried in the ships that she provided.

THE WORLD'S INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN 1912. EXPORTS FRO

IN HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS

For the sake of condensation, exports of less than £50,000 are not considered. Su entered as "1" and £160,000 as "2." The total foreign trade of any country is the to countries to it. Thus, the United States exported to all other countries £426,200,000 of the United States £808,600,000. Shipments of gold and silver between the Uni

COMPILED

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	UNITED KINGDOM	CANADA, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	BRITISH INDIA, BRITISH AFRICA, AND OTHER BRITISH COLONIES	TOTAL BRITISH EMPIRE	FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND FRENCH COLONIES	RUSSIA
United Kingdom	...	776	1235	2011	598	217
Canada	356	11	7	374	15	...
Australia	306	20	114	440	144	...
New Zealand	169	34	1	204	1	...
British India	404	32	231	667	195	13
British Africa	542	...	...	542	8	...
Egypt	164	...	...	164	46	22
British Colonies elsewhere	257	31	63	351	37	20
Total British Empire	2198	904	1651	4753	1044	272
France	545	17	41	603	822	25
French Colonies	2	...	7	9	24	...
Belgium and Colonies	238	21	37	296	303	33
Italy	106	8	92	206	119	23
Russia	328	...	11	339	157	...
Japan	31	15	33	79	48	6
Total Allies except Great Britain	1250	61	221	1532	1473	87
Germany	581	76	114	771	602	382
German Colonies	2	...	4	6	...	...
Austria	103	3	52	158	44	41
Turkey	160	...	1	161	28	21
Total Teutonic Alliance	846	79	171	1096	674	444
Spain and Colonies	94	5	2	101	125	3
Portugal and Colonies	14	...	...	14	5	2
Switzerland	93	21	11	125	75	19
Scandinavia	149	10	22	181	51	26
Denmark and Colonies	206	...	1	207	3	9
Holland	502	...	23	525	330	21
Dutch Colonies	23	11	170	204	25	...
Total Neutral Europe and their Colonies	1081	47	229	1357	614	80
China*	24	2	139	165	80	75
Mexico	40	...	...	40	14	...
South and Central America and Cuba	583	3	4	590	364	...
United States	1118	754	69	1941	362	45
United States Possessions	16	1	2	19	21	...
Total both Americas except Canada	1757	758	75	2590	761	45
Grand Total	7156	1851	2486	11493	4646	1003

Owing to the difficulty of obtaining reliable statistics, the trade of Greece and and remote, is not included in these figures. In the opinion of the compiler, it may be si commerce. Shipments of specie are, in most instances, included in the figures given en from the Statesman's Year Book, the Statistical Abstract of Great Britain, the British B and the Statistical Abstract of the United States, published by the Bureau of Foreign *in some cases* obscure and the figures may not be entirely free from error.

TO THE COUNTRIES AND POLITICAL GROUPS INDICATED

STERLING (00,000's OMITTED)

s of £50,000 but less than £100,000 are treated as £100,000. Thus, £140,000 is exports of that country to all other countries plus the total exports of all other countries exported to the United States £382,400,000, making the total foreign trade n and the United States are not included in the figures used.

ORE H. PRICE

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ITALY	TOTAL ALLIES EXCEPT GREAT BRITAIN	GERMANY AND GERMAN COLONIES	AUSTRIA AND TURKEY	TOTAL TEUTONIC ALLIANCE	TOTAL NEUTRAL EUROPEAN NATIONS AND THEIR COLONIES	CHINA*	SOUTH AMERICA, CENTRAL AMERICA, MEXICO, AND CUBA	UNITED STATES AND POSSESSIONS	GRAND TOTAL
150	1093	603	145	748	670	109	569	659	5859
1	17	7	...	7	...	...	7	335	740
6	161	72	4	76	15	16	10	26	744
...	1	3	...	3	...	...	...	6	214
46	379	169	64	233	71	73	13	137	1573
...	8	16	...	16	...	...	...	5	571
10	85	42	12	54	11	...	...	26	340
6	71	31	8	39	96	33	7	99	696
219	1815	943	233	1176	863	231	606	1293	10737
121	974	329	54	383	298	6	174	93	2531
...	29	1	...	1	2	33	...	8	82
30	380	403	36	439	217	14	91	58	1495
...	144	130	88	218	107	4	132	106	917
52	211	454	103	557	293	31	...	18	1449
18	72	15	1	16	6	176	...	180	529
221	1810	1332	282	1614	923	264	397	463	7003
201	1240	16	575	591	983	44	364	354	4347
...	...	25	...	25	...	...	...	1	32
86	176	487	60	547	75	1	20	28	1005
9	58	39	14	53	...	6	...	41	319
296	1474	567	649	1216	1058	51	384	424	5703
20	148	31	6	37	61	...	85	32	464
1	8	7	...	7	25	...	13	2	69
37	134	125	42	167	27	3	28	54	538
7	85	123	1	124	71	1	10	17	489
1	13	109	...	109	34	...	1	5	369
19	370	1296	18	1314	215	...	...	113	2537
2	45	12	4	16	135	28	...	18	446
87	803	1703	71	1774	568	32	137	241	4912
117	294	38	5	43	19	...	...	54	575
...	14	10	...	10	2	...	5	224	295
49	413	364	46	410	149	...	...	839	2401
129	642	607	44	651	371	48	562	47	4262
1	25	4	2	6	7	1	...	239	297
179	1094	985	92	1077	529	49	567	1349	7255
1019	7290	5568	1332	6900	3960	627	2091	3824	36185

, as well as that of several other communities that are commercially unimportant l that the totals shown represent about 90 per cent. of the world's international een the United States and Europe. The figures given have been obtained in part e Returns, the Annual Report of the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce, ic Commerce. Every effort to secure accuracy has been made, but the statistics are

ncluding Hong Kong, which is treated as a British colony.

Of our imports before the war, 46 per cent. came from the nations now at war with Germany, and the only condition upon which they can continue to buy from us is that they may shortly recommence their shipments to us.

The assumption that the embarrassment of the customers to whom we sell 57 per cent. of our production would be to our advantage is so preposterous that it can be entertained only by one who is willing to "bite off his nose to spite his face," and the idea that a world-wide commercial cataclysm could be averted if the political and financial organization which subtends at least 50 per cent. of the world's commerce were destroyed is so fanciful that its absurdity becomes apparent the moment it is put into words.

It may, indeed, be said that any hypothesis which involves the possibility of the Allies' defeat is almost an absurdity because of the resulting impossibilities that it assumes.

This is a war of economic endurance. On the one side as aggressor is a group of three nations who control 18 per cent. of the world's trade and about the same proportion of its wealth and population.

Against them there is actively arrayed another group who control 50 per cent. of the world's trade. To the flags of this opposing group one half of the m population owe allegiance, and und flags more than half the wealth of th has hitherto found protection.

The neutral portion of the world the most part, linked by commerci interest or racial and political sy with the faction that dominates h population, wealth, and commerce planet.

It is unthinkable that, with such ponderance of men, wealth, and com power on the side of law and democr small minority of lawlessness and au can triumph.

It is equally self-evident that the of the Allies means a great expan the world's trade.

For one thing, European disarm is almost certain to come with a pea will seal the doom of militarism lease to productive industry the st armies hitherto maintained.

Relieved of the burden of taxati viously levied to support these r establishments, and assured of pro against lawlessness, the commercia prise of democracy will speedily the undeveloped portions of the wo create a large purchasing power whe exists at present.

Some idea of the progress and re

INCOME AND TAXATION OF GREAT BRITAIN
After the Napoleonic Wars, the Crimean War, and in 1914

	1815-16	1859-60	1912-1
Population	20,000,000	29,000,000	47,00
National Income per annum	£300,000,000	£ 700,000,000	£2,400,00
Taxation per annum	62,000,000	66,000,000	164,00
Annual excess of income over taxation	238,000,000	634,000,000	2,236,00

DEBT AND INCOME
(Round figures used)

March 31	1816	1916*
National Debt	£900,000,000	£2,200,00
Annual Income	300,000,000	2,500,00
Proportion of Debt to Income	300%	

*Estimate

FOREIGN TRADE

	1816	1914	Incre
Imports	£26,699,000	£697,432,649	£670,73
Exports	47,882,000	525,720,311	477,83

THE PROGRESS AND RESOURCES OF GREAT BRITAIN AT THREE CRITICAL PER

f Great Britain since the Napoleonic and Crimean wars may be had from the figures in the table on page 188.

In each of these wars, Great Britain ought on behalf of civilization and law gainst tyranny and oppression. She is ow engaged in a similar struggle. Is here any reason to doubt that a repetition f her triumph will produce the same ommercial result, and can there be any uestion that the productive energies of he United States will be fully employed to meet the increased demand that will result from the extension of a beneficent civilization?

The questions we have been considering are, therefore, entirely theoretical. They are answered in advance by the facts which the discussion has developed, and the chief advantage of the debate is that it has perhaps enabled us better to understand that absolute reciprocity is essential to the maintenance or to the expansion of the world's trade.

SHALL WE HAVE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT?

I. THE BUDGET SYSTEM VS. THE PORK BARREL

HE UNITED STATES THE ONLY IMPORTANT COUNTRY THAT DOES NOT INTRUST ITS PROGRAMME OF EXPENDITURES TO THE BODY THAT HAS TO RAISE THE MONEY—A BIG NEW MOVEMENT TO CURB CONGRESSIONAL EXTRAVAGANCE AND TO PUT THE GOVERNMENT'S FISCAL SYSTEM ON A COMMON SENSE BASIS

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

THE public knows that the United States Government wastes money. The promises of economy made by both parties have proved equally valueless. Congressmen of both parties use the Federal Treasury as a "pork barrel" from which to satisfy the desires of their constituents—get the Treasury to pay for public buildings, army posts, and pensions in the hope of reëlection.

The public is becoming heartily sick of the pork barrel both because of its essential dishonesty and because of its waste and inefficiency. But the pork barrel cannot be abolished so long as the present system of making appropriations lasts. It is an integral part of that system. To change the existing wasteful system of appropriations necessitates a change in the government of the United States—a much needed change from the irresponsible committee system to a system in which the Executive can be held responsible for the expenditures of his administration.—THE EDITORS.

IN THE last half dozen years a new word has entered into the discussion of governmental science in this country. This new word is "budget." Newspaper readers now and then have noticed references to the "budget" placed unobtrusively on inside pages; those few abnormal beings who *read the Congressional Record* have found occasional mention of it in that journal. Most people vaguely associate the word with President Taft, the "reformers," scientific accountants, and the new efficiency experts. The old fashioned American remembers that England has annual budgets and so dismisses the idea as monarchical. Those

better informed understand that not only England, but practically every civilized country except our own, spends money under a budget plan. The administration of President Wilson, who all his life has advocated the budget scheme of responsible government, has made the proposed reform a living issue in this country. The recently defeated Constitution in New York included a budget system; and that system will probably be incorporated in the next revision.

What, then, is this budget that is beginning to play a part in our political consciousness? In form, it is this: it is a statement, on one hand, of the estimated cost of conducting government, and, on the other, the means by which the necessary money is to be raised. It is a balance sheet, containing a statement of impending liabilities and proposed assets. A simple, businesslike matter, apparently; yet in every country that has a budget it is the supreme act of government—of the exercise of the popular will. In budget countries the chief finance minister prepares this statement. For all practical purposes, this statement concludes the matter. He speaks, not exclusively for himself, but for the centralized responsible body which, for the time being, rules the nation—the cabinet. This cabinet, representing the majority party in the legislative chamber, estimates the cost of government for the ensuing year, and also determines the ways and means of raising the necessary money. It presents these facts to the assembled House in the minister's speech. The House may accept this programme or it may reject it. It may amend the items to the extent of decreasing them; one thing it cannot do, however, and that is to increase them. Again, it can consider only financial measures proposed by the Government; private members cannot introduce appropriation bills of their own. If the House rejects the budget, or modifies it so seriously that the action amounts to a rejection, the cabinet resigns, on the theory that it no longer commands popular confidence. In that event another cabinet takes up the work of budget making.

This is responsible government as nations which possess budgets understand it. Its essential points, it may be repeated, are these:

First, an executive cabinet representing the party, or coalition of parties, victorious at the popular election.

Second, this cabinet made responsible for preparing a plan of expenditures and taxation and other important matters.

Third, legislative control over the fiscal programme to the extent of approving it, wholly rejecting it, or perhaps decreasing it.

Fourth, no power in the legislature, however, to increase it or to encumber it with the personal schemes of members.

The introduction of the budget in such legislative bodies is the great occasion of the year. It is commonly known as Budget Day. Our own American Congress has no ceremonial known as "Budget Day." For this there is an excellent reason: we have no budget. As already said, we are the only civilized nation that hasn't one. France, Germany, Russia, Japan, England, Italy, Spain, Roumania, Servia, Portugal, Bulgaria, and Venezuela —all these countries, and many more, have budgets. In each country, that is, certain responsible officers prepare a definite plan for doing things, estimate the cost of executing it, and suggest means for raising the money. There is only one important nation that has no business plan, and that is the one that has chiefly distinguished itself as a nation of business men.

Instead, Congress delegates this power, the most important function of government, to a variety of agencies. It is worth while to study the mechanism in detail. Has Congress any proceeding corresponding to Budget Day in a parliamentary country? In a sense it has. When Congress comes together this month, Mr. Clark, the Speaker, will receive a certain bulky document from Mr. McAdoo, known as the "Letter of the Secretary of the Treasury." So far as we have a national budget, that "letter" will constitute it. The delivery of this volume, however, will not form the subject of any elaborate ceremonial. In fact, the American public will know nothing about it. Nine tenths of the readers of this article, I imagine, have now heard of this "letter" for the

time. The newspapers will not notice occasion; Congressmen will manifest nterest in it. The estimates are not read. The House does not formally upon them, does not go through ısual motions. Any Congressman suf-ıtly interested in his country's welfare learn what the "letter" contains only btaining a copy and diligently conning the privacy of his own office. Mr. k, so to speak, will split this document nine separate parts. The House ıine committees, each having supreme :r over particular appropriations. Each nittee now receives that part of the :tary's "letter" which concerns itself. Clark will hand to the Committee on :ary Affairs the estimates for the sup- of the War Department. He gives he Committee on Naval Affairs the ıates for the naval establishment; ıe Agricultural Committee the similar es for the Agricultural Department; e Committee on Post Offices and Post ls, estimates for post offices and post ;; to the Foreign Affairs Committee, ıates for the support of the diplomatic ce; to the Committee on Rivers and ıors, estimates for the improvement of s and harbors. Every branch of the ce is made the subject of a separate opriation bill. In all, there are fifteen appropriation bills considered and ared by nine committees, for parti- committees have more than one. ably these facts contain another sur- . Most Americans have heard of the opriations Committee, one of the two est in the House, presided over by John J. Fitzgerald. Most of us have ned that this committee is actually its name implies: that is, that it is reat sub-body of Congress that con- s all governmental appropriations. this is a huge misconception. Mr. erald's committee is not *the* Appro- ions Committee; it is only one ap- riating committee. There are, as dy said, eight others, each leading an endent, idyllic existence of its own. have heard much of Mr. Fitzgerald e "Watchdog of the Treasury"; as an antine figure ferociously beating off itory enterprises *against the people's* money. How many understand that Mr. Fitzgerald performs this laudable public service at only one gateway of public expenditure? That while he is fighting raids at one place, huge armies may be successfully conducting operations against eight others? That in order to protect ourselves we need not one "Watchdog of the Treasury," but really nine—almost a whole kennel? That, in addition, after the nine committees of the House have finished with appropriations, there are almost as many in the Senate that contribute ideas of their own? To particularize, Mr. Fitzgerald can exercise some restraining influence over appropriations covering the following services: legislative, executive, and judicial expenses; sundry civil expenses; fortifications and coast defenses; expenditures for the District of Columbia; and all deficiencies. But over the following important federal activities he has no control:

Agriculture, Diplomatic and Consular, Army, Navy, Pensions, Rivers and Harbors, Post Office, Claims, and Indians.

OUR BURLESQUE COMMITTEE HEARINGS

The practice of splitting estimates among nine separate committees has this result: we have not really one budget, but nine. Congress dissolves itself into nine little legislatures, each of which has almost autocratic control over expenditures in particular departments. Each one of these little legislatures acts in complete independence of the other eight. Each one appropriates money with no reference to the ability of the Government to spend. Each one of these little legislatures acts in secret. It usually keeps a stenographic report of its proceedings, which, months after these proceedings are finished, is published. It does not generally admit press representatives; in fact, the reading public hasn't the interest, nor the time, to follow its proceedings. Occasionally, when public interest is keen, inklings of what these committees are doing become public property; undoubtedly the hearings before the naval and military committees this coming winter will fill much newspaper space. Each little legislature usually calls before it the head of the executive department who has prepared

the estimate under consideration. Thus Mr. Daniels spends several days before the Naval Committee, Mr. Garrison gives much time to the Military Affairs Committee, Mr. Houston to the Committee on Agriculture, and so on. These appearances have much the atmosphere of criminal proceedings. The department heads are usually on the defensive, have to answer many heckling questions and indulge in long colloquies with members. Private citizens, members of Congress, chambers of commerce, "booster clubs," and the like appear to push favorite enterprises. Mr. Garrison, who explains the need of more ammunition and field artillery, is followed by the representatives of some unheard-of town in Montana, who explain the advantages of their locality for an army post. Admiral Fiske describes our lack of torpedoes and submarines, and his place is taken by a delegation of business men from Vallejo, Calif., who want more millions spent on the navy yard of Mare Island. Strangely, these unofficial persons usually obtain a more respectful hearing than the executive heads. Each Congressional committee—and this is the important point—regards the departmental estimates as forming merely a basis of operations. It can increase them, it can decrease them, it can reject them altogether. It can add appropriations for purposes of which the department never dreamed, and it spends months wrangling over details. As a matter of form, it reports its conclusions to Congress in committee of the whole, but Congress usually accepts its work. Each little legislature, that is, working in conjunction with a similar little legislature in the Senate, is the appropriating authority for some branch of federal activity. What would Americans think of a business house that gave supreme power to spend money to nine departments, each department working independently, with no check or supervision by a general head, each trying to spend as much money as possible, and each delightfully ignorant and careless of the amount of money in the general treasury to meet its appropriations? Such *a business* house, of course, could have no *rporate name except Bedlam* & Bankruptcy. Yet that is the American way of exercising the greatest function of government—the control over the purse.

I have sketched this situation in these broad outlines for the sake of simplicity. In fact, this description is not quite accurate; the procedure, confusing enough as described above, is in reality more confusing still. In practice, each little legislature does not limit its activities to one department. Some are constantly dipping into others. There are fifteen appropriation bills, but only nine appropriating committees. Take military expenditures, for illustration. Four different committees appropriate for this national service. The Committee on Military Affairs appropriates for the most important branches of the military establishment, the Committee on Appropriations, for fortifications—why, Heaven only knows—the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, for river and harbor improvements, and the Committee on Claims, for war claims. With the exception of the Agricultural Department, several committees pass upon the appropriations for the several national services. The extent to which these little legislatures split themselves into sub-committees demoralizes the situation still further.

ENGLAND'S COMMON-SENSE SYSTEM

This system of committee appropriations, however, is not the only respect in which Congress defies financial sanity. These legislatures do one thing and one thing only—they just spend money. Congress, however, has to do more than spend money: it has to raise it. The English Parliamentary system lodges these two responsibilities in the same hands. The Cabinet suggests means of raising money and also supervises expenditures. That, of course, is supreme common sense. The main business of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the chief financial officer of the Crown, is to see that both ends meet. If the Ministry decides to recommend nine battleships instead of four, or engage in wholesale social experiments, such as old age pensions, it must also arrange means of raising the wherewithal. The Congressional system takes no such precautions. It delegates to one committee,

Ways and Means, the responsi-
r raising money; it delegates to
er committees the more cheerful
pending it. It makes no attempt
inate these two activities. For
years succeeding the outbreak of
l War, indeed, Congress levied
ɔt primarily to find money for
ɛntal expenditures, but to keep out
mportations. Thus the Congres-
stem instructs its right hand to
ıoney and its left hand to spend
ıfeguards one hand from knowing
ɛ other doeth. The Committee
and Means is a careless father;
ɔpriation agencies are spendthrift
the former laboriously gets to-
ɔney which the latter irresponsibly
Naturally our balance sheet
lances. One year Congress raises
ney than we need. The result is
surplus—which is only another
unnecessary taxation. The next
have a large deficit, and we have
ɾ money to pay our bills.

MENT WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY

'estigation of our whole financial
betrays the one striking fact:
is there a responsible agency
ng receipts and expenditures. I
ɛd the Secretary of the Treasury's
our nearest approach to a budget;
it has almost no resemblance to
the preparation of these esti-
Mr. McAdoo is not a Finance
he is merely a messenger boy.
ɛr member of the Cabinet, or the
gentleman who sits outside his
ɪr, could do this part of his work
well. Congress directs that the
very department shall prepare his
for the succeeding year and send
the Secretary at a stipulated
ɔ forwards them to the Speaker.
ɹtment heads in turn direct their
ıeads and sub-chiefs to prepare
for their particular activities.
cuments are all dumped into the
he Secretary, who forwards them
ɛaker precisely as he receives them.
rdered mass constitutes his "let-
ɛ has no authority to change them.
ident himself *has no such* au-
thority—at least no authority that is effective. Therefore, we have no Finance Minister—no system of responsible government. A responsible government each year would determine what each department was to spend. It would decide these important facts after maturely considering the needs of the Nation and its existing resources. It would perhaps cut down the Army because the Navy had greater claims; it would reduce river and harbor expenditures because the Department of Agriculture had a more legitimate use for the money. It would then inform each department that it had so much money to spend and that it must keep its estimates within the limit. If the estimates exceeded the stipulated amount the pruning knife would be used. After determining these details this same responsible agency would seek ways of raising the cash. It would not overtax and so have a surplus; it would not undertax and so have a deficit; it would adjust its taxes, so far as human foresight could arrange, so that they would bring in the amount required. It would then introduce the result of its labors in the shape of a budget. If Congress did not like this result it could reject it. Congress, that is, would have the right which the President now has—of criticism and veto.

Instead, we now have, in the executive departments, hundreds of chief clerks, bureau heads, and secretaries, each one working in his own interest, each one preparing helter-skelter a mass, practically unsupervised and unedited, of so-called estimates of governmental expenditures. Each one of these thousands of units is working to get just as much money as he can. What they collectively conceive of as their requirements goes before Congress as the Secretary's "letter." Then nine committees, each one split into sub-committees and each unit revolving in an orbit of its own, take these "estimates," add new details of their own, and incorporate thousands of suggestions obtained from any number of wild sources outside, usually of the most selfish nature. After wrangling among themselves and the Senate appropriation committees, this disordered mass is usually rushed through Congress at the last hours of the session.

A few years ago Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, probably the greatest business man in the Senate, said that the Federal Government wasted $300,000,000 a year. The application of common-sense business methods to American finance, he added, would save $1,000,000 a day. The financial methods of Congress sufficiently explain this fearful waste. Until recent years the scandal has not particularly mattered, because our expenditures have been so comparatively small and our national wealth so enormous that waste in federal expenditures did not greatly inconvenience us. A man who has an income of a hundred dollars a day is likely not to worry much about carfare. Up to the Civil War federal expenditures did not exceed $74,000,000 a year. Now, however, we are spending more than nine times that amount. In 1885 the cost of the Government was $260,226,935; in 1913 it was $682,770,706; in 1885 our population was 56,148,000; in 1913 it was 97,028,497. In other words, population has increased only 73 per cent., while expenditures have increased 162 per cent. As a nation we are running the rake's progress, and, in the opinion of most competent observers, the time has come for a reform.

"A nation embodies its spirit and much of its history," said a French statesman, "in its financial laws. Let one of our budgets alone survive the next deluge, and it will plainly appear all that we are."

A slight acquaintance with American financial history emphasizes the truth of this statement. We were not always a wasteful nation; there were periods when frugality was an essential element of statesmanship. Congressmen to-day defend our system on the ground that it is "American," that budgets, coördination of receipts and expenditures, are only the products of outworn civilizations. In fact, the present system is not "American" in the sense that the fathers originated it. It is a comparatively recent growth—in its most outrageous aspects it is the product of the last thirty years. In the earlier years government and its expenditures were comparatively simple procedures. Washington at first had only five Cabinet officers—the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, and of War, the Postmaster-General, and the Attorney-General. These functionaries arranged our expenditures in simple fashion. The law creating the Secretary of the Treasury clearly provided that he should be a Minister of Finance, in the real sense of the term. It made it his duty "to prepare and report estimates of the public revenue and the public expenditures." That is, he was to prepare what was essentially a budget. Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, actually prepared such budgets.

After his retirement, however, Congressional jealousy gradually arrogated all control over appropriations. Congress, however, did not plunge immediately into the insane system that now prevails. It created, in the early part of the nineteenth century, a Committee of Ways and Means, whose functions were twofold and logical: in the first place, to make appropriations, in the second, to provide revenue. This committee, therefore, was practically a budget committee. It properly centred in the same hands control over both the raising and spending of money. The making of the budget is properly an administrative function; if Congress is to possess this power, however, this original scheme represents the only working plan. This committee also introduced all the appropriations in one bill as they are in England to-day. This was the era of small appropriations. For the first ten years, we spent only about $3,000,000 a year on the Federal Government. In 1845, despite the great growth of the country, we were spending only $27,000,000. From 1851 to 1861, federal expenditures averaged only $60,000,000. At the opening of the Civil War we had almost no national debt. Already, however, Congress had introduced one dangerous innovation. The Committee of Ways and Means still had jurisdiction over both expenditures and revenues, but it had begun appropriating money by several different bills. There was no respectable reason why the different classes of expenditures should be split into several bills. The British House of Commons is now appropriating billions of dollars a

a single bill; until 1847 this was vir- the American system. In that iowever, the Committee of Ways eans reported nine separate appro- ı bills. What was the reason for nge? The history of the movement ıtly answers this question. Before ertain departments of the public had their own bills. In 1826 pen- ere placed in a little pigeon hole all mselves. In 1828 the first River arbor Bill passed Congress as a e measure. These measures mean ne thing: the Pork Barrel. They ıe greatest sources of Congressional ıge then as they are to-day. Plac- ese expenditures in separate bills l the friends of the soldiers and of improvements to concentrate upon They were singled out as activities eserved special consideration; in ay Congressmen could get more for their constituents. This system, own into fifteen appropriation bills, ised in the interest of extravagance ngressional extortion.

861, therefore, the procedure of the had considerably broken down. of acting as a body for revising de- ntal estimates, having the final say r these should be granted, and bsolutely controlling expenditures, ss had centred in its own hands a te despotism over money matters. is Congressional system, compared at which exists to-day, was financial ı. One Congressional body, the ttee of Ways and Means, controlled ıding and raising of money. That is, omething like a budget committee. e Civil War enormously increased expenditures. In 1860 we spent 63,000,000; in 1865 appropriations ted $1,300,000,000. Thaddeus , a man of great native energy, but in health, was then chairman of and Means. His position during ars of warfare and of unheard-of tures had broken him down. His es, as a means of relief, now pro- o divide the functions of his com- In the future Ways and Means have merely jurisdiction over rais- enue; a new committee, to be named the Committee on Appropriations, should supervise expenditures. One of the ironies of the proposal was that this reform was brought forward in the interest of economy! Samuel S. Cox—"Sunset" Cox—who introduced the new programme, advocated it on this ground.

"The burdens of Atlas," he said, "must be shifted to the broad shoulders of Hercules. . . . I need not dilate upon the importance of having hereafter one committee to investigate with nicest heed all matters connected with economy. We require of this new committee their whole labor in the restraint of extravagance and illegal appropriations."

Many shrewd Congressmen, however, perceived the absurdity of this idea. Mr. Stevens himself declared that the separation of the two functions would necessarily lead to greater extravagance. Morrill and Garfield opposed the change on the same ground. However, the new resolution was adopted.

Bad as this innovation was, chaos had not yet been made complete. The new Committee on Appropriations was really what its name implied; this one committee, that is, prepared all the appropriation bills. In the late 'seventies several adventurous spirits conceived a new idea. This was to have several appropriating committees instead of one. The Appropriations Committee reported appropriations not in one bill, but in several; why not have a separate committee for each bill, or at least divide these measures among several committees? About 1879 this change was discussed in Congress. The greatest minds in both Houses denounced it vigorously. It would mean, they declared, the end of all economy. James A. Garfield, afterward President—one of the most brilliant public men of his generation—who had pointed out the mistake Congress was making in 1865, now directed all his influence in Congress, which was powerful, against this new attempt at disintegration.

"The scattering of appropriations, as here suggested," he said, "is an utterly ridiculous proposition. I believe it would cost this Government $20,000,000 a year if the appropriations were scattered to the

several committees. . . . It will be absolutely breaking down all economy and good order and good management of our finances. It cannot be otherwise."

Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, Congressman Keifer, of Ohio, and Senator Hawley, of Connecticut, denounced the plan. "It is a good way to get money out of the Treasury," said Senator Beck. Senator Sherman, perhaps the greatest financier who has ever sat in Congress since the time of Alexander Hamilton, Senator George F. Edmunds, perhaps its greatest constitutional lawyer, Senator George Frisbie Hoar, Senator Thomas F. Bayard, and Senator Dawes all protested. The proposed change, said Bayard, was not "an error, but a legislative vice. The expenses of this Government will be enormously increased."

This opposition, splendidly led by Garfield and championed by this great array of statesmen, defeated the movement. But not for long. The arguments they raised against the change were precisely the motives that urged Congress to adopt it. It necessarily meant extravagance—and that was what Congressmen were itching for. They wanted to get their hands on the money bags; they wanted appropriations for their districts—big pensions, public buildings, river and harbor "improvements," army posts, navy yards, and other expenditures. The scattering of appropriations among several committees would facilitate this operation. And so their enthusiasm could not be stayed, and in 1885 they accomplished their purpose.

But the fight was a bitter one. A really heroic figure was that of Samuel J. Randall, the most brilliant Democrat in Congress. Besides serving as Speaker of the House twice, Randall had been for many years chairman of the Appropriations Committee. In this post he had made his great reputation. He was as great an enemy of the pork barrel then as Senator Burton has been in recent years. Almost unaided, he had reduced appropriations, in the Forty-fourth Congress, by $30,000,000 a year—this without decreasing official efficiency. He led the *campaign for* the election of Samuel J. *Tilden with the issue of* "Retrenchment and Reform." When Cleveland ca as President in 1885 Randall again b chairman of this committee. Ag passion for economy and his fight a the pork-barrelists aroused the antagonism. Unhappily, Randall' tility to Cleveland's tariff policy—h a "protectionist Democrat"—had ened his influence. Congressional a on his committee, therefore, made g headway than they had before. I after a ten-years' war, the appropr mongers succeeded in their fa scheme. Randall informed the co what the change meant, and never prophecies received more complet filment. The proposal, he said, was "out example in any legislative body country or in Europe. It will be sible to keep any just relation be expenditures and receipts, as such bution tends to continually increasi propriations. . . . The change w solutely break down all economy and order and good management of the fin Who can tell what the end will be?"

For the fulfilment of these prop we need only consult the records Congresses of the last few years. sixteen years Mr. John J. Fitzger served on the Appropriation Com since his party gained the majo 1911 he has been its chairman. the reputation of knowing more abo financial condition of the United S than any other man in public life.

"Whenever I think," he recently in Congress, "of the horrible mess t shall be called upon to present t country on behalf of the Demo Party I am tempted to quit my pla am looking now at Democrats who to take amusement in soliciting vot the floor of this House to overtur Committee on Appropriations in its e to carry out the pledges of the Demo platform. They seem to take it to huge joke not to obey their platform to make ridiculous the efforts of the bers of our party who do try to live the promises they have made to people. . . . Nothing will be pressing in the future than the fin problem of the United States."

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

…ably the first American writer to picture the …ities of American financial legislation. His "Congressional Government," published in …dvocated centralized responsible government. …n Wilson advocates a federal *budget for the* …ri… …of *public moneys*

Mr. Fitzgerald is not the only public man to sound the alarm. Probably the first American writer to point out the absurdities of our fiscal system was Woodrow Wilson. His "Congressional Government," published in 1885, when he was only twenty-nine, arraigned our present system

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EX–PRESIDENT WILLIAM H. TAFT

His attempt, as President, to establish a budget system was ridiculed and defeated by Congress. Congressman Fitzgerald, Democratic chairman of the Appropriations Committee, who did most to defeat the Taft idea, is now a champion of a budget system

of rule by Congressional committees. This book was a reasoned argument for responsible government, especially in financial legislation. "It cannot be reasonably regarded as a matter of surprise," he says, "that our financial policy has been without consistency or coherency, without progressive continuity. The only evidence of design to be discovered in it appears in those few elementary features which were impressed upon it in the first days of the Government, when Congress depended upon such men as Hamilton and Gallatin

PRESIDENT HADLEY, OF YALE

"We are the only civilized nation of importance," he says, "that attempts to carry on its public business without a budget. The result is waste, lack of co-ordination of expenditures, and opportunity for pushing unimportant or transient things into the foreground to the exclusion of more important or more permanent ones"

for guidance in putting the finances into shape. As far as it has any invariable characteristics, or any traceable heredity, it is the handiwork of the sagacious men who first presided over the Treasury Department. Since it has been altogether in the hands of Congressional committees it has so waywardly shifted from one rôle to another that one who studies it hardly becomes acquainted with it in one decade before he finds that it was a season quite apart from and unlike both those which went before and those which succeeded. . . . The voter, moreover, feels that his want of confidence in Congress is justified by what he hears of the power of corrupt lobbyists to turn legislation to their own uses. He hears of enormous subsidies *begged and obtained*; of pensions *procured on commission* by professional pension solicitors; of appropria
in the interest of dishonest c
and he is not altogether unwa
the conclusion that these are ev
in the very nature of Congress

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BU

President of Columbia University, an scientific budget making. Congress at solves itself into nine little legislatu which has almost autocratic control over and independently "appropriates money erence to the ability of the Government

no doubt that the power of the
t consists, in great part if not alto-
in the facility afforded him by the
ttee system. He must, in the
course of things, have many most

ESIDENT LOWELL, OF HARVARD
lieves that individual Congressmen should not
e right to initiate financial legislation. In
lly all the parliamentary countries of the
appropriations of public moneys are voted
n the request of some administrative depart-
ansmitted through the executive

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DR. FRANK JOHNSON GOODNOW

President of Johns Hopkins and adviser to the Republic of China. A strong advocate of a budget system and of responsible government. An investigation of our whole financial scheme betrays the one striking fact: nowhere is there a responsible agency supervising receipts and expenditures

favorable opportunities for approaching the great money-dispensing committees. It would be impracticable to work up his schemes in the broad field of the whole House, but in the membership of a committee he finds manageable numbers. If he can gain the ear of the Committee, or of any influential portion of it, he has practically gained the ear of the House itself; if his plans once get footing in a committee report, they may escape criticism altogether, and it will, in any case, be very difficult to dislodge them. This accessibility of the committees by outsiders gives to illegitimate influences easy approach at all points of legislation, but no committees are affected by it so often or so unfortunately as are the committees which control the public moneys. They are naturally the ones whose

THOMAS B. REED

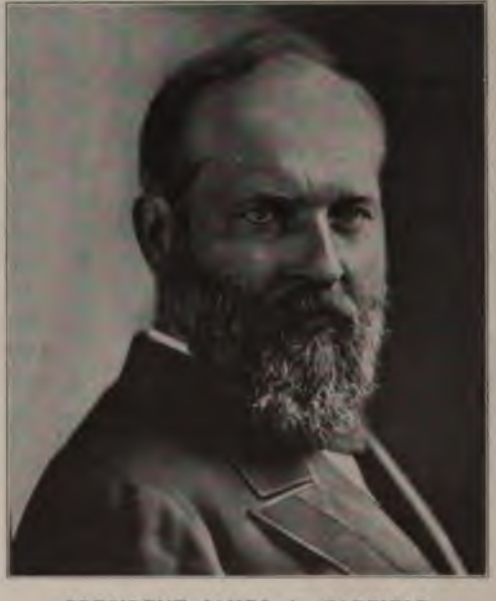
The brilliant Republican leader and Speaker of the 'nineties. One of the Congressmen who, in 1879, denounced the proposal to split federal appropriations among several committees

SAMUEL J. RANDALL

The brilliant Democratic leader of the 's 'eighties. The present appropriating sys gress was adopted to check his power i which he persisted in using in the interest

favor is oftenest and most importunately, as well as most insidiously, sought; and no description of our system of revenue, appropriation, and supply would be complete without mention of the manufacturers who cultivate the favor of the Committee of Ways and Means, of the interested persons who walk attendance upon the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and of the mail contractors and subsidy seekers who court the Committee on Appropriations."

Mr. Wilson's predecessor, Mr. Taft, made heroic but fruitless efforts to obtain something in the nature of a budget system. He appeared before the *constitutional convention recently held*



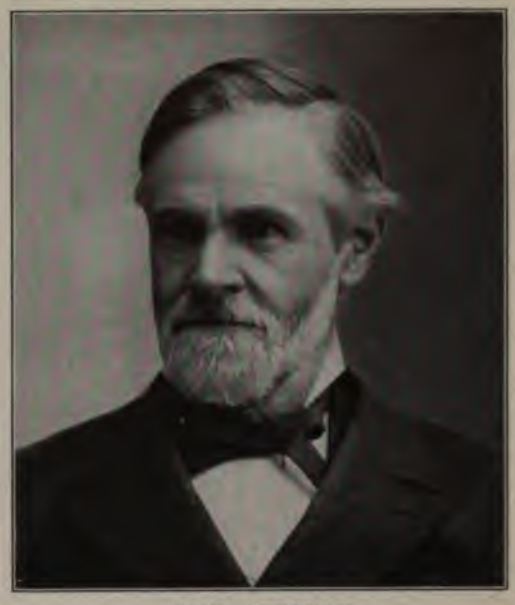
PRESIDENT JAMES A. GARFIELD

He fought for years in Congress against the present plan of distributing appropriations among committees. He declared that it would lead to untold extravagance —a prophecy that has been abundantly fulfilled

in New York advocating centra trol of expenditures. Other guished men who took the sam were President Lowell, of Harv ident Goo Johns Hop Congressma Fitzgera Fitzgerald's mony had value. Fir he is a prac tisan poli closely affili Tammany he despises more than is the "r Instinct would ridi oppose any programme had academ lift'' an He showed in his attitu Mr. Taft's proposals. on Mr. T

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR

States Senator from Massachusetts from
l his death in 1904, who, thirty years ago,
he demoralization in federal finances which
become a reality



JOHN SHERMAN

Sponsor of the famous Anti-trust Law, perhaps the greatest American financier in Congress since Alexander Hamilton. He was a strong believer in centering responsibility for governmental expenditures

Congress appointed, in 1910, a
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sition to the commission's work—he even succeeded in so curtailing its appropriations as to destroy its usefulness.

Mr. Fitzgerald, that is, having had sixteen years' experience on the Appropriations Committee, stood forth as sternly championing the prerogatives of the legislature. But Mr. Fitzgerald has now reversed his position. "I believe that the time will come," he said last winter in Congress, "when the power to initiate appropriations of money from the Federal Treasury must be taken from the individual. . . . I believe this is inevitable if the Federal Government is not to break down with the weight of expenditures." And Mr. Fitz-

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CONGRESSMAN SWAGAR SHERLEY

One of the few present-day Congressmen who believe in a federal budget. As a nation we are running the rake's progress, and, in the opinion of most competent observers, the time has come for a reform

gerald had his answer ready for those who asserted that the executive budget was English, un-American, and could not be adapted to American conditions. As he showed, an American government, formulated almost identically on the lines of the Federal Constitution, had operated within our present federal limits for four years. The following is paragraph nine of Section IX of the Confederate Constitution:

"Congress shall appropriate no money from the Treasury except by vote of two thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, unless it be asked and estimated for by some one of the heads of departments and submitted to Congress by the President; or for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies or for the payment of claims against the Confederate States, the justice of which shall be judicially declared by a tribunal for the investigation of claims against the Government, which it is hereby made the duty of Congress to establish."

MR. JOHN H. FAHEY

President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which is conducting a campaign for a federal budget. American business men, it has *discovered, are practically unanimous* for the plan

MR. WILLIAM G. McADOO

Secretary of the Treasury. The question of a budget system will figure conspicuously in the coming Congress

In all matters except these particular details, that is, all suggestions for appropriations must come from the President, estimated for by some department. No member could secure an appropriation for other purposes except by a two thirds vote. Such is the reform which Mr. Fitzgerald would introduce into our financial system. A Congressman himself, and the financial leader of Congress, he would take the initiative—though not the control—over appropriations out of the hands of Congress. At present he has not many followers in politics; the necessity for some such reform, however, is growing stronger every day, and as the public interest grows political support will come.

Courtesy of the American Bridge Company

A RAILROAD BRIDGE THAT WILL MAKE NEW YORK A GREATER PORT

The new Hell Gate bridge, the longest arch-bridge in the world, will carry four tracks across a span of 1,017 feet and will give Brooklyn and the rest of Long Island direct rail connection with New England

NEW YORK HARBOR AND THE NATION'S FOREIGN TRADE

THE ADVANTAGES AND THE HANDICAPS OF THE PORT THAT HANDLES HALF OF THE FOREIGN COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES—HOW THE PORT CAN HELP OR HINDER OUR NEW ERA OF TRADE EXPANSION

BY

WILLARD C. BRINTON

BEFORE the European war broke out, the port of New York handled approximately 47 per cent. of the foreign trade of the United States; since the war began, the percentage has increased because of the volume of war material assembled and shipped through New York. These figures, read in the light of the new era of export trade upon which this country is entering, mean that New York Harbor is a national institution; that whatever improves it thereby automatically facilitates half our foreign commerce, and that whatever makes it more efficient reduces our cost of doing business in the markets of the world. It is worth while, therefore, to see what New York's position as a port is, as compared with other world ports; to see in what respects other harbors are better managed; and to see how New York Harbor can be improved, to the profit of the whole country.

New York is the greatest seaport of the globe. And not only does its tonnage in foreign trade far exceed that of any other of the world's harbors, but its coastwise commerce also surpasses that of any other port. A vast stretch of coast line from Maine to Texas makes it feasible to use cheap transportation by water to assemble in New York the raw materials and manufactured products which enter into the foreign commerce of the Nation. The Panama Canal, 150 miles of navigable Hudson, and the new Barge Canal under construction to the Great Lakes all combine to make New York harbor a logical freight transfer point. If coastwise and river or canal tonnages of the chief sea-

BARGES THAT CONNECT THE INLAND WITH THE SEA

These steel barges of the Rhine River type are transferring to ocean-going vessels at Antwerp the manufactures of the interior which they have carried on the River Scheldt at a very low freight rate. The new Barge Canal from Buffalo to New York is expected by its sponsors to put the manufacturing and agricultural regions bordering on the Great Lakes in cheap communication with foreign markets, with New York as the transfer point

ports were included, it is likely that New York's lead in water-borne commerce would show up even greater than indicated by the graphic representation shown on page 213. There is an opportunity for New York to become the acknowledged marketplace of the world.

It is extremely difficult to obtain figures which accurately compare the commerce of different nations and various seaports. The tonnage figures as given in the official reports of various countries are usually made up on the basis of net registered tons of 100 cubic feet of freight-carrying space. Laws in regard to the measuring of vessels vary to such a degree that there may be an error of even twenty or thirty per cent. when it

TRANSSHIPPING AMERICAN GRAIN AT NEW YORK FOR ENGLAND

Loading a ship bound for Manchester with wheat by means of a floating elevator that takes the grain out of the canal boats and stows it in the sea-going ship. The new Barge Canal on which New York State *is spending $150,000,000 should* have a great influence in making New York once more a great grain exporting port, *as the canal will put it* in direct water communication with Minnesota

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AN EXPENSIVE METHOD OF HANDLING HEAVY FREIGHT

Neither New York City nor the State has provided any equipment for handling heavy material of the kind that is here being unloaded by primitive hand methods at great cost at 53d Street and North River. In this case the cost is extra heavy in wasted storage space because the height of the pile is limited by the low angle of the incline at which it becomes impossible to shove the wheelbarrows to the top

certain that the freight balance is of business usually gives about as much ly good and that the great diversity actual freight moving inward as outward.

AN ECONOMICAL METHOD OF HANDLING HEAVY FREIGHT

kfort-on-the-Main has installed, as a municipal enterprise, convenient machinery for unloading rs quickly and for storing economically heavy building materials and coal. The charge for trans- about five cents a ton. *The storage space is* owned by the city and is leased to builders and con- by the month. *New York's haphazard system* practically penalizes every ton of this kind of freight

HOW LIVERPOOL IS HANDICAPPED IN ITS RACE WITH NEW YORK

The extreme variation in tide level (sometimes as much as 30 feet) between high and low tides in Liverpool necessitates the use of closed docks for ships that discharge or receive cargoes there. This system precludes the use of lighters for transferring cargoes and compels the costly practise of carting the cargoes through congested city streets

But after all, the number of tons handled at any port does not give a satisfactory yard-stick by which to measure the importance of the commerce to the city. Duluth handles one of the largest tonnages of the world, yet it means relatively little to Duluth that iron ore from the Minnesota mines is hauled there in trainloads and dumped into whale-back steamers to be hustled down the Lakes and manufactured into steel elsewhere. The pay roll required in Duluth to transfer by machinery the wheat and ore eastbound and the coal westbound is almost insignificant.

TRANSSHIPPING BY LIGHTER IN NEW YORK

The cheap method of transferring cargoes in New York Harbor

Neither can harbor performance be gauged by the value in dollars of products shipped outward or inward. The value of products handled at Duluth is really tremendous because the tonnage is so great. Since these products have comparatively little labor added in Duluth the figures of value of commerce taken from a statistical report are likely to be misleading. Consider the commerce of Colombo,

THE MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL TERMINAL

:hester, England, an inland city on the river at whose mouth stands Liverpool, made itself a seaport g a ship canal, and made itself a competitor of Liverpool by its enlightened methods of harbor manage- he cargo cranes, however, are more feasible in England than in America because of the more e in England of open-topped freight cars

Island of Ceylon. Colombo is nown shipping point for graphite, veighs about 800 pounds to the nd has a much higher unit value n ore. Numerous steamers stop at o to take on this heavy freight, and res for the commerce of Colombo e city eleventh onnage list of ld's ports. ew York the erican harbors ut thirty-five ong the list of ld's ports as d by tonnage. phia, Boston, Orleans each nly about one much ton- foreign trade ast the Statue berty. Yet phia is one of atest manu- g cities in the nd its *foreign* trade is most closely interlocked with its manufactured products. Manufacturing in Colombo is almost negligible. We see, then, that neither tonnage of vessels nor value of commerce gives a fair criterion for judging the real importance of water-borne trade from the standpoint of business.

FROM SHIP TO WAREHOUSE IN LIVERPOOL

The costly method of transferring cargo necessitated by the system of closed docks

Courtesy of *International Marine Engineering*

I. WASTE IN THE WEIGHING OF FREIGHT: ANTWERP

The cumbersome scales at the far side of the platform require on one side a series of weights equal to the goods on the other. This system requires that every ton of freight weighed has to be lifted on to the scales, and then lifted off again and on to a truck—an expensive duplication of labor that could be obviated by the use of platform scales. New York should have improved upon this costly method of weighing, but it has failed to do more than a very little in this direction

II. WASTE IN THE WEIGHING OF FREIGHT: LIVERPOOL

This English port uses the same antiquated system as that used in Antwerp. New York, as appears in the two facing pictures, has improved slightly on this method, but still wastes enormous sums by failing to use platform scales, which would eliminate the repeated lifting of every ton of freight weighed

III. WASTE IN THE WEIGHING OF FREIGHT: NEW YORK

The Government weighs merchandise (for customs levies) by antiquated methods; the owners of the merchandise do not accept the Government weights, and to check them exactly they use the same antiquated methods. The result is a tremendous expense for extra labor and a costly delay in much of New York's commerce. These wasteful methods must be reformed before the port can become as useful to the foreign commerce of the Nation as it should be

IV. WASTE IN THE WEIGHING OF FREIGHT: NEW YORK

On these scales, which are weighing Brazilian coffee in a steamship terminal in Brooklyn, the balance is obtained with unequal lever arms, so that *the metal weights* weigh less than the goods. This is an improvement over the *methods in use at Liverpool and Antwerp*, but it still requires that all the goods be lifted twice in the *process of weighing*

The European war has caused so many unusual conditions that comparisons of harbors must be made for the period before the war began. New York's foreign trade in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914,

A TOBACCO WAREHOUSE IN LIVERPOOL

The Stanley tobacco warehouses, owned and operated by the Mersey Docks and Harbor Board; an example of the wise provision of commercial facilities offered by the unified system of harbor control in this great English port

was comfortably more than 31 million net registered tons, and this commerce was of the most diversified character. The diversity is proof in itself that the foreign commerce of New York is not only a tremendous element in the life of the community, but of the Nation as a whole.

Undoubtedly the Panama Canal is *having a* healthy effect on the volume of *business done in the Metropolitan* district. *Low freight rates to the* Pacific Coast by way of Panama have a decided te to make manufacturers of product have a national distribution consi New York district for a manufacturi from which to reach the Nation, than the st Ohio, Indian Illinois, whic been so popu factory sites in twenty year cause of the transportation the excellent c steamship line ing all the poi Portland, Me., veston, and t through the covering the w the Pacific C many manuf of heavy produ serve the more cheaply they can by facturing neare centre of pop with the ne railroad met distribution.

Concerns h factories alrea ated hundreds away from the tic seaboard a ing that it p ship their p East by rail t water and the Pacific Coast of the Canal, than to use t rail haul overland to the Coast. the New York State Barge Canal pleted, those who have boosted expect that it will have a be effect in sharing with all the states the Great Lakes some of the adv which now accrue chiefly to the f board cities having terminals for t using the Panama Canal between coasts. Consider lumber from Sound: There is no particular ob

LABORIOUS METHODS IN LOADING CARS

required to help a truckman haul a load up an incline into a freight car from a pier in Brooklyn

lumber rapidly, for ny circum- it is neces- it to season time after the saw mill it can be up into a oduct. By g the shaded the map on it will be at lumber he Pacific ill probably ered even as as Keokuk, l St. Paul aply by way two canals an be hauled l overland. erican-Ha- Steamship ny has al- tablished a rminal for Coast lumber

LOADING EXPORT FREIGHT

The three piles of boxes represent three hand-truck loads. Making up these sling-loads at the side of the ship instead of using electric trucks very seriously delays its sailing

at Poughkeepsie to serve as a distributing point for the Barge Canal traffic and also for New England by means of the Central New England Railway. If the Pacific Coast lumber can economically be hauled westward through the Barge Canal and to the lake ports it is probable that a number of the heavier kinds of manufactured products on which there is no necessity for quick delivery will be sent eastward through the Barge Canal and transferred at New York to ocean liners using the Isthmian route.

Another thing that will add to the

NEW YORK'S CHELSEA PIERS FOR TRANSATLANTIC LINERS

Built and owned by the city, and admirably adapted to their work of handling transatlantic traffic, they were leased shortly after construction for a period up to thirty years at a rental that amounts to less than the interest on the investment. A definite harbor policy, and a continuing authority to carry it out, are needed in the management of the port of New York

HOW LONDON MAKES A WORLD MARKET FOR MERCHANDISE

This is a building provided by the Port of London Authority for the display and sale of rubber. *Centralized storage and sales rooms* of this kind have a great effect in determining the location of the world market *for any commodity.* In England, an additional service is the official grading of merchandise, which *enables the owner at once to prove* the value of his goods and borrow money on them

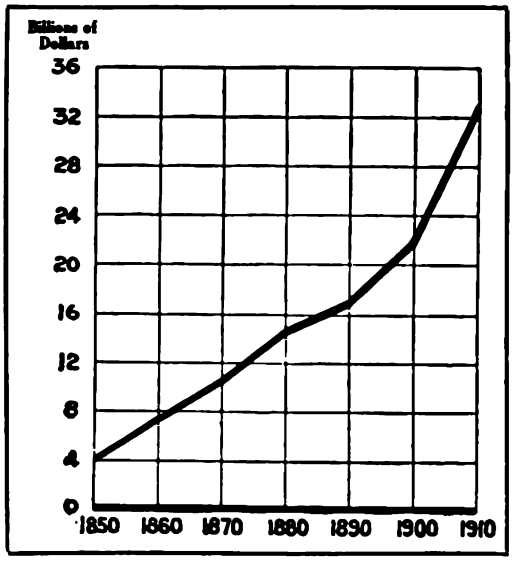
	Port	Year	Tonnage Total Entered plus Cleared
1	New York	6/30/11 to 6/30/12	27,223,000
2	Antwerp	1911	26,656,000
3	Hamburg	1911	23,776,000
4	Rotterdam	1911	21,853,000
5	Liverpool	1911	21,834,000
6	London	1911	20,978,000
7	Hongkong	1911	20,491,000
8	Shanghai	1911	18,600,000
9	Marseilles	1910	16,348,000
10	Singapore	1911	15,456,000

FOREIGN TRADE TONNAGE OF THE WORLD'S TEN GREATEST SEAPORTS

ew York is in the lead as a world harbor. Besides having the greatest tonnage in foreign trade, New York has a larger coastwise trade than any of the other great seaboard cities of the world

itional utility of the port of New York is e new Hell Gate bridge, connecting the ies of the New York, New Haven & artford Railroad with those of the Penn-lvania and Long Island System. This nnecting bridge will give direct rail nnections to New England for the buz-ng aggregation of factories in the Brook-n district. Long Island City, within ght of the Hell Gate bridge, has already own almost over-night into a district of ll lighted, fireproof factories, and the owth still continues. When the South ooklyn Marginal Railroad is constructed om Brooklyn Bridge south along the aterfront to a junction with the connect-g railroad for the Hell Gate bridge route ere will undoubtedly be a great industrial velopment along its line. The longest er in New York Harbor, more than 1,800 et long, is now under construction on the e of this railroad for the Luckenbach eamship Co. In the same districts a w pier is being built for use by the United ates Steel Products Company for handling e innumerable products exported by the ited States Steel Corporation.

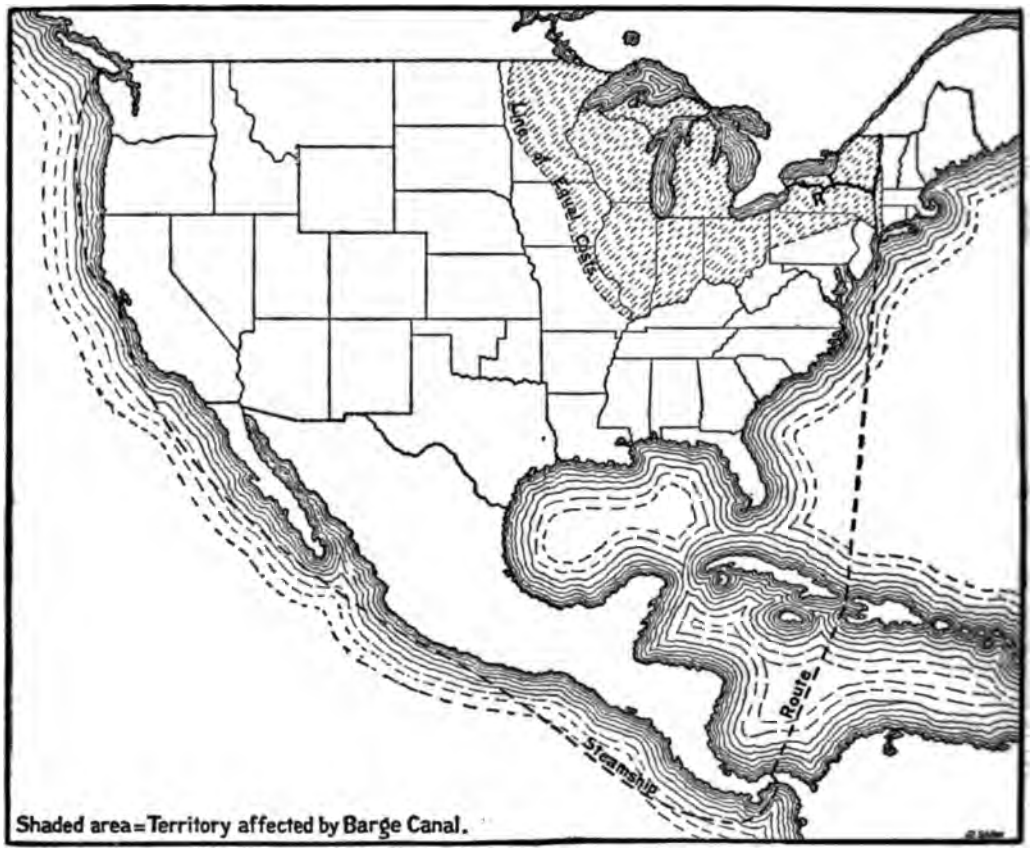
It takes only a stroll among the piers of he freight lines docking at these great Brooklyn waterfront freight terminals to e that New York Harbor *is a national* institution. Harvester machines and binder twine from Chicago, barbed wire from Pittsburg, lubricating oil from Rochester, automobiles from Detroit join the sewing machines of Elizabeth, the copper of Perth Amboy, and the shoes or



THE GROWTH OF WORLD COMMERCE

Total imports and exports of all nations combined, by decades, since 1850. A suggestion of what America's foreign commerce may be twenty years hence is contained in the tremendous increase from 1900 to 1910

cotton goods from New England on a personally conducted tour to the far corners of the earth. Though the exporter who is manufacturing his product hundreds or even thousands of miles away from the spire of the Woolworth Building may not realize his dependence on the port of New York, nevertheless there is scarcely a single element which improves in any way the facilities of the port of New York which does not react to the assistance of thousands of exporters scattered over the whole eastern half of the continent. It is particularly the smaller manufacturers who obtain the greatest benefit from New York's harbor. A large fertilizer works can be located, if desired, at Newport News and have good service in so far as *export trade is concerned,* provided there is sufficient volume of business to justify full cargoes of raw materials inbound and of finished products outbound. The small exporter, however, cannot charter tramp steamers for his own use. He must depend upon numerous sailings, preferably of ships on regular lines, in order to give the rapid and frequent service which his customers in foreign countries will expect.



THE TERRITORY TRIBUTARY TO NEW YORK BY WATER TRANSPORTATION

The shaded states around the Great Lakes will find it cheaper to obtain Pacific Coast lumber by way of Panama and the new Barge Canal than by rail haul overland. Manufactured products from many of the central states can, in like manner, be shipped to the Pacific Coast more cheaply by way of the Panama Canal than by all-rail haul, even though the goods must first journey eastward by rail before going west by water

There are many other arguments for having one great harbor as compared with having the export business divided between a number of smaller ports. Freight shipments are inherently subject to unexpected delays, so that it is not always possible for freight shipped hundreds of miles overland to catch a certain steamer. Many of the American ports other than New York have only one steamship line to

ports in, say, South America or
ia, and the sailings cannot be as
t as with the larger tonnage moving
i the port of New York. If an
railroad shipment from an inland
appens even slightly to miss one
teamers of this one line it may mean
of some weeks or a month before
; another steamer sailing for the
port. But should a railroad ship-
o a steamship line in New York
to miss the intended steamer,
iips of the same line are likely to
so soon thereafter as to involve a
horter delay than would occur at
her port of the country. Then
a possibility of having the freight
over a different steamship line
a sailing to the same port within a
/s, thus making the delay almost
le. A universal port with a great
of lines radiating from the one
thus an advantage to all shippers
ecially to those of inland manu-
g districts.

ier kind of advantage is this:
i manufacturer in the interior can
n an export manager in a New York
house and give his export trade
ore careful supervision than it can
if managed from the factory head-
; alone. Stocks of goods can be
on hand at New York warehouses
export orders can be filled promptly
metimes leave on a ship within two
ter the order is received. In no
aport of this country is there such
t opportunity for serving the
rade in these respects.

nother advantage that New York
he exporter results from the great
y of products which it handles.
versity practically eliminates sea-
actuations in the volume of goods
, and the consequent steadiness of
tends to lower the cost of doing
; and thereby lower the charge
he port must levy on its commerce.
e, for instance, Galveston's ton-
which is growing tremendously,
about quadrupled since 1900.
n's trade is very largely in cotton,
ich more freight moving in some
of the year than *in others. The* value in dollars of New York's imports over a series of years has not been so very different from the value of the exports. Since Galveston's tonnage is mostly in the exporting of cotton the freight values show that the exports from Galveston are worth, roughly, forty times as much as the imports, thus indicating that the actual tonnage of freight at Galveston is not well balanced and that the harbor cannot become as desirable as New York's for the conducting of a national clearing house for foreign trade. New York's supremacy among the maritime cities of the United States is already so well established that there is no question as to which port is the best on the Atlantic seaboard in which to establish an export branch or carry a stock of goods for the export trade. New York is already the one truly national port, and the question now is how to improve the facilities of that port so that better service can be rendered to the Nation.

NEW YORK VS. FOREIGN PORTS

The necessity for this improvement appears immediately if one studies the enormous growth in tonnages to be handled, or if one compares the improvements that are being made in competitive ports abroad. By referring to the diagram on page 213 it will be seen that the value of the commerce of the whole world just about doubled from 1890 to 1910. The tonnage in the foreign trade of New York Harbor doubled from 1900 to 1914. Though this is a good record for New York, if we consider the opportunities which have existed it would seem that the growth in foreign trade might have been vastly greater had carefully worked out policies of harbor management been followed consistently since the beginning of the present century. Consider what the city of Antwerp has done. Antwerp is not nearly so well situated as New York from a foreign trade standpoint, and most of its harbor space had to be dredged from cow pastures about ten feet above water level. The River Sheldt was closed by treaty up to 1863, so that commerce at Antwerp really began in that year. Yet between 1863 and 1912 Antwerp came to second position as a world port, despite

its great natural handicaps of a crooked river, tremendously expensive dredged docking space, and a relatively small population which in 1912 was less than that of New Orleans, Cincinnati, or Newark. And yet, notwithstanding these handicaps, Antwerp's consistent policy of commerce promotion brought the city to an enviable position even though it did not have among its exports the great natural resources which have entered so largely into the trade outward bound from New York.

This last point suggests still another consideration in the problem of New York's utility to the Nation. When looking ahead to estimate New York's chances for the future as a world market-place, it must be remembered that our exports have been very largely made up of natural resources which are irreplaceable. We are shipping complete cargoes of petroleum products and coal. Manufactures of iron and steel, which enter largely into the export tonnage, are frequently in such crude form as steel rails, on which the amount of labor is relatively slight as compared with the value of the material. Thousands of tons of copper are sent out in ingot form to be transformed in the workshops of Europe. Lumber, too, is shipped in bulk; and so it goes, down the line of products. Though our tonnage and values have been vast, when we come to make comparisons with the various ports of Europe it must be remembered that there is a day of reckoning coming and we may not always be able to spare unlimited quantities of our gifts of Nature which now enter so largely into our foreign trade. Comparing our exports and our imports, it is easy to see that the former are largely made up of natural resources and the imports which we take in exchange are composed largely of luxuries, such as wines and silks, or of highly finished manufactured products like Turkish rugs, Irish laces, German toys, Japanese curios, or Swiss watches. Our foreign trade has been like Topsy, it has "just growed," and chiefly because the European nations wanted our crude materials in exchange for their excess output of highly finished products involving much labor. Would it not seem as though we are trading our natural resources for a mess of p Should we not rather, as Great has done, try to bring the raw m of other nations to our princip to be sold to the manufacturing of all the world—thus making York a world market like Londo so earn a brokerage profit on Or, when our own manufacture them, a manufacturing profit a It is by such a process that the p of the Orient and of the newly de districts of South America and largely find their way to certain sea the Northern Hemisphere which the market places to supply the civilized nations. To facilitate th cess and to secure the attending the Port of London Authority has ing devoted entirely to the stora play, and sale of ivory tusks. building is reserved for rubber. pool's tobacco warehouse, owne operated by the Mersey Docks and Board, serves as a market-place fo ican tobacco; and John Bull is enou merchant to carry a stock of twe millions' worth of American tobacco building. The tobacco is all in ca as shipped from Kentucky. It w a very interesting study to de just why it happens that this tob purchased in England and sto Liverpool for resale rather than he in New York and shipped to d countries as required. There m money in it for England: why not f

European ports have earned by acting as transfer points for A freight which is shifted from one ships to another much as one cars at some railroad junction. the war began one could see at th of Liverpool lots of five hundred American paper being transferre line of steamers to Australia. piers of Hamburg could be seen cat traction engines made in Illinois a opportunity to be loaded on to a shi for ports in China. Consider th disadvantages of handling such goods far off the direct route yet neither New York Harbor n United States is getting the good

ss which rightfully belongs to them
: shipping of American products
y from our own factories to the final
ıer. And it should not be forgotten,
that even though the carriers do
the American flag, if they sail on
lines between New York and the
of the world where goods are pur-
, and insure regular and rapid
y, it will greatly aid in increasing
antity of goods we can sell to the
ınufacturing countries. Anything
will assist in bringing new lines of
rs to New York will benefit the
Nation's foreign trade.

stimating New York's opportunity
dership as a world market, it seems
obvious that the chief competitors
iverpool, London, Antwerp, and
ırg. The two latter cities are at
: so closely involved in the war
ın that it is impossible to pre-
hat may be the outcome. Many
German merchant ships were cap-
by England at the beginning of the
ıt even before the war the tonnage
chant ships under the British flag
ıree fourths of that of all the rest
ıations put together. It looks, then,
ıgh London or Liverpool will make
the strongest bid for acting as the
g house for the world's goods.

W YORK'S NATURAL ADVANTAGES

t, then, are the relative advantages
sadvantages of New York as com-
with London and Liverpool? In
t place, New York Harbor is so well
d and has such natural advantages
pe and almost unlimited size that
characteristics make it the logical
clearing house for shipping. In-
for instance, of cocoa from near-by
Domingo going to England and then
esold to Scandinavia (as sometimes
ppens), there would seem to be good
ınity for the cocoa to come here in
ıantities for storage and ultimate
other nations as needed. The same
be said of South American rubber
ınumerable products from the dif-
countries which have not highly
ped banking, manufacturing, and
ndising.

By comparison, both London and Liverpool are handicapped in the size and characteristics of their harbors. Thus London is located on an inadequate river requiring much dredging of docking space to obtain modern steamship terminals. Liverpool is tremendously handicapped by a tide of more than 30 feet which necessitates vast expense in the construction of closed dock basins and gates to hold the water in the basins when the tide recedes. The tide at New York, on the contrary, is almost negligible and, since the whole harbor is in one area, lighters may be used in the transfer of freight from pier to pier, as contrasted with Liverpool, where the closed dock system prohibits the transfer of goods from pier to pier or from pier to warehouses except by vehicles, causing a correspondingly higher cost. New York Harbor has more than 450 miles of water front available for pier construction. In so far as space is concerned, there is ample room in New York Harbor for the combined dockage space of any five of the main seaports of Europe.

NEW YORK'S HANDICAPS

Looking at New York's handicaps, it must be remembered that the English seaports have a great advantage in the race for first position as a world market for the reason that Great Britain's vast foreign colonies are peopled with a large percentage of the whole world's population. With British-owned ships sailing under the British flag to British colonies the chances are very greatly in favor of the raw materials of the colonies being carried back to England as the storehouse from which the other nations will be supplied with the raw material or quite likely with the finished product turned out of British factories. Great Britain has always been a builder of trade. Its banking affiliations alone would be sufficient to transfer the products of British colonies to England instead of to America, all other things being equal. Though the war will undoubtedly have an effect on England's financial status, it is certain that that country will make a tremendous effort to retain her position in foreign commerce.

Looking again at New York's hopeful

prospects, it appears that our exports are increasing rapidly. India and Australia are buying our harvester machinery, barbed wire, automobiles, phonographs, and other goods innumerable. As payment for our exports it is only natural that we should receive the raw materials which each country can best produce. The extent to which products of the more newly developed countries will come to New York rather than to England as a place of resale will likely depend very largely on the volume of our more highly manufactured products which we can sell in those countries. It is much better for us to export automobiles worth fifty cents or one dollar a pound than for us to ship steel rails worth a cent and a half a pound. If we can work our natural resources up into a highly developed form with a large value per pound and make a better or less costly product than any other nation, the raw materials of the world will come to New York for distribution simply as payment for the goods exported.

THE NEED OF BETTER METHODS

New York, on the whole, has every reason to look confidently to the future. In those things which man could not alter (location, size of harbor, etc.) Nature has been generous. The only things that could retard or prevent a great destiny are things that man can alter, such as methods of handling traffic and the like. In these things, unfortunately, New York has much to learn. But, equally fortunately, Americans have a way of learning what they need to know. To facilitate this process of reform it may be well to call attention to some of the defects of New York's harbor methods and to discuss some of the possible remedies.

Consider, for example, the amount of time consumed in loading and unloading a ship of miscellaneous package cargo. This time definitely depends on the speed with which the packages are handled in a small space on the pier opposite the hatchway of the ship. In loading the ship the goods must be assembled in sling loads, and if the assembling is done at the side of the ship a large investment in ship, pier, and cargo stands idle longer than really

essary. In unloading a ship the wo versed, but the delays are similar in Freight steamers are normally wort $500 a day upward, with charte much increased since the war beg is surprising that methods have n more generally adopted in New Harbor for saving every possible while steamers are in port.

Many of these things which caus and additional expense in handling freight in New York are due to n and lack of coöperation rather t the need for elaborate cranes or complex freight-handling machinery. ably the worst delay of all is cau the United States Government. Ha is a free port where the customs have no authority over the good such times as they pass outside of t port area. England is a free trade c and accordingly goods can be l from the ship directly to the railr without having to be weighed l customs officers. But in New Yo cause of the methods of the United Customs, practically all dutiable must be laid down on the pier and until such time as the customs have obtained weights and samples perfectly feasible from an engi standpoint to unload miscellaneou age freight of the average cargo by the drafts of goods lowered over t of the ship on to small electric battery trucks so that the goods taken away as fast as the men on side of the ship can put the materi slings. Once on the wheels of the trucks, the cargo could be weigh platform scales so as to obtain bo toms weight and an independent w desired by the owner of the goods. ples for customs grading can ord be taken without undue delay. way the storage battery truck lo materials could often be taken dire warehouses or loaded at once into cars with a procedure as rapid as tha in even the most modern English Similar gains are possible in loadin and also in transferring freight b piers and lighters. But in New Harbor at present it is not unusual

ır separate organizations have in ndled the same freight by human ithin a total distance of not ex- one thousand feet between ship rehouse, ship and lighter, or ship road car. By having more of the ns under one organization, or in ɔperation, not only can the direct ton be reduced but the augmented f movement will tremendously the capacity of existing piers and he delays to ships and cargoes. ch cheaper to handle more freight sting piers than to build new piers.

WHERE ENGLAND EXCELS

is where New York could learn ɔm Europe. The ports of Europe, ir centralized control and manage- ave been able to give more com- rvice than is found in any of the f America. At Manchester, all t of unloading a ship, handling the ɔ freight cars or warehouses, as loading the outbound cargo, is the Manchester Ship Canal Com- d billed for in accordance with the d rates. Somewhat the same con- prevail at Liverpool, but private ɜe enters more largely there than hester. A properly managed cen- anization can give better service everal unrelated organizations ; different parts of the work. The ivate terminal companies of New ɾe giving more complete service found in other American seaports, ı these terminal companies do not s many phases of the work as the organization of a modern Euro- bor.

in London and Liverpool are ınd operated by special corpora- ıthorized by Parliament. These tions have the power to issue their ıds. As they have managed the operties with sufficient skill to em pay the interest on the invest- ere is practically no difficulty in g capital by the issue of more hen additional harbor construc- ecessary.

lew York City Dock Department eated as a separate *organization* distinct from the general city government. Whenever capital for waterfront improvement is desired the chances for obtaining it depend very largely on how pressing are the requirements of other departments in the city management. A few years ago some of the dock property was shown to be self-supporting, and because of this the borrowing capacity of the city was increased about ninety million dollars. This amount of money judiciously used as a working capital for waterfront improvement would have made New York's position in foreign trade almost unassailable. Most of the ninety million dollars was, however, used for the construction of new subways. Now there is danger that the Dock Department may have to get along on a hand-to-mouth policy for some years to come. Every strap-hanger who has a vote appreciates the difference which rapid transit makes in his own daily life. The pressure on city officials is thus much greater for improving rapid transit facilities than for developing the waterfront. Probably not one citizen in ten thousand realizes that, though new subways affect the comfort of the citizens, the very future of the city itself depends on the proper development and enlightened management of its harbor.

The ordinary corporation would develop waterfront property by taking a lease for a pier and building the pier afterward. So long as each unit of construction were self-supporting there would be no difficulty for the corporation to obtain capital as needed to proceed with new development. Many plans for improving New York Harbor would be self-supporting from the beginning, and it would seem only reasonable under these circumstances that capital for the development should be obtained as needed. A state or a municipality can borrow money more cheaply than any corporation. Probably the most desirable plan for developing the port of New York would involve a partnership of public capital for waterfront ownership and pier construction with centralized private corporation management of the waterfront facilities. If one or two large corporations could operate all the waterfront facilities in New York Harbor, under proper

supervision of a public service commission to protect the interest of the public, there could be very great economy in operation with much improved service to shippers. England obtained the American carrying trade largely because England was building steel ships when we persisted in building wooden ships and because England adopted the screw propeller while American shipyards insisted upon retaining the paddle wheel. Likewise, unless New York Harbor is developed to keep pace with and even surpass the development of European harbors, this nation's wonderful opportunity for foreign trade cannot be utilized to the utmost.

One of the greatest obstacles to the development of the port of New York is the state line which bisects the harbor. On the New Jersey side there are more than forty municipalities facing the waterfront, of which only two are likely to be large enough to undertake any comprehensive plan of waterfront ownership and improvement. There are three square miles of mud flats between Bayonne and Jersey City which are potentially the best commercial waterfront New York Harbor will ever have. Almost unlimited areas of meadow land are waiting to be filled and made available for deep-water factory sites. In the meantime dirt from New York subway construction and thousands of barge loads of ashes are hauled far out to sea and dumped. From an economic standpoint the material should be utilized for filling waterfront lowlands. It is to be hoped that the average resident of the City of New York will come to a realization that the development of the New Jersey side of the harbor cannot but aid the prosperity of Manhattan and every one of the other four boroughs. Each new pier or factory built in Jersey means a larger volume of business of every kind and more customers for the merchants and manufacturers established on the New York side of the Hudson.

It seems likely that a solution of the problems regarding New York's commerce will ultimately involve freight tunnels across the Hudson River so that the New Jersey railroads may all have access to a marginal railroad on the west side of Manhattan Island. A bridge acr Hudson at Fifty-seventh Street is from an engineering standpoint, l uptown location required by the high land for approaches would r the bridge being used chiefly by vehicles, for which the huge invest forty-two million dollars does nc justifiable at the present time. tunnels across the Hudson downt not only feasible, but if tolls e ferry tolls were charged they wo come practically self-supporting at c westbound and an eastbound team each having a width sufficient for lines of vehicles, can be built ac Hudson opposite Canal Street at cost of about eleven million dollar effect of these tunnels to increase t ness of New York through the devel of the New Jersey waterfront and districts can hardly be over-estima

Since there are so many munic on the Jersey side and no likelihood being concentrated into one gre the chief hope for a broad scheme o waterfront improvement is for th of New Jersey to provide the fun as the State of Massachusetts m propriations for the improvement port of Boston. To secure mone proper development it will be n to obtain the approval of the voters Jersey. The waterfront improvemen unquestionably be a benefit to Ne as a whole, and it would seem t obtaining of the consent of the should not be impossible.

The New York side and the Ne side of New York Harbor should b oped harmoniously. "Service" sh the watchword of the port of New service to the seller and to the buy service to the inland factory as we the tide-water manufacturer. Incr numerous steamships sailing fro York to all corners of the earth facilities to the average exporter porter that he cannot obtain in an port of America. If the present tunities are utilized to the utmos York can become the acknowledg ket-place of the world and give rea to all the nations of the earth.

THE DRAMA OF THE DYESTUFFS

W GERMANY'S CONTROL OF THE MANUFACTURE OF COAL-TAR DYES ALMOST DECIDED THE EUROPEAN WAR AND HOW IT LATER NEARLY RUINED SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES IN THE UNITED STATES— WHAT A COMPLETE DYE FAMINE WOULD MEAN, AND WHAT IS BEING DONE TO FOUND A BIG NEW AMERICAN INDUSTRY

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

AMERICA'S purchases of coloring materials for textiles, inks, leather, and other manufactures were the direct cause of a great deal of Germany's ess in the first year of the war. The nection is simple: all these things are adays colored with coal-tar dyes; Gery controls the coal-tar dye industry of world; the United States is the largest omer of this industry; benzol and ol, the basic materials of these dyes, are the basic materials of the famous "high losives" which wrecked the forts of ge and Namur and so made possible the sh to Paris" that came so near to deng the fate of Europe in the first month he war.

ut the German control of the dye indushas come even nearer home to this ntry. Though the outcome of the opean war will most profoundly affect future of the United States, the imme-e effects of the stoppage of German s are more acutely felt at this time. y are felt most noticeably in the great ile industry. In that industry, thouss of operatives are out of employment, sands more are working on half time quarter time, millions of dollars' worth plant and machinery stand idle—all use women (and men, too, for that ter) will not buy clothing that is not htened by color. And should Ameri-enterprise not make good the loss of ign dyestuffs—as, fortunately, it seems fair way to do—we should look forward drab future indeed.

st how much color does mean to lern man may be *gathered from considering* the uses to which he puts coal-tar dyes. First, practically everything that men and women wear except white goods is colored with these dyes—suits of clothes, fine silks, neckties, hose, shirts, hats, linens, —all apparel, in short. Nearly every article of leather is dyed—gloves, shoes, saddles, harness, book bindings, upholstery, and so on. Almost all inks are colored with dyes—writing inks and printing inks, including those that make gay the covers of magazines and books and the wall papers that hide our naked walls. House paints, furniture stains, and varnishes owe their charm to the same coal-tar product. Imagine what a dull world we should live in without them—a world of people clad in uncolored garments moving about in dingy houses among furnishings of lifeless grays and browns.

True enough, before ever coal-tar dyes were discovered—and they are only about sixty years old—the world was fairly colorful. But for every tint that was available then, a dozen tints may be had now that were then undreamt of—and every one of the dozen a fresher, more brilliant, and more lasting color. And these modern colors are cheap, reliable, easily accessible staples of an industrial system that could not long tolerate the uncertain and more difficult supply of the older coloring matters. In the United States, that industrial system includes all the great textile mills of New England and the Atlantic South, all the silk mills of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, all the shoe and leather manufactories centering in Boston and New York, which, with other industries affected, involve hundreds of millions of dollars of

American capital and hundreds of thousands of American employees. The losses which that system of industry has already endured are enormous; they have been the cause of acute suffering to many an American family.

GERMANY'S GREAT DYE INDUSTRY

The German dye industry, the dislocation of which has thus rudely disturbed the smooth current of American business, is the pride of Germany and one of the wonders of the world. In the "Pennsylvania of the Rhine"—that smoky and populous region of coal and iron of which Essen is the Pittsburg—are twelve of Germany's twenty-one coal-tar dye factories. They are huge establishments, the biggest of them covering hundreds of acres and employing thousands of workmen. Collectively they represent an investment of four hundred million dollars of capital, and their yearly product is valued at one hundred million dollars. They constitute Germany's best equipped and most profitable manufacturing industry. Germans are proud of it not only because it is a triumph of German science and German engineering in a complex technical art but also because it is a triumph of German financial organization and of German commercial skill that have won Germany practically a world monopoly in one of the most vital elements of modern life. And they are especially proud of it because, in developing it, they have beat England at its own game, for coal-tar dyes are an English discovery.

In 1856, William Henry Perkin, an English chemist, tried to produce an artificial, or synthetic, quinine. He used for this purpose some of the distilled products of coal tar. His experiments were a failure, but they produced something that he had not dreamed of when he began them, and something the value of which would have escaped even most chemists. This product was mauveine, the first aniline dye, from which the delicate shade known as mauve was first obtained. Young Perkin recognized the practical utility of his discovery, and, with capital supplied by his father, went at once into the business of manufacturing artificial dyes.

That was the foundation of the amazing coal-tar industry which has been built up in the last sixty years and which includes not only dyes but a large proportion of the drugs listed in the pharmacopœias, the most powerful explosives, many perfumes, photographic developers, an excellent automobile fuel, and dozens of other indispensable products of modern life.

But though Perkin succeeded financially and died rich, famous, and a knight of the British Crown, his countrymen let the fruits of his labors slip from their hands. Not England, but Germany, grasped the significance of his discovery and developed its full possibilities. A German firm began the manufacture of these dyes on a modest scale at Ludwigshafen-on-the-Rhine, employing a few workmen. By 1906, the Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik was employing 7,500 workmen, 197 university-trained chemists, 95 engineers, and 709 clerks, and was the biggest dye manufactory in the world. The Bayer Company, at Elberfeld, is almost as big, and these two are closely followed by Cassella & Company, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, and by Meister Lucius & Brüning, of Höchst. Seventeen other concerns, all large, are scattered through Germany, most of them in a region only about 130 miles square, in the valleys of the Main and Rhine.

A TRIUMPH OF SCIENCE AND BUSINESS

Germany succeeded with the industry only by a remarkable coöperation of technical, financial, and commercial forces. The aid of the universities was enlisted to solve the complex problems of chemistry involved in the preparation of the dyes and in the discovery of new colors. Gradually a corps of chemists was built up that was almost unbelievably patient in research and painstaking in manufacture. Back of them stood a group of bankers singularly far-sighted and patient. And selling the product was a commercial organization, highly efficient in itself, that had, besides, the coöperation of the Government to encourage it with permission to form a monopolistic system of distribution and to give it an effective tariff barrier against foreign competition.

Thus fortified, the German dye makers went out to conquer the world. Every

was their market, for wherever were made or dyed there was ly a demand for their products. gents became prosperous in every the earth, from Shanghai and Cal- › London and New York. (China dia use more dyes than England : United States.) Thus Mr. Her- Metz, in public life a member of is and formerly comptroller of New ity, is in private life the American f a great German dye corporation. great export trade was captured without a struggle, even on the Great Britain and the United though both were large consumers tuffs and both are abundantly en- by Nature with the basic materials r manufacture. Both these coun- ve, indeed, built up a small indus- each case involving the investment ut three million dollars against y's four hundred million dollars. ey were both great textile manu- g countries, and their powerful cturers were more concerned with dyestuffs cheap than they were etting dyestuffs made at home. hey paid little heed to the protests eir native chemists made when rman exporting *cartels* used the weapon of underselling to starve my competitors out of their natural and even out of business. Any to fight back by trying to under- Germans in Germany was certain or the Kaiser's Government took a l interest in the German dye busi- d was ready instantly to use its tic tariff commission to clap a pro- tariff on foreign dyes overnight, if y, to protect it.

DYESTUFFS IN WAR

German Government's solicitude industry was probably not wholly either its pride in a great and suc- world business or its satisfaction e profits of that business. Ger- aggressive military tradition had y at least as much to do with it. ion that controlled the dye business orld would for a year, at least, in t of war, control *the world's supply* of high explosives. What could be more admirable, from the German Government's point of view, than an arrangement by which such a storehouse of military energy should, in time of peace, maintain itself as an extremely profitable industry?

A brief description of the coal-tar processes may make this reasoning clearer. When coal is burned to make either coke or illuminating gas (except in the American system of "water gas"), three separate products are evolved: coke, gas, and tar. From 100 parts of coal are obtained 72 parts of coke, 22 parts of gas, and 6 parts of tar. This "tar" is part liquid, part solid, and it contains 155 distinct chemical substances, which, to be of practical use, must of course be distilled or otherwise got out of it. Of these substances, 10 are used in the manufacture of dyes. Two of these, toluol and phenol, are just as useful for war as they are for peace. Toluol (and similarly phenol) combined with certain acids becomes the base of a series of dyes: toluol combined with other acids becomes trinitrotoluol, a mighty explosive; and phenol, combined with other chemicals, becomes that famous picric acid which made possible the quick destruction of the Belgian fortresses.

Military men of no other nation understood so fully as the Germans the potential use of these incredibly destructive explosives. Even after the Battle of the Marne, when the French and British in their trenches were pitting their shrapnel shells against the "H. E." German shells, General Sir John French could not persuade the War Office that "high explosive" was probably the decisive element in the struggle. Defeated in the War Office, he turned to Lord Northcliffe, who sent Colonel Repington, the military expert of his London *Times*, to the front to see the proof of General French's contention. The result was the series of articles in the *Times* that made Mr. Lloyd-George Minister of Munitions and set all the available works in Great Britain and the United States enlarging in order to increase their production of these high explosives.

By this devious route arises the hope of an American dye industry. A profitable market is thus opened for American-made

coal-tar products. The Bethlehem Steel Company, for example, took orders for enormous numbers of high explosive shells. It had the steel to make the jackets of these shells, but no picric acid to load them with. But in the Pittsburg district alone thousands of pounds of the valuable coal-tar products were weekly going to waste up the chimneys of the coke ovens whose smoke darkens that region. Many companies in various parts of the country equipped themselves to capture these products. The United States Steel Corporation installed benzol recovery plants (benzol is the first of the series of distillates of which toluol and phenol are later products) in its works at Sharon, Pa., Gary, Ind., and Birmingham, Ala. The Republic Iron & Steel Company, at Youngstown, O., the Lackawanna Steel Company, at Buffalo, and several others did likewise.

Soon benzol was being produced in quantities sufficient not only to make all the needed picric acid but for use in other ways. For example, Mr. Thomas A. Edison became a large purchaser of benzol. The reason for this was that his phonograph records are made from a synthetic compound produced by the reaction of carbolic acid (phenol) on formaldehyde. Now carbolic acid, like most of the rest of coal-tar derivatives, was imported chiefly from Germany. When the British blockade and the German embargo combined to stop exports, Mr. Edison naturally sought other sources of carbolic acid. He decided to buy benzol and to make his own supply from it. Other manufacturers had already done so for explosives.

BEGINNINGS OF AN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

Attention has been called above to 155 chemical substances derived from coal tar. Only 10 of these are used in making dyes. These 10 are called "crudes"; these 10 crudes are converted by various chemical processes into about 300 more complex substances called "intermediates"; and these 300 intermediates are turned by further chemical processes into about 920 finished dyes. Theoretically, millions of different shades could be made from the intermediates; actually several thousand have been *made and patented; commercially only* about 920 are manufactured; and practically only about 400 are widely used. Of all dyestuffs, plain blacks are by far the most widely used, then indigo blues, then the simpler browns, greens, and reds. These are the staples of a workaday world. The others are the colorings of fine dress goods, fancy silk ties and hose, etc.

Meanwhile, the old established native American dye concerns have redoubled and quadrupled their activity. They were, compared with the German giants, small and few. Only one American company has been in the business for thirty-five years, the Schoellkopf Aniline & Chemical Company, of Buffalo. One or two other concerns have entered the field in late years, but they had made relatively little progress before the war. Indeed, of the entire American output of dyestuffs, the Schoellkopf company alone manufactured practically one half.

With the outbreak of the war, the Schoellkopf company—and their action is characteristic of the others—cut down the number of varieties of colors that they manufactured and redoubled their efforts with the more staple shades. Thus, by reducing the number of colors from 132 to about 40, they were able to produce approximately four times as much dyestuffs altogether as they had produced before the war. Of this production, practically three fourths were black dyes.

In another quarter, too, American enterprise rose to meet the emergency. Most fabrics will not retain the coal-tar dyes against the effects of washing unless they have first been treated with mordants that, by some still not wholly understood action, affect the fibres so that they will permanently hold the coloring matter. These mordants are usually barium salts, and Germany supplied all these salts before the war. When the American supply was exhausted in August of last year, Toch Brothers, of New York, opened a barium mine in Tennessee and soon made its production capable of relieving the situation.

But at no time, past or present, has there been a dye manufacturing industry in this country in the sense that Germany has such an industry. The American factories have been dependent upon Germany

ir intermediates, and are largely bling plants," which carry out only itively simple chemical processes of ing these intermediates with other ices to produce the finished com- dyes. This was one reason why, he German dyes were no longer d in this country, even the going an concerns were helpless to remedy ation until American benzol recov- nts could get under way.

is interval, now safely passed, the manufacturers especially were hard t to keep their establishments going. porters' stocks of German dyes were ng; the new American product was ming into the market. They re- to all kinds of expedients—half- eration, the use of hair-line stripes of heavy stripes on materials, the ition of conventional designs for re elaborate patterns, even the re- the use of long-abandoned natural le dyestuffs.

last innovation has had world-wide It has sent corps of woodsmen e forests of Central America to get logwood from which the best of time black dyes was made. It has a warm current of life blood into thered veins of the East Indian trade. Madder root, from which ous "Turkey red" was for centuries d, has emerged from almost com- livion into the markets of the world. forests of the South have responded all for the only dyestuff native to ited States—quercitron, a yellow calicoes. Cochineal is again in de- or scarlets, and the gathering of the from which it is made, from cactus s a reviving industry in Mexico.

ese, and many more, dyestuffs had r hundreds of years staples of the ce of the world, but they had l largely out of sight after the of coal-tar dyes, which were cheaper, of much more uniform and more brilliant and lasting. yrian purple, the royal shade that t emperors might wear, on penalty —Tyrian purple was long ago pro- ynthetically by Dr. Friedländer, rich, on the *Rhine. And though* his purple was exactly the ancient purple, not merely a likeness, and though he could manufacture it to sell at a profit for 1-1000th of the price Diocletian is known to have paid for it, it was so inferior to other synthetic purples that nobody would buy it at 20 cents a pound.

Not only the organic dyestuffs, ancient and modern, but old inorganic dyes have been called back into service—colors produced by the use of common minerals and acids.

But all these things are makeshifts—stop-gaps to fill in with until an American dye industry is created or the German dyes find their way back into this country. The ideal solution of the present situation is, of course, the creation of a complete American dye industry rather than the return to the use of the German dyes. Powerful American financial interests have been tempted to go into the field by the golden opportunity that is offered by the paralysis of the German companies and by the sight of a world hungering for their products. With peace prices, the German companies often earned as much as 50 per cent. a year on their investment, spending it lavishly on improvements and extensions of their plants, besides paying handsome dividends. War prices, by comparison, offered a Golconda of profit. Benzol, normally worth 20 cents a gallon, has sold as high as $1.25 a gallon for immediate shipment and is now sold on contract at about 65 cents; toluol prices have similarly jumped from 25 cents to $6, and to $4.25 on contract; indigo rose from 15 cents a pound to $1 and more; aniline oil went from 10 cents to as high as $1.75 a pound.

The shadow upon this roseate picture of profits is the shadow of the German giant. After the war he will return to the field, desperately hungry for business after the losses of the conflict, with his great factories intact, with his technical forces perhaps crippled but still immensely superior to their competitors in coördination and training, and with his selling organization ready to reopen the long familiar channels of trade—if necessary by the dynamite of low prices until upstart rivals shall be driven off.

Even this fearsome shadow, however,

does not prevent the more daring Americans from seizing the easier of the open roads to profit. Hence the benzol recovery plants, with their high margin of safety and quick amortization of investment; hence the overnight development of aniline oil; hence the extension of the plants of the existing American dye makers.

CORPORATIONS THAT MAY MAKE DYES

But none of these things, nor all of them together, give promise of a great, complete dye industry such as Germany possesses. Nevertheless, the opportunity for some of the more powerful American corporations to enter this field is too promising to be passed by without searching investigation of the possibilities. For example, if the United States Steel Corporation went into it, it would furnish a continuing market for the recovered by-products of its coke ovens that now go to waste, besides yielcing its own profit as a manufacturing enterprise. The Du Pont Powder Company is tempted by the obvious desirability of maintaining its practical monopoly of explosives by maintaining a continuous outlet for the products of peace. The General Chemical Company doubtless sees in the situation an opportunity to supplement its present supremacy in heavy chemicals with a like supremacy in chemicals derived from coal tar. The Barrett Manufacturing Company, which is king in the American realm of tar, pitch, and creosote, might well anticipate eagerly the profits to be got by the further refinements of their basic product. And the Standard Oil Company, now that the Rittman process of extracting benzol from crude petroleum gives promise of opening a vast new source of "crudes" for the manufacture of dyes, might well follow its traditional policy of making all the possible varieties of products from its raw material. All these companies are financially strong enough to confront the German giant; probably one of them or a combination of several of them will develop the complete American dye industry if it is ever developed, working possibly from one, or a combination of all, of the existing American dye companies as *a beginning.*

But before any concern of any kind announces its whole-hearted intent enter the dye manufacturing field, two questions: (1) What will the G ment do to protect us from German cutting? and (2) Will the Gover foster the industry by laying a pro tariff on German dyes and basic mat As far as it is possible to guess the A istration's reply to these questions Secretary Redfield's public statemen other public sources, the answers been: (1) The Government will g limit to prevent destructive price-c and (2) The Government may p place a very low duty on some arti the dye trade, but nothing approac duty high enough to make a preser new industry to anybody at the exp the consuming public.

The first of these questions and a reveals a new angle of the struggle t vent unfair competition and mo and restraints of trade. Though th man Law and the Clayton Law cove practices when committed by Am engaged in interstate or foreign trade appears to be good reason to doub the laws prevent the German dye facturers' doing what under German entirely legal, namely, meeting in many and agreeing to sell dyes a than cost in the United States, t the effect (and the purpose as w this agreement is to kill off the Am dye makers and so monopolize th trade in this country. Until Co provides adequate measures agains practices as this, there is no probabili American capital will attempt to d the Germans, but Congress at this s will doubtless remedy a situation so mental to American business. Whe will abandon the traditional tariff of the Democratic majority to create industry artificially remains to be though the likelihood that it will d remote. And whether, if it does American money, American scienc American energy will meet the cha of the situation, will meet the bigge mediate opportunity to attack Ger position in foreign trade—that, to mains to be seen, and the likelihoo they will fail to do so is equally rem

LANCING DOMESTIC TRADE BY FOREIGN TRADE

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

OO often an American merchant's horizon is limited by his experience at home; he has never bothered to seek information about foreign mar-
ossibly he may have an honest
1 to look into the export proposi-
:n he has a little leisure, but he is
t to think that export trade is
ıg novel, something which has
ırove its permanence. Especially
t to assume that the world will be
ırly gratified when he offers it an
ıity to purchase his products.
bly he would refuse to believe that
firms in Rio Janeiro have been
s since 1800. Certainly he would
th great indignation, the assertion
latest device, perfected in his own
ries, had been sold by an Italian
decades. Nor could he grasp at
: idea that an importer in Cape
South Africa, sold yearly more
an he manufactured.
ıot to be wondered at, then, that
ts in other lands, who have ex-
iite comfortably for generations,
el rather amused on learning that
turers of the United States are
; to discover them! Behind the
sly worded editorials which com-
ın the presence of American manu-
ı on a recent trade tour in South
there was an amusement, not
concealed, at the expressions of
uttered by the visitors in finding
s of civilization so far from the
ıtates.
nerican manufacturer, a maker of
ıshes, wrote recently to an im-
f drugs in Valparaiso explaining
oothbrush was, its methods of use,
le clear that it was a staple of the
ug trade in the United States.

Having simplified matters in this way he asked whether the Valparaiso importer felt that a demand could be created for his unexcelled line. He received in reply a courteous letter stating that it might be difficult to introduce his product in Chile as the market had been held for the last five or six years by French and German brands of toothbrushes, but that recently an American firm by dint of advertising in the local papers and the use of display material had gained a firm hold. However, as the drug importer was under no contract he would consider handling a new firm's product.

The toothbrush manufacturer, a wiser and sadder man for his experience, decided wisely not to compete in such a crowded market, but established a foreign trade elsewhere in a less competitive field which now pays him very well. Another example, in this connection, is that of an Ohio manufacturer, who, possessing a sense of humor even when he himself was the victim, told of an experience which points a valuable moral. "As you know," he told the delegates assembled at an export meeting, "our greatest rival is The X Corporation. Last year I felt the time had come to steal a march on them by seeking markets outside the ones in which we had contested with varying success, so I made my vacation an excuse to travel abroad.

"In Algiers, the first stop, I hastened to secure an interpreter and visited the one merchant I felt might be induced to handle such a product as ours. I was prepared to show him that there was a market for such a product, tell him how to develop it, and share expenses in educating the taste of consumers for the product.

"To my surprise I found he had handled the line of The X Corporation for eighteen years and that his annual sales

were more than $20,000. This was a sample of the experiences which fell to my lot as I circled the globe. My idea of selling goods outside the United States was an excellent one—and it was only twenty years late."

Whereupon the president of The X Corporation arose and observed, with a smile: "Confession is good for the soul. My brother in trade is entitled to know that twenty years ago, when we first decided to make outlets for our product abroad, we found to our surprise that English manufacturers of our goods had started the business for us—a century or so before!"

Such examples only go to show how few merchants realize what other foreign merchants have long ago realized: the value of foreign trade for increasing their production and for acting as a balance to their domestic trade.

There are businesses in the United States whose continued existence through such years of financial depression as 1907 and 1913 was due entirely to their customers in other countries. These exporters point to the margin of business safety which lies in sales in distant countries beyond the reach of any local depression. To many of these even such a tremendous upheaval as the European war is a business incident, for their markets are world-wide, and to compensate for losses sustained in warring countries there came increased demand from kingdoms and republics for which Europe was formerly the leading source of supply.

A far-seeing business pioneer, in turning his business over to his three sons, said: "Boys, I can retire now with the feeling that I have doubly insured the future of the property. By you I have insured its intelligent handling, and your training has included the training of others, so that the brains of the business are certain to continue. By dividing our sales so that our goods are in demand in every city in the world with a population of 300,000 or more and naturally in many smaller cities, I have insured the business against domestic panic or sudden change in domestic tastes. Regardless of the profit derived, foreign trade is worth while as a balance wheel and safe combined."

Nor is this an isolated example are many such cases. There is a San Francisco which now runs i full time the entire year, instead o down in both winter and summer, of its extra export business. 'A manufacturer can testify to the costs of production through e machinery paid for by his foreigr A Pennsylvania maker of men's we: that an additional 2 per cent. on his domestic sales came thr idea given him by a demand for a novelty of French origin which he of by its advance production Chilean trade.

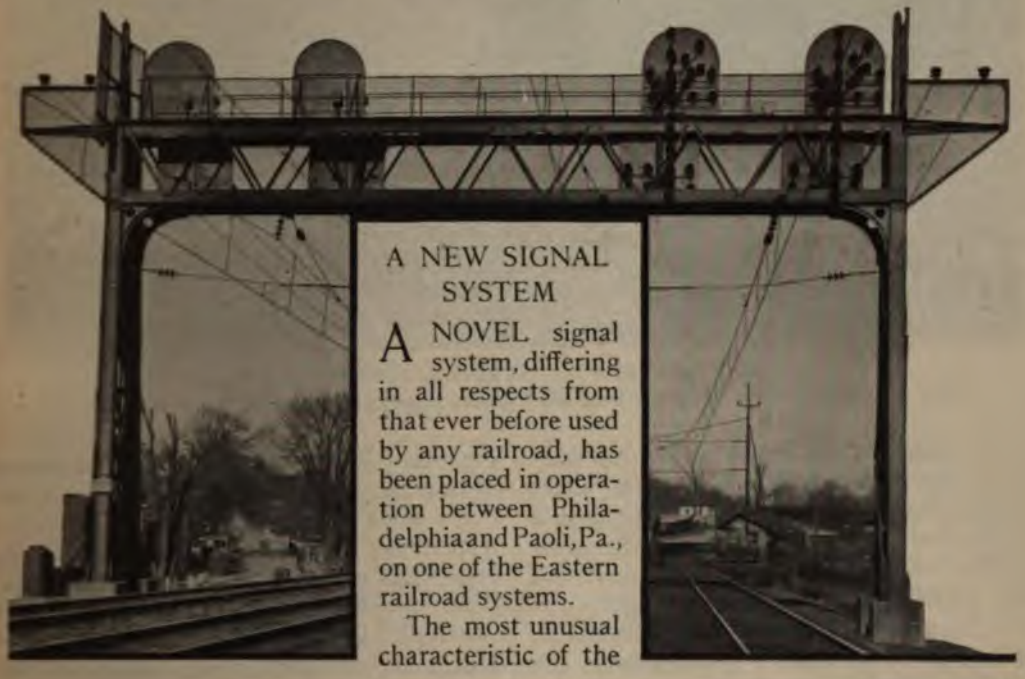
Twelve years ago a small town Hampshire found its apple crop buyers and the fruit rotted on the Five years later, when other tow having the same experience, app this town were selling at six cent in every leading city in England. these apples are seldom seen in markets, for higher prices and c tive freedom from competition in foreign cities have absorbed its cro

In a Massachusetts town a manu of knitted goods surprised the gov buyers of the warring nations by to consider their offers. They t that they preferred his product were already known in every E country, and that they were willin a high price because of the proved of the goods under conditions wh would meet. His reply might taken to heart by many who falsely that in selling war munitions abr have become exporters.

"For twelve years," he told the modest mills have been supported export customers. To these my profit is due and to them are dedic 1914, 1915, and future outputs, n as a tribute to their loyalty to m but because my business judgm me not to lose a certain future by with a present profit which leads immediate dollars."

That man is not only a good c he is also a good business man.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES



A NEW SIGNAL SYSTEM

A NOVEL signal system, differing in all respects from that ever before used by any railroad, has been placed in operation between Philadelphia and Paoli, Pa., on one of the Eastern railroad systems.

The most unusual characteristic of the

NEW SAFETY SIGNALS FOR RAILROADS

By a system of bright lights the semaphore, with its arms by day and colored lights by night, has been eliminated

A NOVEL METHOD OF DETECTING FOREST FIRES
By the use of a hydro-aeroplane, from which a wide range of forest can be inspected daily

new signals is the substitution, for day and night use alike, of brilliant white electric lights, showing sharply against a black background, for the moving arms of the semaphore, now used by day, and the colored lights in use at night. All moving parts of the signal are eliminated, which not only reduces to a minimum the chance of it getting out of order, but also lessens the cost of installation and maintenance. With these signals the engineers of locomotives are guided by the same code every hour of the twenty-four, with corresponding reduction of the chance of error, and the necessity of distinguishing different colors is obviated.

All positions of the semaphore arms—horizontal, diagonal, and vertical—are duplicated in the new signals by the rows of electric lights. Every signal has a sufficient number of rows of lights to be the equivalent of two semaphore arms.

A NEW KIND OF MOTOR-CYCLE
With the motive power mounted on the front *wheel to distribute the* weight more evenly

AN AEROPLANE TO DETECT FOREST FIRES

A NEW method of detecting and locating forest fires has recently been devised in Wisconsin by the state forester, Mr. F. B. Moody, the head ranger, Mr. E. M. Weaver, and an aviator, Mr. L. A. Vilas. Mr. Vilas flies over the forests almost every day in search of fires, usually accompanied by the state forester or the head ranger. A "flying boat" is used, which enables them to land on either the lakes and rivers or the open spaces of the forest. The usefulness of this method in fighting forest fires has been demonstrated in many instances. A wide range of forest can thus be inspected in a short time, and the work of extinguishing a fire can be begun immediately after detection.

TO PREVENT LOSSES OF EQUIPMENT
construction company keeps track of its equipment by means of models kept in its main office

TOR-CYCLE DRIVEN BY ITS FRONT WHEEL

placing of the motive power on e front wheel of a motor-cycle is a e that was recently conceived. The wheel is made to bear the entire t of the motor, while the rider's t rests largely on the rear wheel, makes possible a more equal dis- ion of weight than in the ordinary f motor-cycle. The brake is applied rear wheel. As the frame of the -cycle is connected to the front wheel by flexible springs and fork sides, is but little motor vibration com- ated to the rider. The fuel tank, has a capacity sufficient for one ed miles, is carried on the handle Another advantage is that the portion of the machine that is liable come oily is the front wheel, with the rider does not come in contact.

LOCATING EQUIPMENT

INGENIOUS and comprehensive ystem of keeping track of equipment d at numerous and widely scattered is being used by a marine construc- company in Chicago. The system ts of the use of models placed in covered display cases, arranged to the character, location, and condition of the equipment. Four mahogany display cases are used, and these are divided into sections by movable strips of white cardboard. Each section represents one port or harbor, and its size depends upon the amount of equipment at that port and the corresponding number of models required to be placed in the section. The system is for the movable equipment only, and does not cover such stationary

SUPPLANTING THE SLIDE-RULE
A new device for obtaining logarithms instantly, which multiplies, divides, and gives powers and roots

A NEW BRAKE FOR FREIGHT CARS

Its quick application and release combined with its accessibility make it preferable to the out-of-reach wheel type of brake heretofore employed on freight cars

units as machine shops, concrete-pile plants, coal docks, quarries, etc., the location of which is permanent.

The models are grouped upon sheets of cardboard of three colors. Those placed on a white card indicate a plant that is working; a plant that is idle is placed on a green card, and a salmon-colored card indicates a plant under repair. On the green and salmon-colored cards are placed small easels, each bearing a card lettered "idle" or "equipment undergoing repair," and each piece of equipment undergoing repairs also carries an "Authority for Expenditure" card. A red card, called a "danger signal" is used to represent work awarded but not yet started. As soon as work is started the red card is replaced by a white one.

A RAPID COMPUTER

ENGINEERS and other men engaged in technical pursuits have had, heretofore, to use the slide-rule for multiplication and division. For accurate calculations they were compelled to use logarithms or long-hand work. A new device for multiplying and dividing has been introduced to assist in this work.

It consists of a slide and a dial engraved with number scales. The slide gives three-place answers, and the dial gives five-place answers. Each may be used *alone*—the slide coöperating with the dial. The slide points to the precise answer, checks it, and locates its decimal point. To multiply and divide any series of numbers it is necessary only to set each number in succession under a reading line in the slot. When the last number has been set the answer is read. Powers, roots, and complex proportions may also be solved by this computer. Its use requires no knowledge of mathematics or logarithms, but it reads directly five-place logarithms and anti-logarithms.

The instrument is 8½ inches in diameter, is framed in aluminum, and weighs less than a pound.

A NEW TYPE OF BRAKE FOR RAILROAD CARS

THE type of brake shown in the accompanying photograph was designed primarily for use on the various kinds of freight cars. That it can quickly be applied and released makes it a desirable device in view of the increasing weight and loading of railroad equipment. The inventor believes that it will greatly lessen damage to cars in switch yards, for it can be seen at a considerable distance whether the brake is set or released, which is not the case with the ordinary type of wheel brake. Also, the amount of force that is required to set or release this brake is not as great as is required when a wheel brake is used.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. HENRY P. FLETCHER

WHOSE APPOINTMENT AS AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO WILL RENEW DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THAT COUNTRY AND THE UNITED STATES. MR. FLETCHER HAS BEEN MINISTER AND AMBASSADOR TO CHILE SINCE 1909, AND IS ONE OF THE FEW AMERICAN DIPLOMATS TO RISE *FROM THE CIVIL* SERVICE TO AMBASSADORIAL RANK

THE
WORLD'S WORK

JANUARY, 1916

VOLUME XXXI

NUMBER 3

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

NOT since Lincoln's time has a President of the United States been confronted with the making of so much history as has Woodrow Wilson. He was elected to change the course in which the Nation had steered its domestic economy for fifty years. With that task he inherited problems in Mexico and in the Caribbean from which he has evolved a more specific and a definitely disinterested Monroe Doctrine. And the lessons of the European war have burned into the consciousness of the American people the necessity of a preparation for defending ourselves and our ideals that has never before existed in this country.

The President is confronted with the task of formulating a programme to meet that necessity; to instil a vigorous Americanism into all our people and to silence and rid us of the voices of treason which have risen among us; to increase the Navy rapidly so that it will suffice for our needs; to create a trained citizen army capable of defending the country—an entirely new thing in our history; and to organize a system in the Government and privately that will enable us to mobilize, transport, feed, supply, and refit our Army and Navy instantly and perfectly—also a new thing in American history.

The President has asked Congress to pass laws to enable the Government to do all these things.

Every citizen of the United States who has the welfare of this country at heart should do all in his power to see that Congress passes a programme that will set firm in statute and in fact our desire to be a nation with a single national sentiment, an honest and disinterested zeal for democracy and the welfare of our neighbors, and a willingness and ability to defend ourselves, our rights, and our ideals from encroachments either from within or without.

Our heart is clean of the lust of conquest and oppression. Let us match the decency of our ideals with a vigor and unity in their consummation. This is a task not alone for the President and Congress; they are the instruments through which the Nation works. It is the duty of every citizen; and now is the time for us to define who and what we are, for every one of us to do everything that lies in him to make the Government set us down in history aright.

What the present Congress does will serve as a measure for foreign nations of the intelligence and ability which we have as a nation to meet a situation that comes plainly before us; and it will also show us to ourselves.

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SOME WISE RECOMMENDATIONS

ASIDE from the main programme for national preparedness and the raising of money therefor, and for laws to deal with treason, the President made several other recommendations in his message to Congress:

1. The passage of a shipping bill.
2. The passage of laws increasing self-government in the Philippines and in Porto Rico.
3. The passage of bills granting federal aid to industrial and vocational education.
4. The passage of rural credit legislation.
5. An investigation of the transportation conditions in the country.

The President is voicing a very widespread popular feeling when he demands that the American merchant marine be revived. There is little difference of opinion upon this. The differences of opinion arise over how it shall be done. In the last Congress these differences killed Secretary McAdoo's ship purchase plan. The main difficulty of the situation is that in normal times American shipping has been unable to compete with foreign shipping. There are but two ways of overcoming this difficulty: either the Government must run the ships itself, presumably at a loss, or it must subsidize private individuals to do it. As a nation our experience with the Government in industry is not encouraging, nor have we ever been able to give subsidies or even tariff protection to private industries without discrimination if not corruption. Whatever shipping bill is passed, and some bill seems likely of passage, will contain the evils of one or the other or both of these expedients —Government industry or subsidy. The President recommends that the Government's aid, in whatever form it takes, be continued only while the shipping industry is in its infancy and that any artificial restraints which now hamper our shipping be removed. Both of these recommendations, if carried out, would tend to reduce the seemingly necessary evils attendant upon the re-creation of our merchant marine.

The enlargement of the privileges of self-government in the Philippines is a fulfilment of a plank in the Demo platform, but beyond the fact that an effort to fulfil a pledge it has not to recommend it. Secretary Garr very able demolition of Mr. Taft's a upon the present Administration i Islands is likely to gain adherents f Administration's proposals, but it h fact little to do with the Filipinos' a for increased self-government at pre

The granting of federal aid to indu and vocational education is much n and it is as proper a function for the ernment as the aid it has long exten agricultural education. Education of the fundamental duties of a demo and our experience has proved tha Government can give money to tea citizens without favoritism or scand

When the Federal Reserve Act passed it should normally have bee lowed by an act to facilitate rural c In all likelihood this would have hap except that certain members of Con in their zeal to help the farmer, endea to pass a bill to institute a rural fin charity. This bill was killed, but it hac long enough to block proper rural legislation. The American farmer not need financial charity from the G ment. He does want and should established a rural banking machiner will take from him his various mort consolidate them into salable form find a public market for them. The a number of mortgage bankers wh this very successfully now, but their a ties are limited. The Governmen supply a more extensive system.

The President recommends an in gation of the transportation probl the country in the hope of betterin conditions under which the railroads for "it is obviously a problem that the very foundation of our efficienc people."

"Our efficiency as a people!" It keynote of the entire programme. the exception of the Philippines every recommendation in the mess directed toward increasing our effi as a people.

The last paragraph of the Presi message reads:

at we are seeking now, what in my
he single thought of this message is
efficiency and security. We serve a
ion. We should serve it in the spirit
liar genius. It is the genius of com-
for self-government, industry, justice,
d peace. We should see to it that it
nstrument, no facility or vigor of law,
sufficient to play its part with energy,
d assured success. In this we are no
but heralds and prophets of a new age.

R CONTINENTAL ARMY

ERE are three points of view con-
erning the proposal to put the
Army upon a footing of prepared-
olonel Roosevelt and many other
elieve that we should have uni-
nilitary service. A one-year ser-
h our population would provide
army of from 750,000 to a million
ith a reserve, after a few years,
r three times that number. Be-
s, in time, would grow up a whole
trained in arms.

military system would practically
s against attack, for there is no
hat could transport enough troops
to have a chance of defeating
army. The other advantage of
l service is that it brings a con-
lization to the mind of every citi-
t citizenship does not consist
in privileges but that it involves
s well, one of which is the defense
ountry. There is no more reason
s duty should be voluntary and
than that the duty of paying taxes
e optional.

lisadvantages of universal service
it takes more men from profitable
than are strictly necessary for
defense; and for the Government
nd equip such large forces would be
ly expensive.

tly opposite to this point of view
of the pacifists who want no more
ut wish to leave the defense of the
to our ability to convince other
that we have only good intentions
l they, also, ought to have only good
ons.

een these two extremes is the larger
the American *public that does not* believe universal service is necessary but that does want an adequate army. These people look to the Administration's programme as the solution of their needs. Secretary Garrison's plan provides for a Regular Army of 141,800 men, a force of Continentals of 400,000 men, and a higher standard for the militia than is now maintained. The militia now amounts to about 120,000 men.

Irrespective of any plan for the defense of the Nation against the attack of a first class Power, we need the increase in the Regular Army. The garrisoning of our overseas possessions, (including the Panama Canal), and the manning of our coast fortifications takes so large a part of our present Army that we did not have sufficient men to meet properly the obligations which we narrowly missed having to meet in Mexico. On our present basis we can hardly get together more than one properly equipped and properly proportioned army corps of mobile troops.

If we mean to provide against the exigencies of a possible invasion, we must have at least 400,000 men in the Continental line. Under Secretary Garrison's plan these men will be trained on an average of two months a year for three years. After the men serve their three years they will automatically go into the reserve, so that in the course of time we should have not only 400,000 men in the active Continental Army but at least an equal number in reserve.

Besides the Regulars and the Continentals there will be the militia. At present this force is about 120,000 strong, but its efficiency varies greatly in the different states and not much of it could be considered as immediately available for modern warfare.

The main test of Secretary Garrison's plan is whether the new Continental force will be sufficiently trained and adequate in numbers.

With two months' training a year for three years the Continental line could not rank in efficiency with the French or German troops. They might, perhaps, equal the improvised British troops, though these troops have had more training than this and had it continuously. On the other

ADEQUATE DEFENSE IN A DEMOCRACY—THE SWISS ARMY

SWITZERLAND'S NATIONAL DEFENSE IS A NATIONAL COMPULSORY SERVICE SYSTEM. EVERY MAN, WITH A FEW MINOR EXCEPTIONS, IS LIABLE FOR SERVICE BETWEEN THE AGES OF 17 AND 48. AT THE AGE OF 20 THE RECRUIT IS TRAINED FOR FROM 60 TO 90 DAYS, DEPENDING ON THE BRANCH OF THE SERVICE HE CHOOSES TO ENTER. THEN HE IS ENROLLED IN THE "AUSZUG," OR "ELITE," IN WHICH HE HAS TO TRAIN ELEVEN DAYS A YEAR FOR SEVEN OF THE YEARS UP TO THE AGE OF 32. FROM 32 TO 40 HE IS A MEMBER OF THE "LANDWEHR" AND TRAINS ONCE *EVERY FOUR YEARS*, AFTER WHICH HE IS RETIRED INTO THE LAST LINE RESERVES, WHERE HE *STAYS UNTIL HE REACHES* THE AGE OF 48

ARMY OFFICERS IN THE SWISS MOUNTAINS

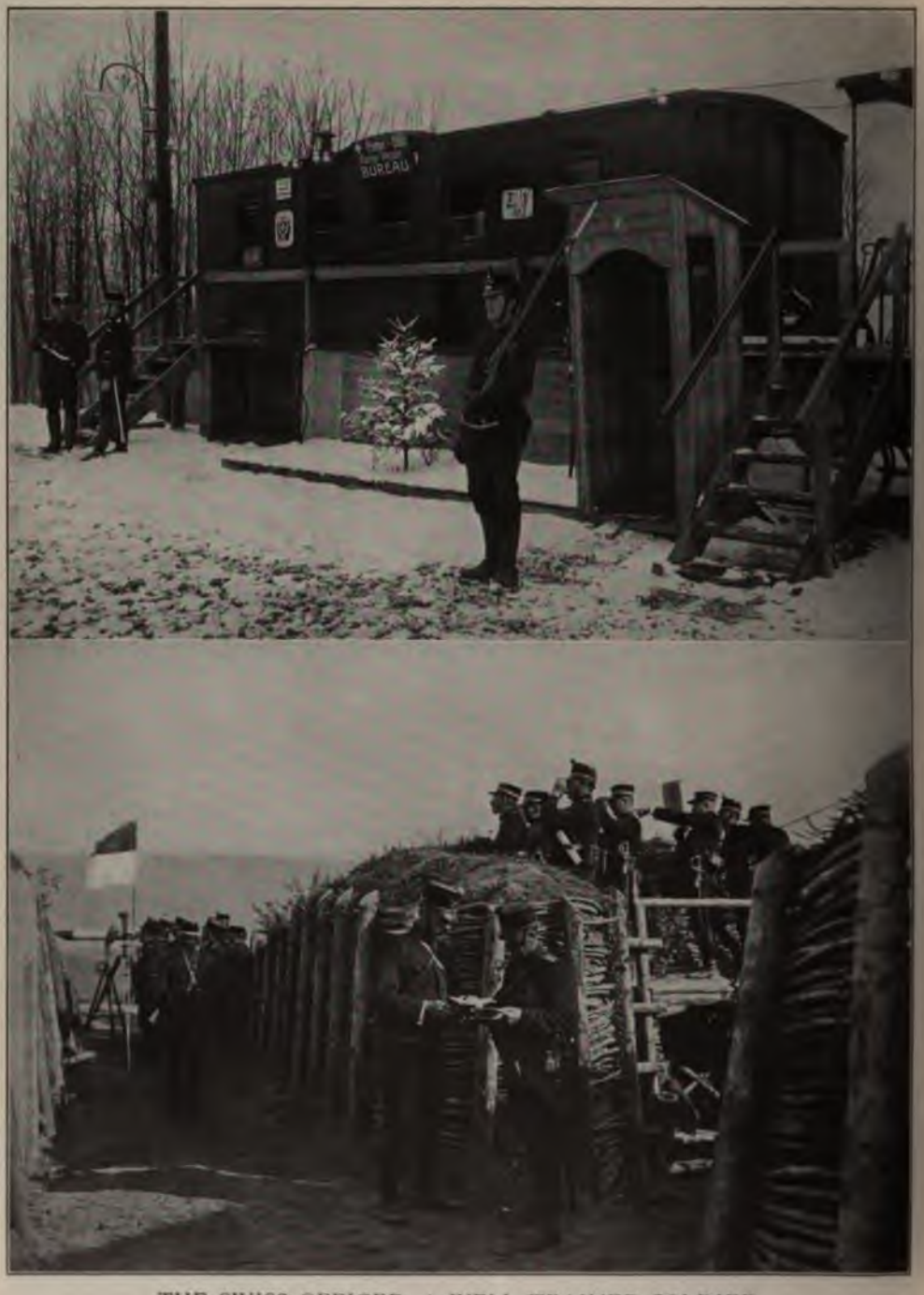
SWITZERLAND IS EXTREMELY WELL FORTIFIED BY NATURE, FOR GREAT MOUNTAIN BARRIERS RISE ALONG THE WHOLE FRONTIER. THE MOUNTAIN PASSES THROUGH THESE BARRIERS ARE DEFENDED BY AN ELABORATE SYSTEM OF MODERN FORTIFICATIONS. IN 48 HOURS AFTER THE ORDER WAS GIVEN IN AUGUST, 1914, THE SWISS ARMY WAS COMPLETELY MOBILIZED AND READY FOR ACTION—SINCE WHICH TIME IT HAS REMAINED MOBILIZED AT A COST OF ABOUT $9,000,000 A YEAR. THE ACTIVE FIGHTING STRENGTH OF THE FIRST LINE OF THE ARMY IS 134,000 MEN, WITH A RESERVE OF 66,268 MEN. IN ADDITION TO THESE IS A LAST LINE, THE "LANDSTURM," OF ABOUT 60,000 MEN

SWISS ARMY MANŒUVRES

UPPER PICTURE: SWISS ARTILLERY CROSSING A MILITARY BRIDGE. LOWER PICTURE: A SWISS SANITARY AND MEDICAL TRAIN. THE SWISS SYSTEM SHOWS THE POSSIBILITY OF CREATING A TRAINED FORCE IN A REPUBLIC WITHOUT MILITARISM OR UNDUE ECONOMIC BURDEN, AND THOUGH OUR CONDITIONS, BEING DIFFERENT FROM CONDITIONS IN SWITZERLAND, CALL FOR DIFFERENT TREATMENT OF THE MILITARY PROBLEM, AN AMERICAN SYSTEM OUGHT TO *PROVIDE* US WITH AN ADEQUATE FORCE AS THE SWISS SYSTEM PROVIDES ONE IN SWITZERLAND

SWISS RECRUITS WRESTLING AND THROWING THE LANCE

DUCATION IS COMPULSORY IN SWITZERLAND, AND PHYSICAL TRAINING IS BEGUN AT AN AGE IN THE SCHOOLS. LATER THE STUDENTS ARE FORMED INTO CADET CORPS, IN WHICH OYS LEARN THE MANUAL OF ARMS AND DRILL, USING A MINIATURE WORKING MODEL OF EGULAR ARMY RIFLE, WHICH IS SUPPLIED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THE SWISS MILITARY M DOVETAILS INTO THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITIZEN



THE SWISS OFFICER, A WELL TRAINED SOLDIER

UPPER PICTURE: A SWISS RAILROAD CARRIAGE USED AS A MILITARY OFFICE. LOWER PICTURE: SWISS OFFICERS WATCHING MANŒUVRES. THE OFFICERS IN THE SWISS ARMY ARE PROMOTED BY THE CANTONS, OR DISTRICTS, UP TO THE RANK OF CAPTAIN. ABOVE THAT RANK THEY BECOME MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL STAFF AND ARE UNDER THE DIRECT CONTROL OF THE CONFEDERATION. THE LINE OFFICERS ARE TRAINED AT THE MILITARY COLLEGE AT THUN OR THE POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL AT ZÜRICH. THE STAFF OFFICERS ATTEND THE STAFF COLLEGE, AT BERN. THE OFFICERS REMAIN IN ACTIVE SERVICE LONGER THAN THE ENLISTED *MEN, NOT BEING COMPLETELY* RETIRED TILL THEY REACH THE AGE OF 54

ENTRENCHMENTS ON THE SWISS FRONTIER

TZERLAND IS DOUBLY FORTUNATE AT THE PRESENT TIME, FOR IT HAS A WELL-TRAINED LL-EQUIPPED ARMY, AND THE CONTOUR OF THE COUNTRY MAKES MILITARY MANŒUVRES ARGE SCALE VERY DIFFICULT. THE SWISS MALE CITIZEN IS COMPELLED BY LAW TO ROM TWO TO THREE MONTHS IN ACTIVE TRAINING IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HIS SERVICE, EVEN DAYS A YEAR FOR SEVEN YEARS MORE. IN COMPARISON WITH THIS THE UNITED CONTINENTAL ARMY PLAN IS THAT MALE CITIZENS SHALL VOLUNTEER AND BE TRAINED O MONTHS IN EACH OF THREE CONSECUTIVE YEARS, AFTER WHICH TIME THEY SHALL IN RESERVE FOR *THREE YEARS*

hand, 180 days' training is more than the Swiss army has. It is trained from 60 to 90 days, with an eleven-day annual service for seven years afterward. But this Swiss system is superimposed on a universal school training in the rudiments of soldiering. It seems open to question whether the proposed service period is long enough.

Secretary Garrison himself says:

> The framers of the policy are fully conscious of the possibility of formulating military policies much better in theory, but after concentrated consideration of existing legal and other conditions they think it will be found that almost insuperable objections and difficulties arise in carrying into practical operation suggestions that from the military standpoint might otherwise be very acceptable.

The plan as it stands now has two great advantages:

It recognizes the duty of the United States of having a trained citizen army ready to defend the country.

It recognizes the necessity of having this citizen army directly under the supervision of the Federal Government. And as the secretary's report says:

> If the Nation requires certain service and offers the most favorable opportunitity for the citizens to furnish such service, and not withstanding that, it cannot secure such service, it must then resort to some method of compelling the service.

ARMOR PLATE LOBBY VS. THE PORK BARREL

CONGRESSMAN TAVENNER, of Illinois, has published a list of the subscribers to the Navy League who are in any way interested in the businesses which might profit from an enlarged naval programme. The Congressman has a fear, shared by many other people, that the manufacturers of munitions are also manufacturing sentiment in favor of preparedness for their own profit; that once the armament business grows strong in this country it will become, as Mr. Taft admitted the wool industry had become, too strong for the Government to control. The fear goes even further: it is apprehensive lest once the armor plate *lobby has become strong* as the wool lobby was, it will force the Gove into greater and greater expenditu an ever greater army and navy and get the United States into a mili state of mind where it would be li go forth in the world with an am and meddling policy and provoke The Krupp establishment has ofte pictured as the generating force Prussian militarism.

The gist of this point of view is the armament business grows large country it will be able to main lobby in Washington that will pers majority of Mr. Tavenner's collea vote money for a larger army an than they believe the country n order that the armament busine munition manufacturers may flouri

The prevention for this evil whi Tavenner and others suggest is t Government and only the Gove shall make munitions. There cou then be an armament lobby to sit the halls of Congress and influen body toward unnecessary purchases. is true. There would be no lobby the halls of Congress. The work be done inside. Every district thought it might have a dockyard arsenal would send its representa Congress pledged to produce arma that district. The production of ment would take its place with the w rivers and harbors, with the gran special pensions, with the erect unnecessary public buildings, wi maintenance of useless army p would take first rank in the pork b

If Congress is unable to withs lobby that lingers around the out the halls of the Capitol, it will be helpless before a lobby firmly plan the floor of the House.

Even aside from the danger that ment production entirely under the G ment's auspices would fall into th barrel, there are other difficulties.

In time of war there is a vast q of benzol used, in the form of picri If the Government is going to pro self with plants for making this acid sufficient for war times, wha going to do with the plants in peace

can stand idle and deteriorate or
n make benzol and turn it into dye-
To make the dyestuff business
ır Government would have to com-
ith the German dyestuff manufac-
who are jealously fostered by the
n Government so that they, too,
amply able to supply plenty of
acid in case of war. There is no
and easy solution of the matter.
under private or governmental
hip there is an infinite number of
ties to be met in any adequate
of preparedness.
e is danger of the activities of
ıor plate and munitions industry.
is a greater danger of an arma-
and munitions pork barrel. And
s always the great difficulty of
ining in peace times (either under
or governmental control) munitions
hments that can quickly meet the
ments of war. One way or another
vernment will have to support those
ies which it must have in war times
nnot themselves make a living in
imes.
it is negligence akin to man-
er for the Government to have an
r navy and not to have ready for it
ient and continuous supply of food,
g, equipment, munitions, and every-
lse which goes to make the man at
nt efficient.

E CASE WITH GERMANY

HE dismissal of Captains Boy-Ed
and Von Papen and the action
against the Austrian consuls ful-
long-standing desire of the Amer-
ublic. The Government's action
ed up to public sentiment, it did
ticipate it. The conviction of Dr.
uenz and the other officials of the
rg-American Line falls into the
ategory.
public has had a growing feeling of
tion and anger as it became more
ore apparent that the propaganda
nspiracies in this country were a
an organized plan directed by the
of the German Government. Cap-
y-Ed is said to have remarked that
he was only doing his duty. The most serious part of the situation is that the German Government was willing to give its officers here such duties to perform.

It is just as well for us to take stock of the situation:

Before the Great War broke out, Germany sent us a characteristically brusque note demanding a voice in Haitian affairs which seemed like an effort to see how feasible a breach in the Monroe Doctrine would be.

During the disturbances in Mexico, German influence was arrayed behind Huerta and against us.

Since the war began, in the face of our warning a German submarine sank the *Lusitania* and Germany has made no settlement for it. The German Ambassador, against all diplomatic precedents, publicly warned American citizens not to trust to the rights which the American Government had publicly stated were theirs.

The German submarines then sank other ships. For these sinkings the German Government apologized, though the apology did not seem to indicate a change of attitude toward us as much as it would have if it had not become apparent that the German submarine activities in the North Sea had failed. The feeling that the apology was more expediency than anything else has since been heightened by the killing of Americans on the *Ancona* by Germany's ally, Austria, and by the continuance of German propaganda and conspiracies even since the dismissal of Ambassador Dumba. Since the last public note to Germany concerning the *Lusitania*, it seems that Secretary Lansing and Ambassador Bernstorff have been holding "conversations" in an effort to settle the *Lusitania* matter. As long as it seemed as if Germany was sincere in these negotiations and there seemed a chance of settlement, it was obviously the duty of the American Government to continue them. But if, after several months of these conversations, no satisfactory settlement seems imminent and all the while German agents are carrying on offensive propaganda throughout the country, and Austrian submarines are killing our citizens, it is inevitable that the public

should begin to question seriously the use of further efforts in this direction. For the conviction grows firmer in people's minds that the German agents here are going to continue their nefarious activities until they are sent out of the country or put in jail, unless the United States Government convinces the German Government that it will be for Germany's advantage to stop these offenses against us.

Our notes concerning the *Arabic* resulted in Germany's apology. Our notes concerning the *Lusitania* failed. The German Government did not take the hint conveyed in Dr. Dumba's dismissal. They may fail likewise to understand the meaning of the return of Captains Boy-Ed and Von Papen or the *Ancona* note.

The condition of affairs, then, is gradually coming back to the place where it was the day after the *Lusitania* went down. Germany has violated our rights and refuses to apologize or make satisfactory reparation. The sudden anger caused by the *Lusitania* has subsided. In its place is a more permanent feeling built on months of insult and injury.

If the propaganda and conspiracies stop and the *Lusitania* matter is settled, and the *Ancona* murder is atoned for, we can go our way in peace. If the conspiracies continue and the *Lusitania* matter is not settled, action on the part of the United States Government will eventually be necessary.

There seem to be but two steps possible: first, the severance of diplomatic relations; and, second, war. It is our duty to look this situation fairly in the face, not that either of these eventualities must necessarily happen, but either or both may happen, and we should be ready to meet either of them calmly and firmly.

OUR MONEY MARKET AFTER THE WAR

THE embarrassments of the European money markets has temporarily given New York a new and enlarged position in international finance, which has led to much speculation upon Wall Street's ability to maintain its leadership after the war. A money market, like any other market, becomes great on account of the amount of comm for sale there. Lombard Street w greatest money market in the wo cause there was more money av there for sale, so to speak, than an else in the world. The reason fo was that Great Britain, being pr from invasion for hundreds of yea had time to build up many fortune out interruption. It has been a n habit to keep these accumulations of together from one generation to a For a hundred years or more this ac lated capital has been more than industry could use, so that it has flow Lombard Street for some foreign prise to bid for it. British capital i volume has financial development a the world, so that now from every nent and almost every country a co stream of interest payments flows Lombard Street. And much of this is turned free for investment. This basis of Great Britain's suprema international finance.

In the United States, on the othe there has been no surplus capital have consistently used all the mon had and borrowed from abroad. year or two before the war, howeve enterprises were not started in the volume, and money accumulated. over, we changed our banking syste made our credit and currency muc elastic. These two circumstances our money market in an unusually condition to meet the demands mad it by the war. Then the immense pu which the Entente Allies have made country have transferred to us in and cash a large amount from Lo Street's usual surplus. For the time then, New York is one of the world money markets.

But when the extraordinary forei chases diminish after the war, it clear that we will have any great over the needs of our own industry cially if the boom in business, now ning, continues. Nor will we receive annual fund of interest charges fr over the world, for even with the we have loaned during the war our

investments will be small compared with Great Britain's.

When the war is over we shall be a better international market than before, for we shall have more money than before, a better financial system, and we shall have some experience with the possibilities and technique of international finance. But Wall Street will not be able to serve the world as Lombard Street used to.

Lombard Street will, in all likelihood, resume its primary position, but its relative position to Wall Street will not be as it was before the war. Not only will Wall Street have gained in strength but Lombard Street will have lost. The usual current surplus has been used up in the war and the great funds of British surplus money has been touched. The revival of British industry will need more than the usual capital. The high taxes left by the war will further deplete the money for international use. But, on the other hand, the great reservoirs of British wealth at home and British foreign investments will in the main be intact. British industry will have suffered, but not fundamentally. The experience and technique of international finance will still prevail in Lombard Street, and the habit of the world to go to England for its money will still be strong.

When the war is over the premium on the dollar will not be what it is now. We shall not be in a position to challenge Great Britain's supremacy in this chosen field. The war has given us a start in international finance, a golden opportunity to establish ourselves securely, but beyond that we shall have to work against keen and experienced competitors for an increasing share of the money business of the world.

COMBINATIONS FOR EXPORT

ACCORDING to Democratic theory one of the main objects of government is to protect the consumer against artificial increases in prices either by tariffs, combinations, monopolies, or any other means

According to Republican theory one of the main duties of government is to protect the producer from foreign competition even if by so doing the consumers of the United States suffer.

The Republican idea places the American producer first. The Democratic idea places the American consumer first. But both must place the interests of the American producer before the interests of the people of any other country whether they be producers or consumers.

There is, then, no reason why the United States Government should discourage combinations for foreign trade unless these combinations react against the American consumer, or unless they involve unfair competition between one American producer and another.

If all the tire manufacturers who now compete actively against one another in this country, to the consumer's advantage, should combine for foreign trade, is there not a danger that once in that intimate association they would also surreptitiously combine in the domestic market?

People who believe in the general desire of business men to live up to the laws will unhesitatingly answer that this danger is negligible and the few infractions could be easily handled by the Federal Trade Commission and the courts. There is no reason to object to combinations for foreign trade on the ground that they might react against the American consumer unless one is gravely suspicious of the general character of American business.

The other objection, voiced by President Wilson last winter, was that if combinations for foreign trade were allowed they might lead to unfair competition between different American firms in foreign fields. If all the tire manufacturers except one, for example, should combine for export, and the combination should enter the foreign fields where that one company sold tires, and, by their combined resources, were able to sell below cost until they drove it out, obviously they would be employing a kind of unfair competition which we would not allow at home. But here at home, from the Democratic point of view, we do not prohibit unfair competition because of its hardship to the small producer but because his elimination will inevitably be followed by disadvantages to the consumers. In foreign fields the

consumers are not under our care but under the care of their own governments. It seems reasonable, therefore, to let our manufacturers combine for export whether they take in every one in the trade or not. Particularly is this true since we are unable to protect our individual exporters from unfair competition from all combinations. All we can do is to prevent them from being subject to unfair competition from American combinations. For example, if all but one of our tire manufacturers were combined we could dissolve the combination if it cut prices in Australia to kill off the individual American firm; but we could not prevent English or French tire makers from combining against it.

When Congress reaches this subject it is to be hoped that it will do whatever is necessary to enable combinations to be formed for foreign trade, for restrictions against them are merely artificial barriers to trade with no compensating advantages.

A MISFIT IN LEADERSHIP

THE Democratic majority in the House of Representatives chose Mr. Claude Kitchin as its leader. The primary reason for this was that he had served longer than any other Democrat on the Ways and Means Committee. The other reason was that he is an honest man of considerable ability. Despite the fact that there are Democrats better fitted to lead than Mr. Kitchin, the fact that he has honesty and ability might on the surface seem a fair justification of his choice.

But no one would consider it a wise choice if the directors of a railroad chose as president the officer of longest service who had fair ability and a good character. Particularly would this be ridiculous if the majority of the directors believed in electrifying the road and this officer of long standing and good character opposed it.

Yet this is paralleled by the situation in Congress. The majority of the members of the House are in favor of national defense. Mr. Kitchin is opposed to it. This is the first great question that is before Congress. While this subject is being discussed Mr. Kitchin cannot lead the House. He cannot even follow. His inability to lead or even to follow will serve as a continuous piece of evidence against the Democratic Party's ability to run the country, for a really able organization would never sanction such a misfit.

Mr. Kitchin's opposition to the defense programme will properly hurt the Democratic Party. It would properly help the Republican Party if it could guarantee any better system of leadership. But it cannot. For instance, Mr. Mann, the minority leader, recently appeared as the "headliner" in a German propagandist paper. There is very little intelligent or responsible leadership in Congress in either party. Mr. Kitchin merely happens to be a Democratic example of the lack of leadership. So long as we acquiesce in the pork barrel we cannot hope that Congress will discuss questions from a national point of view; we cannot hope that the ablest legislators will have as much influence as the ablest pork hunters; we cannot hope to have Congress on the high plane it should be on.

And yet, curiously enough, while it is true that the pork barrel is chiefly to blame for the lack of responsible leadership in Congress, the man whom this vicious system has misplaced in the leadership of the House is one of the few Congressmen whose record has no porcine flavor. Mr. Kitchin has not represented his district to the detriment of his country. Both his district and his country may be well satisfied with his services as a Representative. But nothing but the irresponsible method by which Congress conducts its affairs could have resulted in the leadership of Mr. Kitchin at the present time.

HIGH PRICED BONDS AND BRITISH FINANCE

THERE is at present a remarkable buoyancy in the market for stocks and bonds, despite the predictions made when the war began that war would so frighten investors and so derange business that securities generally would lose much of their sale value. The war, by forcing governments to borrow, increases vastly the total of loans; and loans, under our modern system of banking, automatically become corresponding credits—in

words, loans liberate capital; and capital is easy to get, business is ated, prosperity abounds; and in the ı atmosphere of prosperity, confi- in investments naturally flourishes. s the phenomenon that was observed e historian Macaulay: namely, that Britain throve on debt—the bigger ıtional debt, the greater became the ıal prosperity.

this connection, it is interesting to /e a device by which the British nment, in liberating large quantities lit in the United States, has aided in aining the high price of stocks and and has, besides, ingeniously con- to make a profit on the transaction. in the war, British holders of Ameri- curities did dump them on the Ameri- narket, and the prices of these ties dropped dangerously in conse- e. The *Argyll*, it may be remembered, ht over millions of dollars' worth of

But they are now no longer com- What has happened is this:

: British Government's agents now go British investor who holds American ıd or industrial securities (they know ıese investors are through income tax s) and say to them:

:t us have your securities, and we will you in exchange British war loan . You will make money on the .ction, because the war loan pays 5 ınt. interest, whereas your American ments yield you on an average only · cent. At the end of two years you :rade your war bonds back for your ican securities if you like."

:he security is greater and the interest ', few British investors hesitate to ac- he Government's offer. The Govern- accumulates American securities until ı, say, 50 million dollars' worth of

It then sends them to the United ı on a British warship and puts them collateral for loans from American :rs. These American bankers are per- willing to lend at 4 per cent. on gilt- American securities, especially since " loans now yield less than 2 per cent. simple calculation shows that the h Government makes money on the action. It pays 5 per cent. interest to the British investor and 4 per cent. to the American banker; total, 9 per cent. The American securities in its possession yield it 4½ per cent. Thus it pays the difference, or 4½ per cent., as the net cost of the money it borrows on these securities. But on all other money that it borrows on its bonds it pays 5 per cent. or more. Hence a saving of one half of one per cent. on this money. The plan is doubly economical because the loans are made directly from the bankers so that no underwriting fees are deducted as they are when bonds are sold to the public. Great Britain has borrowed at least 50 million dollars by this method, and it is believed in Wall Street that it will borrow very much more in the same way.

From the American point of view, this method has two virtues: first, it stops the sacrifice of American securities by British investors, and so tends to maintain the stable and high price of those securities; and, second, it liberates that much more credit, to stimulate American industry.

THE MADNESS FOR PEACE

MISS JANE ADDAMS conducted a most successful settlement house in Chicago and she became a national character. Then she left her special field and played a brief and not particularly glorious part in national politics. From this she went to a meddlesome and entirely ineffective peace mission. Her reputation for sound judgment and useful service is much damaged, and one of our cherished national characters is lost to its former high estate.

Nevertheless, with this plainly before him Mr. Henry Ford deserts the fields that are familiar to him to enter those he knows not of. As a maker of cheap automobiles Mr. Ford was one of the wonders of the world. His success as a manufacturer and his daring experiments in the solution of labor problems made him a national character. The country had just become fully cognizant and proud of Henry Ford when he, too, planned a private peace mission—and another of our idols is shattered! He advertises his limitations to the world with even more success than his product advertised his abilities.

War seems to produce a kind of madness not only in those who practice it but also in those who oppose it. Unfortunately for us this madness seems to have struck at least two of our most esteemed citizens.

Mr. Ford's idea of stopping war is the simple one of persuading the belligerents to lay down their arms at present. As paradoxical as it may seem, this is one of the best ways of insuring wars for the future, for if the war stopped now the German Government, which started the war, could make out a fair case to prove that starting a war is a profitable business. Up to the present time the German people have had every reason to believe this. Prussia and Austria started a little war against Denmark in 1864. The Germans were ready and the Danes were not, so Prussia and Austria got two very valuable provinces at small cost. Two years later Prussia carried out a short, cheap, and highly profitable military venture against Austria. Four years later Prussia engineered a similar undertaking against France. It was comparatively cheap and it, too, was highly profitable.

If the Teutonic allies could bring the present struggle to a successful close now before the expense of the undertaking becomes prohibitive, they would furnish conclusive proof that planning and fighting wars is a profitable national industry.

Mr. Ford has unwittingly set out with the best motives in the world to do his little part to help the Germans in this undertaking.

Most of the rest of the civilized world is doing its best to demonstrate to the Germans that starting war is a losing business, and incidentally that it does not pay to indulge in emperors with inordinate ambition and a privileged military caste.

The case of civilization can be won only when the German people (and incidentally any others that may need convincing) are convinced that fighting for the world is not the way to get it. The cost of conducting this case is the most frightful account against mankind in all history, yet despite this it is better to finish the case at all hazards, now that it is begun, rather than give it up and have it tried anew at some future time.

But even if the case for civiliz proved and the Germans are cor that making war (even if one does it than any one else) is not profitable it does not follow that there will more wars. It means only that th ticular menace of the Kaiser's bo war and the German people's bo the Kaiser is over. It might mea the forces of democracy in other cratic countries would be so streng as to make preparations for agg harder and, therefore, war less likel

But even if the whole world were cratized, history seems to indicat there would still be wars, less cal and cold-blooded perhaps, probably and less far-reaching, but still certainly wars.

And because wars are almost cer continue, it seems wise for us to k so that we shall not be such a combi of riches and impotence, as France 1870, to encourage some piratical-n nation to try making its fortune by ing us. Mr. Kitchin, the new lea the House, has intimated that he that much of the desire for adequa fense is stirred up by the munition n Presumably they believe in prepar not only because it is to their adv to do so but also because they ar position to know something abou subject. But the great wave of d for national preparation is an expression of public opinion—more l perhaps, than are the majority opponents. If Mr. Kitchin will scr the people who oppose preparedness find that a very large percentage of are the pro-Germans who set Ge above the United States. Mr. K is in very bad company in which t the always more or less unpro question of the honesty of your oppo motives.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON superlative degree of co sense. That was his chief c teristic. He believed in the co application of the homely doctrine o

That was his solution of the so-
Negro problem. His doctrine could
ave been applied to many white
but he never applied it to them.
siness was helping the Negro and he
his business. That was another of
f characteristics.
ried to teach the people of his race
they lived decently and worked
ey would gradually overcome the
ips under which they suffered. He
them against the allurements of
, of trying to gain enough political
o legislate themselves into positions
hey could not hold. To those who
l social equality he answered that
he best Negro society was as ad-
as the best white society there
be no incentive to mix the two;
it until that time it was obviously
ble.
philosophy left every proper door
: open to the Negro and yet asked
no special favors. He did protest
unfair treatment, and his protests
l more recognition than those of
er man of his race for the very rea-
t he asked that the Negro be given
and did not ask for more than that.
His philosophy did not spend itself so much upon the rights of the Negro as upon his duties and opportunities.

The measure of the man's strength was that he could become the leader of his race upon so homely a programme as the doctrine of hard work and right living.

He was not liked by those Negroes who wished to achieve progress by the short cuts of agitation and legislation. He was not liked by white people who have never admitted that the Negro and the white man are different. But to the great majority of the sensible men of both races his doctrine appealed. They aided his efforts and they deeply regret his loss.

A CORRECTION

IN the September number of the WORLD'S WORK, under a picture of the American Ambassador to Turkey, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, appeared a caption which stated that Mr. Morgenthau had recently received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Robert College. This was an error. The college that conferred the degree was Constantinople College.

THE STRENGTH OF PUBLIC UTILITY BONDS

onth the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on experiences with investment and the lessons to be drawn therefrom.*

ON THE day Bangor, Me., was swept by fire a few years ago, a certain New England manufacturer happened to be in New York City consulting is broker about some investment . The early reports of the fire were l in Wall Street with the usual ex-ion, but on the whole they excited ore than passing interest.

l the manufacturer's comment on ws of the disaster was indifferent, nstanding that it had for him some-f local color. Suddenly he recalled that only a short time previous a representative of one of the prominent banking houses had tried to interest him in the bonds of the principal public utility company in Bangor.

He had not bought the bonds, largely because of a long-standing preference for railroad securities and a feeling that in no other category of investment could he safely trust his own judgment of values. But he liked a bargain, and now he imagined he scented one.

He asked his broker to get a quotation on the Bangor utility bonds. The broker

called up the bankers who had brought out the issue originally. They appeared to have heard of the fire, but that was about all. The quotation on the bonds, they said, was "98 bid, 99 asked." The broker tried elsewhere; but he found that no bargains were offered.

The manufacturer was surprised, but when he came to study precedent his surprise disappeared. He found that the great fires of Baltimore and San Francisco, for examples, had been followed by weakness in the stocks and junior bonds of local utilities, but that the bonds secured by strong, direct mortgages had been practically unaffected.

So favorably was he impressed with this information that he bought a number of the Bangor bonds, and has since become rather partial to utility issues, especially for the investment of personal funds.

The manufacturer told this story not long ago to a friend—a doctor who had asked him for advice about the use of some money that was coming to him from the settlement of a deceased relative's estate. The doctor was readily convinced of the soundness of his friend's advice to "put the money into good utilities for safety and ease of mind." But before trying to appraise the merits of particular offerings, he decided to follow up the lesson of the manufacturer's experience to see what else was worth knowing about such bonds as a class.

In a recent issue of the WORLD'S WORK, the doctor had seen a comparison of the relative stability and income possibilities of representative railroad and public utility bonds. He wrote to this magazine, therefore, to ask for further information which he needed to complete his research.

The comparison he had seen in the WORLD'S WORK showed that ten railroad bonds, yielding an average of about 4.60 per cent. (at the prices then prevailing), were more than two points below the high prices of the current year, and more than seven points below the high for 1914; whereas ten public utility bonds, yielding an average of more than 5 per cent., were only about a point below the high prices for the current year, and one and a half points below the high prices for 1914. He wanted a similar record for a group of representative industrial bonds; if pc something to show the relative stabi utility and municipal bonds; and t figures to substantiate the assertio utility securities as a class are less s to the adverse influences periodically ing domestic trade and industry.

A summary of the information gi reply to this inquiry is timely, beca increasing number of people have wanted to know where the utilities after a year of most unusual tests.

Taking the average prices of ten (and more or less active) industrial at dates corresponding to those preceding comparisons, it was foun they had fluctuated about four point this year and last. The fluctuat this class of bonds was thus consid wider than the extreme fluctuation group of listed utilities. Nor wa compensated for by any advanta yield, for the average for the ind issues at prevailing prices was only 4.75 per cent., against more than cent. for the utilities.

To show further the greater stabi public utility bonds, as compared both railroad and municipal issue results of a study made by the Inve Bankers' Association's Committee on Service Corporations were taken. years ago, this committee had shown report that an investment of $1,5 in twenty-nine carefully selected bonds, purchased on a basis of $1 yearly from 1902 to 1911, could hav sold on July 1st of the latter yea the following result:

Total income derived.	$4
Gain in market value.	
Total.	$5

This compared with the following of the sale of high grade municipal l equal in amount and made under s conditions:

Total income derived.	$3
Loss in market value	1
Net	$2

and with this result of the sale of ra bonds of good quality:

ome derived	$399,691
arket value	70,065
. . . . .	$329,626

f, these figures showed that for the period, the public utility invest- d yielded a net advantage in income rket value of $295,315 over the al, and of $185,251 over the railroad vestment.

later report, the committee has hat the utility bonds have con- maintained their advantage, espe- ver railroad bonds. Comparison n the prices of July 1, 1912, and 1915, showed income of $225,000 e utilities, against $157,500 for the als—a difference of $67,500, which icient to offset fully the average loss et value. And in comparison with bonds the utilities showed an ge during the last three years of nately $45,000 in income, and of an $100,000 due to less depreciation et value.

xplanation for this assuring record et stability has to be sought, of in the record of property value as d by earning capacity. This re- still incomplete for 1915. But the or 1914, which was a year of ex- lly unfavorable business conditions throughout the country, makes out a strong case for the utilities.

Different authorities furnish the results of studies of different phases of the public utility industry. Thus, one shows that even despite the temporarily harmful competition of the "jitneys," the electric railways increased their gross earnings by nearly one per cent. over 1913, and kept the decrease in their net earnings down to about one half of one per cent. Another shows for a representative group of utilities of all kinds an increase in gross earnings of nearly 5 per cent., and an increase in net of about 3 per cent. And still another shows for a large group of gas and electric companies increases of 7 per cent. in gross and 5½ per cent. in net earnings. During the year for which these figures are quoted, steam railroad gross earnings fell off more than 6½ per cent., and net earnings more than 8 per cent.

There is a rapidly growing demand among discriminating investors for the securities of those utility companies whose financial and operating policies have contributed the most substantially to this generally favorable record. Indeed, they are the securities that make up perhaps the most important market to which the average investor can turn to get 5 per cent. or more interest with safety and a reasonable degree of marketability.

TOCKS AND BONDS—WAR AND PEACE

EFFECT OF THE WAR AND ITS ENDING UPON THE SECURITY MARKETS

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE

Editor of *Commerce and Finance*

[THE FOURTH OF A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR].

OW the market value of stocks and bonds will be affected by the continuance of the war and the return of peace is a question to which nearly every one an answer. Those who have in- ts or money to invest are, of course, directly and consciously interested in it, and it is an even more vital question to those who are spending all they earn, because low prices and a poor market for securities always restrict enterprise, retard development, and diminish the demand for labor of every kind.

Economic growth presupposes the constant need of additional capital. Under modern conditions capital is obtained chiefly by the sale of stocks or bonds. When they cannot be sold on favorable terms, or if they cannot be sold at all, growth is checked, activity is suspended, and unemployment for the wage-earner and the salaried man follows.

Other things being equal, the prices of securities depend upon the interest rate, which gauges the supply of capital and the confidence of those who control it. Of course, the other things are never equal. The value of different securities in relation to each other is affected by a multitude of considerations, psychological as well as physical and mathematical. There are fashions in securities as well as in dress, and through the caprice of fashion utterly inconsistent prices may be established for the obligations of equally meritorious concerns. The personal equation, the character of the business transacted, and its age and reputation are also elements in the valuation which the collective mind called "the market" puts upon the securities that are there offered for sale.

All these influences are, however, secondary to the interest rate. It governs the level of the market as a whole and must continue to govern it so long as securities are bought for the income they may presently or prospectively pay, which, in the last analysis, is the only reason why they should be bought at all.

The financiers of England came long ago to understand this truth and until the outbreak of the war were able to arrest panics and check the reckless inflation of values through the partial control over the interest rate exercised by the Bank of England.

If it were possible to conceive of an absolutely impeccable security which appealed equally to all investors and a default in which was unthinkable, we could always fix its market value by reference to the interest rate. Such a security, like perfection, is, of course, an impossibility. For nearly a century prior to the war the obligations of the British Government were about the nearest approximation to the ideal security that had been produced.

They were called "consols" because they represented a consolidation of all i issues. They had no maturity, bei gations in perpetuity payable only their repurchase by the borrower at satisfactory to the lender, and u outbreak of the present war they flu inversely to the ruling rate of inte cept when this relation was disturb change in the political or military of European affairs.

INTEREST LOW, BONDS HIGH

For example, when the interest the open market is higher than tha can be obtained from an investm consols, the owner of the consols i ally led to sell them and lend his m the higher rate obtainable. Hence, decline until the return is equalized versely, when the interest rate in t market falls below that which may rived from an investment in consols who have money are naturally disp buy the consols rather than lend th in the market, and the consequen advance in the price of consols u return from them and the interest practically the same.

Those who are familiar with the of England during the last hundr fifteen years will be able to see almo important event reflected in the fl record of the high and low price of each year since 1800. The year 18 of the Battle of Waterloo, shows the price up to that time since the o of the Napoleonic war in 1803, a continuing increase in the nationa lifted the quotation to 102 by 1852. the Crimean War and the resulting in the national debt sent the price 85¾ in the latter part of 1856. A fall of Sebastopol the price came 98⅞ in 1858, from which point it 87⅛ during the American Civil War 84⅝ as a result of the failure of of Overend, Gurney & Company in

Coming to 1896, we find consols at 114, the highest price on recor result of the threatened demone of gold in the United States which le Americans to transfer their investm England, and four years later, in 19 declined to 96¾ in consequence of

l issue that was made necessary by ıer War:

	HIGH PRICE	LOW PRICE	YEAR	HIGH PRICE	LOW PRICE
. . .	67⅛	60	1858.	98⅞	94⅛
. . .	70	54⅛	1859.	97⅞	88⅛
. . .	79	66	1860.	95⅞	92⅛
. . .	73	50⅛	1861.	94⅛	89⅛
. . .	59⅛	53⅛	1862.	94⅛	91⅛
. . .	62	57	1863.	94	90
. . .	64⅛	58⅛	1864.	92	87⅛
. . .	64⅛	57⅛	1865.	91⅛	86⅛
. . .	69⅛	62⅛	1866.	90⅛	84⅛
. . .	70⅛	63⅛	1867.	96⅛	89⅛
. . .	71	63⅛	1868.	96⅛	91⅛
. . .	66⅛	61⅛	1869.	94⅛	91⅛
. . .	63	55⅛	1870.	94⅛	88⅛
. . .	67⅛	54⅛	1871.	94	91⅛
. . .	67⅛	54⅛	1872.	93⅛	91⅛
. . .	72⅛	61⅛	1873.	94	91⅛
. . .	65⅛	53⅛	1874.	93⅛	91
. . .	84⅛	62	1875.	95⅛	91⅞
. . .	82	73	1876.	97⅛	93⅛
. . .	79	64⅞	1877.	97⅛	93
. . .	70⅛	65⅛	1878.	98	94⅛
. . .	78⅛	68⅛	1879.	99⅛	94⅞
. . .	83	75⅛	1880.	100⅛	97⅛
. . .	85⅛	72	1881.	103	98⅛
. . .	96⅛	84⅛	1882.	102⅛	99
. . .	94⅛	75	1883.	102⅛	99⅛
. . .	84⅛	73⅞	1884.	102⅛	98⅛
. . .	89⅛	76⅛	1885.	101⅛	94⅛
. . .	88⅛	80⅛	1886.	102⅛	99⅛
. . .	94⅛	85⅛	1887.	103⅛	99⅛
. . .	94⅛	77⅛	1888.	103⅛	98⅛
. . .	84⅛	74⅛	1889.	99⅛	96⅛
. . .	85⅛	81⅛	1890.	98⅛	93⅛
. . .	91⅛	84⅛	1891.	97⅛	94⅛
. . .	93	87⅛	1892.	96⅞	93⅛
. . .	92⅛	89⅛	1893.	98⅛	95⅛
. . .	92⅛	86⅛	1894.	102⅛	97⅛
. . .	93⅛	87⅛	1895.	108⅛	103⅛
. . .	95⅛	90⅛	1896.	114	105⅛
. . .	93⅛	89⅛	1897.	113⅞	110⅛
. . .	93⅛	85⅛	1898.	113⅛	106⅛
. . .	90⅛	87⅛	1899.	111⅛	97⅛
. . .	94⅛	88⅛	1900.	103⅛	96⅛
. . .	97⅛	92⅛	1901.	97⅛	91
. . .	101⅛	96⅛	1902.	97⅛	92⅛
. . .	100⅛	91⅛	1903.	93 13/16	86⅞
. . .	97⅛	94	1904.	91⅛	85
. . .	93⅛	78⅛	1905.	91 1/16	87½
. . .	90	80	1906.	91⅛	85 5/16
. . .	98⅛	88⅛	1907.	87 5/16	80⅛
. . .	98⅛	94⅛	1908.	88⅛	83 1/16
. . .	99⅛	95⅛	1909.	86	82 1/16
. . .	102	95⅛	1910.	83⅛	78⅛
. . .	101	90⅛	1911.	82 5/16	76⅛
. . .	95⅞	85⅛	1912.	79 7/32	72½
. . .	93⅛	86⅛	1913.	75 5/16	71 1/16
. . .	95⅛	85⅛	1914.	77⅛	67⅛
. . .	94⅛	86⅛	1915.	65⅛	57

ı rule consols went up when interest **went** down and conversely they de- **when** interest rates advanced m 1854 to 1867, the period which in- both the Crimean and the American **this inverse relationship was very y defined, as will appear from the** following table giving the average price of consols in each year and the average open rate of discount in the London market:

YEAR	AVERAGE PRICE CONSOLS	AVERAGE DISCOUNT RATE
1854	90⅛	4.80
1855	90	4.60
1856	90⅜	5.75
1857	90⅛	6.65
1858	96⅛	2.75
1859	92⅛	2.50
1860	94	4.00
1861	91⅛	5.00
1862	92⅞	2.25
1863	92	4.25
1864	89⅛	7.00
1865	89⅛	5.32
1866	87⅛	6.41
1867	93⅛	2.12

To show how nearly synchronous an advance or decline in the interest rate was with a decline or advance in the price of consols, the chart on page 256 has been prepared.

Since the outbreak of the war, the record of the London market has become valueless because of international prejudice and mistrust and the restrictions that have been put upon trade and finance by the British Government.

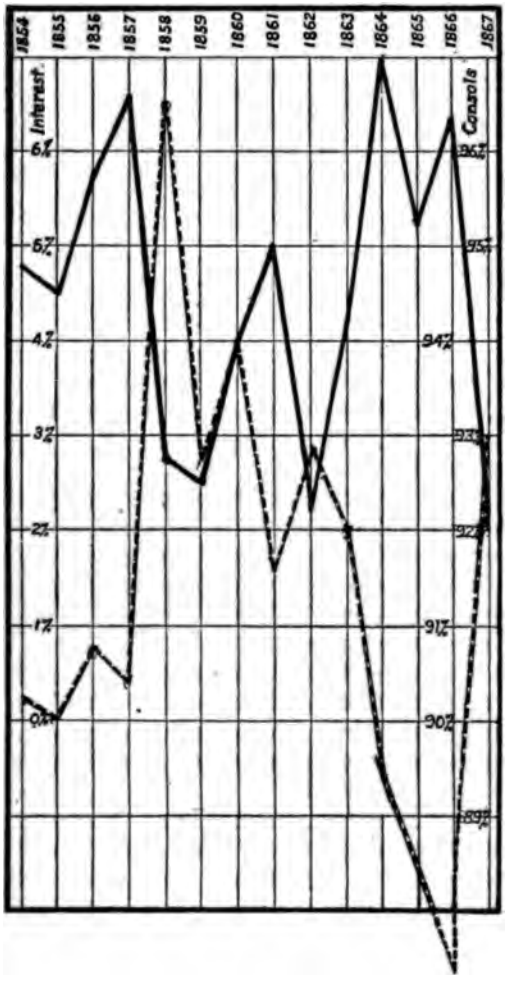
The same thing is true of all the Continental markets and we must, therefore, turn to the United States as the only place left in which the 'nterplay of financial forces is at all automatic.

Even here it was not until some time after the reopen'ng of the New York Stock Exchange in December, 1914, that all artificial restrictions upon security trading were removed, and they were not removed until it became reasonably certain that the gloomy expectations which led to the closing of the Stock Exchange at the outbreak of the war were not to be realized.

Briefly, it was expected that whatever else might happen an immense depreciation of high grade securities the world over was inevitable. This seemed to be a logical certainty. Governmen war loans aggregating ten times the usual issue of new securities would have to be sold and in fact were placed during the next twelve months.

There is, it was argued, a limit to the world's accumulated or accruing capital, and this stupendous increase in the supply of government securities would (1), absorb the usual supply of new investment capital;

(2) compel realizing sales of older securities at sacrifice prices, on an enormous scale; and (3), necessitate such an advance in the interest rate on the new war loans that the



CONSOL PRICES AND INTEREST RATES

Broken line - - - - indicates price of consols.
Solid line ——— indicates open market interest rate.

Each horizontal line marks a variation of one per cent. in the interest rate and the average price of consols, the lowest average price of the latter during any of the years dealt with having been 87½. Notice the inverse relationship between the price of consols and the interest rate.

old 4 and 5 per cent. issues would seriously decline in value.

It seemed a perfectly plausible assumption that this triple process would result in a disastrous fall in the prices of all outstanding investments. An "all round twenty point decline" in the market for gilt edged investments and no marke for less desirable securities was ge predicted, and there were few to de logic of such prophecies.

HUGE DEBTS WITHOUT FALLING PR

Yet what has happened? The d the nations at war has been increased aggregate of about $17,252,000,000, at an average of less than 5 per cent. the heavy increase in taxes upon in derived from it. The supply of gol by the Bank of England, the Ba France, the German Reichsbank, a Imperial Bank of Russia has risen $2,248,535,000, on June 30, 19 $2,494,185,000, on June 30, 1915, an circulation, which is a non-interest-b form of indebtedness, has increased $2,772,915,000 to $5,857,125,000.

During the same period, the d of the banks of the United Kingdo cluding the Bank of England, have inc from $4,055,035,000 to $5,220,650,00 during the last six or eight months th discount rate in London has averaged 2¾ per cent.

In the United States similar con have developed. According to the of the Comptroller of the Currenc deposits of the national banks of the States were $9,229,000,000 on Sept 2, 1915.

This is an increase of $1,042,000,0 an increase of 11.4 per cent. on the of September 12, 1914.

Six-months commercial paper s New York at 2¾ per cent. during th ending November 13, 1915, and dur same week we saw the most activ market of the year at prices that wer 4 to 6 per cent. above those ruli months ago.

Such cities as Kenosha, Wis., for ple, have been able to sell their 4½ pe bonds at a premium, and New Yor bonds have risen three and four poin the low prices of a year ago.

In the speculative department stock market every one knows wh happened. The prices of nearly all have risen, many of them amazingl some securities that were unsalable price have suddenly acquired an

nary value. Apparently we are enter- ıpon an era of flotation in which it will asy to find buyers for almost anything. ugh all this seems paradoxical, it is e in accordance with the historical pre- :nts I have so often pointed out. Just ı movements commenced toward the of all the great wars of the last century continued for some years after peace declared.

he Napoleonic wars, the Crimean War, American Civil War, the Franco-Prus- War, and the Boer War all involved latively great increase in the debts of belligerent nations, and yet they were ıriably followed by low interest rates, ancing security prices, and great trade vity in the markets of the defeated as as those of the victorious countries.

PROSPERITY FOLLOWS WARS

ı France, for example, great prosperity :eeded the Franco-Prussian War despite indemnity of $1,000,000,000 paid to many. The American boom which menced in 1862 did not exhaust itself l 1873. Great Britain's trade was never ‘iously so large as immediately after the r War, and consols touched their high- price in 1896, when the demonetization old was threatened in the United States : is to-day in Europe.

ere, then, is a seemingly paradoxical for which there must be some explana- . If we can find it there need be no her occasion for the alarm which the ncial markets always display at the ›reak of war and with which some ericans are, strangely enough, now ued at the prospect of peace.

his unwarranted alarm is seemingly the ılt of a dual misapprehension; first, as he nature of a national debt; and second, ›o the financial processes by which an ease in the national debt becomes a is for an expansion in lendable credit.

ı their present development the loan deposit banks through which 99 per t. of the world's business is conducted a novelty to most people, and there are ıparatively few who understand that proceeds of all loans, even government ıs, must go to swell the aggregate of all osits except during the brief periods when confidence is disturbed and there is a general desire to convert bank deposits into cash.

As it is never practicable to do this to any extent, such periods need not be considered. Bank reserves are kept simply as a psychological protection against panics—they are not intended to provide for the demands of any large body of alarmed depositors.

HOW LOANS LIBERATE CREDIT

If we once grasp the idea that all loans immediately become deposits it will be easy for us to comprehend how increased national borrowing increases the supply of credit when we have come to understand that governmental borrowing is but a capitalization of a nation's resources as a result of which assets previously immobile are made liquid and negotiable and can be used as a basis for further loans.

A concrete illustration will perhaps make this clearer: A merchant whose bank balances are low has a stock of goods worth, say, $20,000. He goes to his bank and borrows $10,000 against his goods. The bank thereupon puts $10,000 to his credit and has increased both its deposits and loans by $10,000. No cash has passed. All the bank has to do is to be sure that it has the necessary reserve against the increase of $10,000 in deposits.

Under our present law an average reserve of not more than 16 per cent. must be kept against all deposits. Therefore, the only cash required on the $10,000 loan is $1,600, and even part of this may be kept as a deposit with other reserve agents who can in turn lend some of it out.

The merchant may check out the $10,000 deposited, but even then it goes to the credit of some other depositor in some other bank, and thus it happens that by borrowing $10,000 against an immobile stock of goods the merchant has liberated $10,000 of credit for the use of the community, and the bank through whose co-operation this was made possible has used only $1,600, and perhaps less cash, in doing it.

Substitute for the merchant the nations now at war and use billions instead of thousands of dollars and some idea may be

had of why loans and deposits have increased so enormously in both this country and Europe and why there has been a coördinate fall in interest rates and rise in securities.

It may be urged that this is all very well, but it does not account for the increase in cash required as reserve against the increased deposits. To this the answer is that in the United States reserve requirements have been greatly reduced by the Federal Reserve Law and that we are being provided with a constantly increasing quantity of cash through our imports of gold.

In Europe there are no reserve laws, but the banks are finding ways to avoid paying out gold and are doubtless letting their reserves run well below the percentage previously maintained in times of peace.

EFFECTS OF WAR ON GOLD RESERVES

The Bank of England, for instance, which usually carried a reserve of from 45 to 50 per cent., has not averaged 25 per cent. since the outbreak of the war, and the other joint stock banks are doubtless pursuing a similar policy. Prior to the war no bank notes for less than five pounds sterling were issued, but now ten-shilling and one-pound notes are circulating in large quantity and the people are said to have become so habituated to them that gold is not likely to be again generally used except in the settlement of international balances. In Germany there is no gold in circulation, and the same thing is true of France. The people of both countries have voluntarily surrendered large quantities of gold in exchange for bank notes, and the ease with which specie has been mobilized is one of the wonders of this wonderful war.

It is highly probable that when it is over the gold will stay where it is now and that the bankers of Europe, having learned that half their traditional reserves are a sufficient protection during the stress of war, will not attempt to increase them with the return of peace.

The tendency of modern banking in both England and America has been toward smaller reserves, and the war seems likely to accelerate it.

In the United States the tendency has also been toward a concentration of the gold in the banks and an increased use of paper money.

According to a Treasury statement published November 1st, there was $2,198,113,762 gold in this country, $1,058,809,613 of which was in the hands of the Government or the national and federal reserve banks. Of the balance of $1,139,304,149, a large portion was probably in the state banking institutions.

M. Jules Roche, of Paris, recently estimated the gold (coined and bar) of the belligerents as follows:

France	$1,600,000,000
Russia	1,040,000,000
England	760,000,000
Italy	300,000,000
Belgium	37,500,000
Germany	895,000,000
Austria-Hungary	370,000,000
Turkey	145,000,000
Total	$5,147,500,000

If the war should make it possible to concentrate all this gold in the banks of Europe, there to be used as a reserve against deposits and circulation, it is plain that the expansion of credit could be continued for some time to come and that the thing to be feared is not an increase in the national debt of the nations at war but a premature contraction in the basis of the credit which that debt now provides.

So long as taxation can sustain the debt, its existence tends toward an increase of loans and deposits, lower interest rates, and higher prices for interest-bearing securities.

It seems paradoxical that the borrowing of money should make money cheaper, but such is and will be the case so long as the money borrowed releases assets hitherto immobile and is deposited where it can and will be reloaned again and again.

MOROCCO HAS ENTERED THE WAR

THE CHESS GAME PLAYED BY FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, AND SPAIN SINCE 1894 FOR COMMERCIAL FOOTHOLDS, IN WHICH SULTANS HAVE BEEN USED IN PLACE OF KINGS—THE ANGLO-FRENCH TREATY OF 1904, AND THE KAISER'S TEST OF ITS STRENGTH AT TANGIER IN 1905—THE ALGECIRAS CONFERENCE IN 1906—FRANCE'S COUP AT FEZ, FOLLOWED BY THE PRESENCE OF THE GERMAN CRUISER "PANTHER" AT AGADIR IN 1911 —MOROCCO AS A PART OF THE SECONDARY WAR ZONE OF THE PRESENT CONFLICT

BY

CHARLES WELLINGTON FURLONG, F.R.G.S

AUTHOR OF "THE GATEWAY TO THE SAHARA," "THE FRENCH IN NORTH AFRICA," ETC.

MOROCCO has declared war on Germany! The "war extras" might have announced this in flaring captions months ago, but the eyes of the press were fixed on the deadlock of the western front, focused toward the great German drive at Warsaw, with but a side glance at the Dardanelles, the great focal point of the war. Little thought was given to happenings in Morocco, where, twice within the last decade, the match which might have set the present conflagration going some years ago was all but scratched.

It may well be asked how Morocco could so quietly declare war on Germany and how such an important "scoop" was lost to the press. I did not find it out until I had been in Morocco nearly two weeks. It happened this way:

Just as the last twilight moments hung over the *Sok-de-Barra* (Great Market), we dismounted just outside of Tangier. At my companion's invitation we entered the Austro-German Legation, passed under the shadowy shrubs and great trees of its gardens, now deathlike and still. This legation is now in charge of Mr. Maxwell Blake, the American chargé d'affaires.

The house was a palatial structure with tiled floors and ceilings of wood-carved arabesques. When Mr. Blake took it over, everything was going to rack and ruin. Now everything was well cared for —just as though the family were away for the summer.

"By international agreement at the Algeciras Conference, Tangier, together with the coast along the Straits, was made international, was it not?" I queried.

"Yes," replied my companion.

"How is it, then, that Tangier being international, the Germans have been ousted?"

"Well, you see, *the present Sultan has declared war on Germany.*"

"And the present Sultan is a product of the French?" I ventured A smile was his only reply.

It was night when I passed through the Sok. Little lights glowed where a few Moors still sat and sold, or in near-by coffee booths, where contemplative figures squatted and fumed their long pipes. Some were seated cross-legged at checkers or chess. As I watched their deft moves with pawns, bishops, and knights, the taking or crowning of kings, and the intricate network of underlying strategy, it brought to mind that bigger game of political chess, played by the Powers of Europe with Morocco as the board, but played with living chessmen; the stakes—colonial empires, foreign policies, pan-nationalisms, and wars.

Scant consideration was shown the *board* upon which the game was played, it being yanked, pushed, scratched, and defaced. Intrigues there were—French, British, Spanish, and German.

To understand the situation to-day, we must briefly look back over the game of

yesterday and, for convenience, arbitrarily divide this European political chess tournament, held in Morocco, into a series of games, with special consideration to the last three, held from 1894–1904, 1904–1914, and 1914–19—? There were pawns, knights, bishops, and queens galore, but of particular interest were three of the kings —three Sultans of Morocco.

Two short months ago, from my saddle, I looked over hundreds of square miles of Morocco. Beyond a dark-shadowed, silhouetted edge of shrubbery and trees, Tangier, shore-lapped by a blue tongue of the Mediterranean, gleamed in brilliant iridescence. On the edge of Tangier, in a setting of gardens, lay the palace of the ex-Sultan, Abd-el-Aziz—*unoccupied*. In the middle distance, half smothered in trees and vines, lay the palace of another ex-sultan, also *unoccupied*. Several days' camel's-journey south, in the Sacred City of Marrakesh, is another palace, belonging to the present Sultan, Moulaï Youssef—which he *occupies*. About these three men the recent political history of Morocco has swirled and beat, in the maelstrom of internecine strife and of European foreign policy. Now for the story of the palaces.

Long before the 1894–1904 decade, Germany had been playing the game with France in Morocco. German agents mapped the country. German traders prospered. German influence grew.

It is admitted that, at the death of Sultan Moulaï Hassan in 1894, it was the cable despatch from the German Emperor which placed Hassan's son, Abd-el-Aziz, on the throne, thus preventing France from seating there the descendant of the Shareef of Wazzan. These Shareefs are the religious potentates of Morocco, for whose favor France played. This cable despatch was the first move of the 1894–1904 decade.

The greatest loans to the Government meant the greater diplomatic control over the National Treasury, consequently over the national ports and customs, in which game France won out and Abd-el-Aziz became its protégé; so here *enter, Sultan Number One.*

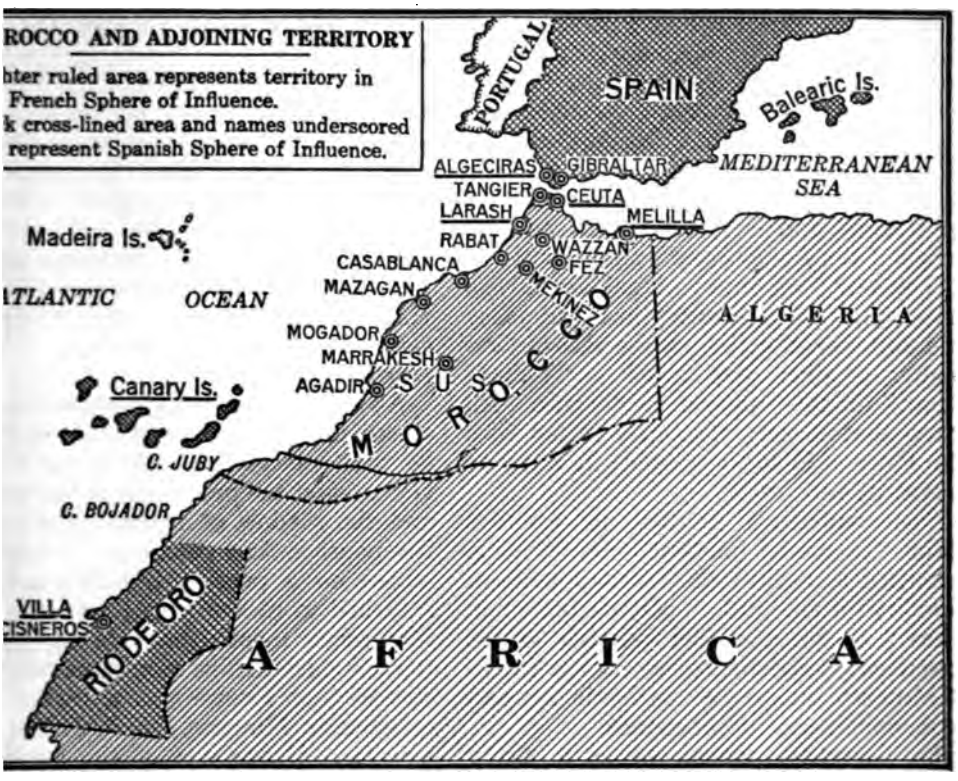
Early the following year, Great Britain, *block Germany's aspirations*, made a treaty with Aziz which culminated a of treaties through the previous five including France, Spain, and Mo These treaties established the pr that the coast (which included St Agadir, where a few Germans had ens themselves) clear to Senegal, wit exception of Spanish territory, was Moorish sovereignty. This extensi to complete the unchallenged encirc Morocco by France, and the treati vided *that the French-Algerian-S boundary merged with that of Morocco,* separated from it by tribes which I was at liberty to take over when des

So the twentieth century found F Great Britain, Germany, and Spain commercial interests in the order r jealously watching one another in Mo

The Kaiser's 1894 cable despatc thrown down the gauntlet. Franc backed by Great Britain, pursued it *étration pacifique* policy and exten Algerian frontier into that country. many increased its consular agent its ministry in Tangier greater impo encouraged Germans to travel and e the empire, and so rapidly overtook Britain in trade. Germany did no tate to assert its independence of all ments from which it was exclude were made by the three Powers wl monopolized Morocco.

Between German, French, and loans, Abd-el-Aziz became swamp debt. By 1903 all Morocco seethe opposition and became convince Aziz had sold out to the French. raised strong anti-Christian feeling the French claim, was fostered by G intrigue. So a tête-à-tête between Britain and France settled their r resulting in a mutual understandin one April morning in 1904 Europe the Anglo-French Treaty an esta fact, and all territorial questions upo Great Britain and France had c settled, including the adjustment Anglo-French-Moroccan difficult Britain's willingly conceding Fra privileged position in Morocco and g teeing to support France in it for concessions from France in Egypt.

France at once undertook to indu



A POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND OF THE GREAT WAR

though Tangier and adjoining coast territory were declared international at the Conference of as, the Austro-Germans have been ousted by the French, and great numbers of German prisoners have been transported to Casablanca and Mazagan

:o reform herself, but the turbulent nmedans of the Riff and the Atlas reform worth a *sou*.

:her year had scarcely passed when ıchman, Dr. Marchand, was mur- n Marrakesh. For this the French led by occupying the little town of thus extending Algeria Fez-ward. as immediately followed by a trivial Casablanca, in which a few European s were killed by Moors. Here was 's opportunity to make its position nd drive a wedge from the west, and promptly sent French sailors scurry- the attack through the Marine Gate t port. A year's warfare in the :, with needless brutality, resulted. : picturesque brigand, Rais Uli, ıted Northern Morocco and captured ısom people of all nationalities but n. Tribe after tribe sprang to arms : the French. Simultaneously re- broke out under Moulaï Hafid : Sultan Abd-el-Aziz. France stood by her man; Germany by Hafid. By reason of the anti-Christian feeling, Hafid was recognized as sovereign by the Sacred College of Marrakesh. German merchants aided Hafid at every turn, and Germans traveled with safety between the coast and Fez, the capital.

In the midst of this turbulence in 1905, the German Kaiser suddenly appeared riding through the main street of Tangier to the cheers of the populace. Then he made a public speech "to all whom it might concern," the pith of which was that he regarded the Sultan as a free and independent sovereign, not bound to obey any foreign Power; he denounced sudden and sweeping reforms as undesirable in Morocco, but intimated that it was highly desirable that German interests should be safeguarded.

He gave Europe another shock by following his speech with a demand for a general European conference to settle Moroccan affairs. This was sudden and

rude, and in direct defiance of Morocco's three neighbors, but Germany had a case, for she had been left out of the French-British-Spanish Moroccan arrangement. Germany succeeded in bringing about the Algeciras Conference in January, 1906. Germany meant to show that it could not be ignored and intended to feel out the scope of the Anglo-French agreements.

The ethics of international acquisition were on the side of France; the broad policy of international action on the side of Germany. Neither side cared a "tinker's damn" for the principles in the case. All knew that success ultimately rested with the Power willing to mobilize its army to secure its end.

The conference resulted in France's claim "to special political interests being admitted as against the German claim of equality for all," but an act was drawn up "based on the threefold principle of the sovereignty and independence of the Sultan of Morocco, integrity of his dominions, and economic liberty for all comers."

So Germany, though under a heavy handicap, again "toed the mark" for a fresh start with France in Morocco. At the time of the Anglo-French Treaty, the percentage of German trade in Morocco equalled nearly half that of France and Algeria combined, and for many years previous Germany had been carrying on, as far as Morocco, with her numerous closed ports, would permit, a German trade propaganda, just as the other Powers were carrying on theirs, and, since the 'seventies, had possessed treaty rights with the other three Powers to maintain a military mission at the Sultan's Court; but the French mission only, through many Moroccan loans, had established its position.

Germany not only clandestinely backed Hafid, but made loans to Abd-el-Aziz and secured secret contracts for works in Tangier and Casablanca by local intrigue. It was but natural that the Kaiser's speech in Tangier should have inclined Moroccan sympathies Germanward. They had seen Algeria and Tunis come under the hand of the "infidel" Frank, had seen the introduction of "inventions of the Devil," and the country prosper. They felt it was *their turn next.* So, as my old friend Hadji told me the year of the Anglo-French Treaty:

"We have many guns and much ammunition buried under our houses and in our gardens, and when the French come, we shall fight." And when the French came, they did fight. In some parts of Morocco they are still fighting, and will fight again, but whence the guns and ammunition? Plenty of them found their way to Moulai Hafid, and in February, 1908, he was proclaimed sovereign at Fez—*enter, Sultan Number Two.*

Abd-el-Aziz had withdrawn to the coast, where, under the protection of the French, he was proclaimed Sultan of Tangier. Here, under the protection of the legations and the shadow of Europe, the well-fed, irresponsible Aziz ensconced himself in his palace on a pension from France. But Aziz had to reckon with Rais Uli and the Moroccans themselves. He had catered to the infidels and he soon came to the conclusion that France was a better health resort than Morocco. *Exit, Sultan Number One.* Hence one of the unoccupied palaces—and Germany scored.

Sultan Moulaï Hafid well knew that by agreeing to respect the Act of Algeciras both his position and his notes on loans would be duly recognized by the Powers. This came to pass, and within six months a Franco-German Declaration respecting Morocco was drawn up, in which both parties recognized the "independence and integrity" of Morocco, France agreeing not to obstruct "German commercial and industrial interests" there, Germany promising not to impair "the special political interests of France."

With his people, however, Hafid tried to appear anti-Christian and thus played a double game, always a dangerous "acrobatic stunt" in *Al-Mogreb*—the Land of the Evening. So it likewise came to pass that Hafid, as Sultan, failed to hold down the Riff. These wild tribesmen, to whom one can offer no greater insult than to say, "Your father died in his bed," defied Hafid's authority and started a little war "of their own" with Spain, just back of her coast possession of Melilla. Then, from Sus, trouble came. In 1909, there appeared, in the mountains near the Algerian border,

ıara, called "El Roghi," supposedly
ndant of the Shareef of Wazzan,
om France had always hoped to
Sultan.
lamara, like Hafid, did not lack
ammunition, and he nearly vaulted
royal divan at Fez. His payment
, etc., interestingly enough, was
freshly minted French gold. By
explanation a French minister at
once smilingly said: "This was
the well-known confidence of the
frican tribes in the purity of the
coinage." But it did not suffice
nt this unfortunate creature and
his adherents from being captured,
torturings by which Hafid put
death are better left undescribed.
ī Hafid, like his predecessors, had
of responsibility. He did not
ht his own cigar, but his slave
first few puffs to start it going.
louble game failed, and a year of
uproar terminated in a rebellion
ribes around Fez. In 1912 a new
ıcked by the French, was pro-

Enter, Sultan Number Three.

now retired to the other palace
hout the gates of Tangier. The
not the Moor's only method of
one's terrestrial associations.
ground-glass surreptitiously
ı one's slippers, or finely chopped
introduced into one's food and
's intestines are not productive
. So Hafid packed up his house-
cts and trundled over to Algeciras.
tan Number Two.
, to maintain order and protect
subjects in Fez, occupied that
ithin a month. Germany remon-
France claimed to have heard in
ınce the Sultan's call for help.
, though with ear close to the
had not heard this call, but con-
ıat, if such a voice had been crying
ilderness, it merely proved that a
ho did not rule was no sultan, and
rench coup by letting it be known
that if there was plunder going
ded to have her share.
ny failed to negotiate with France
n a definite solution of the Moroc-
tion without Britain, and to receive
compensation for the French occupation of Fez. Consequently Europe awoke on the morning of July 1, 1911, to find that during the night the German *Panther* had stealthily crept into Agadir, soon followed by the cruiser *Berlin*. Germany claimed to the horror-stricken Powers that it had "the right of intention to protect our subjects" in Morocco just as independently as France protected hers, "so long as she came to no understanding with us." A new situation had thus been created at Agadir. It was then that Britain stood back of France until the war clouds lifted.

From now on Germany constantly tried to effect a secret treaty with France. So the chessmen were moved and countermoved in Morocco until the impending East-West migration of the Slav met the North-South trend of the Teuton, the "balance of power" was thrown out of equilibrium, the *status quo* tottered, then, with a mighty crash, fell—and the World War was on.

The play outside the arena of Europe centred mostly along the stupendous reach of the African West Coast and its outlying islands, and in August, 1914, the third game of the Moroccan tournament began. Britain could maintain a supreme fleet in the North Sea, and have a secondary fleet ample to clear Germany from the seas, meantime transporting her own troops at will and maintaining trade. This resulted in the practical taking of every German West Coast colony; so went German West Africa, the Kameruns, and Togoland; the only asylums for German refugees, aside from the unhealthy hinterlands, being the Spanish and Portuguese possessions off the West Coast, and the few wedges, unpropitious bits of Spanish territory, which dovetail into the Sahara and Morocco—Rio de Oro and Larash, Ceuta and Melilla; *and the international strip of Tangier and vicinity.*

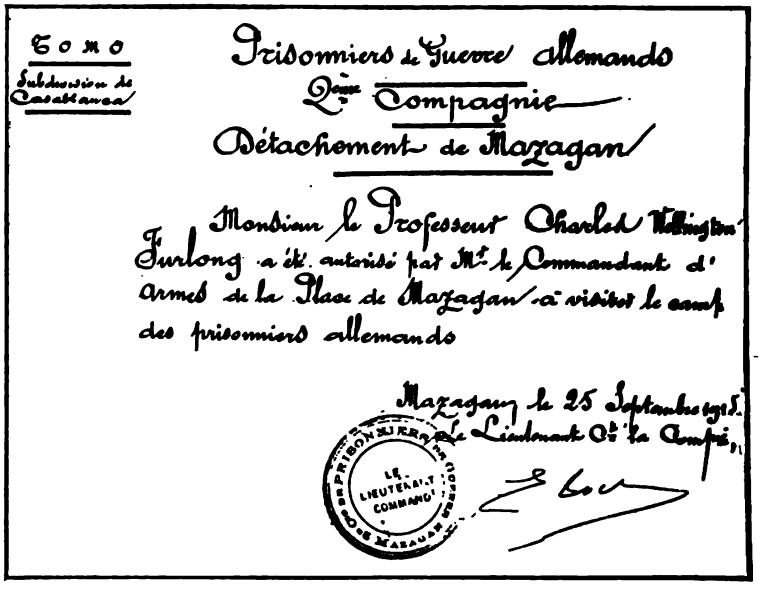
So we find in all these places except Rio de Oro, German refugees, mostly German residents and German merchant crews; while in Las Palmas, Canary Is., is the crew of the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, sunk by *H. M. S. Highflier* off Rio de Oro.

To control Morocco, France knew it must control Tangier. This meant the elimination from there of the Austro-German

Legation, and of every Austro-German subject. The day of my arrival, the cafés and coffee houses in the *Sok-el-Chico* (Little Market) were a-hum with the rumor that the old and trusted lighthouse-keeper at Cape Spartel near by was then in prison in Tangier—arrested as a spy for having signaled German submarines in the Strait,

Prisoners of War entered the great p
on their return from the forenoon's v
I was ushered into the headquarte
Lieutenant Tock, the Commandant, w
I found at his desk, busy sorting out d
of sets of souvenir post cards. I pres
my viséed passport and papers.

"You probably know," I ventured, "



MR. FURLONG'S PASSPORT
Which permitted him to visit the German prisoners of war at Mazagan

and nobody knew what was going to happen to him. Mentioning these rumors to our chargé, Mr. Blake, I was informed he had investigated. The French authorities reported that the man had not been accused of any attempt to communicate with submarines, but they did not intend he should, so had banished him by permitting him to take steamer the previous day for Spain.

But the fact remains that the French, validly or not, control Tangier; besides, they "crowned their king," Sultan Moulaï Youssef, and at least along the coast are in control of Morocco. That is why Sultan Number Three now *occupies* the third palace at Mequinez.

At Casablanca and Mazagan, there were great numbers of German prisoners of war. In the latter place, I trudged out in the stifling heat and dusty road one hot morning, reaching a large *fonduk* (caravansary) just as the Second Company of German

it is rumored that German prison
receiving atrocious treatment in M
and are being worked under blacka
Commandant looked me sea
squarely in the eye. "These repo
not willing to accept," I continued.
not wish to base my opinion on h
am here to see for myself—that is,
nothing you would object to my
The Commandant's look merge
semi-quizzical expression.

"*Bien!* I will escort you."
passed down the open part of t
square enclosure, formerly used as
vansary. The prisoners had just
ranks from their roll-call, having bee
ing three hours since 7.30 A. M.
four hours' rest in the heat of the da
march out again at 2.30 P. M. for a
three hours' labor. In winter, this w
increased to eight hours, but six ho
manual work is enough under the glar

orocco, even the best of con-
. Here the
ers are paid, as
convicts of Gu-
wenty centimes
cents) a day.
ntimes are given
o spend for to-
etc., in the
k commissary

e prisoners are
d to write two
and six postals
h," commented
tenant Tock.
are the latter,"
e handed me a
n the layout on
ble. No man,
ned, who was
erate enough to
t postals so that
soners received
varied set would
nen under him

THE MARINE GATE AT CASABLANCA
The town which France, aided by Spain, seized in 1908 in revenge for the murder of several Europeans

A MOROCCAN DESERT
etween the port of Agadir and Mogador, the second city in commercial importance and one of the most picturesque cities of Morocco

THE FRENCH RESIDENT GENERAL OF MOROCCO

General Lyautey (to the right of the officer in white uniform), with his staff. General Lyaut the leader of the French forces that endeavor to control the government of Morocco, and is, *ex o* the Moroccan Minister of Foreign Affairs

with anything but justice and consideration. This was but one of a number of things which convinced me that Lieutenant Tock, though evidently a strict disciplinarian, was an excellent man for the position and a credit to his administration.

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EX-SULTAN OF MOROCCO, ABD-EL-AZIZ

The protégé of the French in their plan of dominating Morocco, who was forced into exile *through* German intrigue

The remaining ten centimes are taken for sustenance. Four hundred grams of meat a day is allowed the French soldiers; two hundred grams of meat a day is the regular allowance for prisoners of war, but it had been reduced to one hun and fifty grams a day, another French o informed me, as this was all Germany lowed French soldiers—hence a repr Bread enough was allowed, and I saw soners peeling potatoes at the time of visit. Water was drawn, apparently f big barrel butts converted into "ho made" or, rather, "prison-made" filter

By this time the big batch of priso had thinned out, disappearing into t sleeping quarters in what were form the store rooms of the *fonduk*. Wit each man had his bed, an improv wooden frame of odd boards about inches above the floor, although some only mattresses on the cement floor it Over each man's bed were his effe suspended from the wall. Nearly ev one of them had a bag or sack with registered number on it, showing that had received things from home, wh during the last three months only, they been allowed. They were also allowed receive money to a limited extent.

No sooner did we enter the barra

MOORISH SHOPS: TANGIER

Great Britain and France reached an agreement whereby the former, in return for concessions eed to recognize French sovereignty in Morocco. At the Conference of Algeciras in 1906 Tangier nder a joint international government

en—who were sleeping, reading, cards—immediately arose and tention; practically in every case Tock motioned them to remain ere, saying, "Do not indispose " Some had photographs and ures tacked to the walls at the heir beds, while one audacious had secured an empty box of orax" and turned the sign side sly toward the front. The th their sense of humor, offered on, under these conditions, to "Kaiser" or the "Borax."

uarters were high-studded and well adapted to this climate, ome of the men were still quar- *Caserne* (barracks).

ay, *Monsieur!*" and the Com- ed me into a supply room, lifted rom some shelves, and revealed with loaves of bread.

is in two," he ordered a prisoner, ed me a slice of bread, which I e palatable, but a bit heavy and hard to digest for a steady diet.

"You see, it is the same that we give to our own soldiers. This is the meat," he commented, as we stepped through another door to where German soldiers were cutting up a good looking quarter of beef, very different from the black stuff I had seen doled out to prisoners in Cayenne.

There were some exact questions I wished to ask, and requested an interpreter who spoke English, but there was no such linguist present among the French officers,

FORMER SULTAN MOULAÏ HAFID

Backed by Germany he overthrew Abd-el-Aziz and was proclaimed Sultan of Morocco in 1908. He was in turn overthrown in 1912 after a rebellion of the tribes around Fez, and fled to Spain

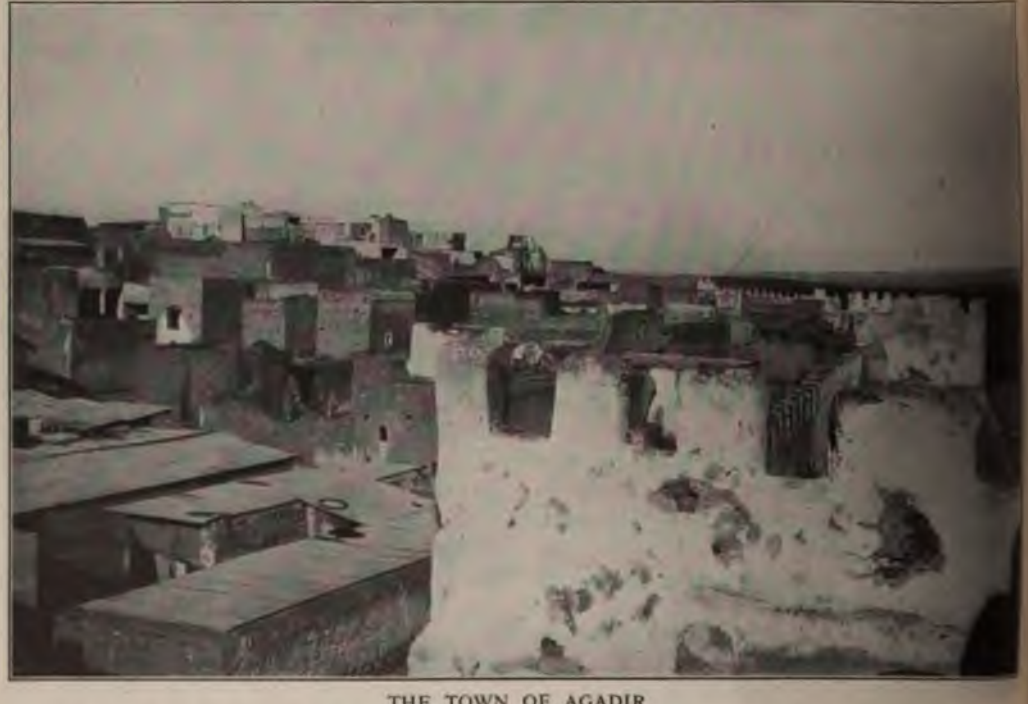
THE GOVERNOR'S PALACE AT AGADIR
The port of the rich Sus country which France has closed during the war

and Lieutenant Tock finally fell back on one of the Germans, Herr Frans Deutsmann, a tall, rather esthetic looking man, doing clerical work in the Commandant's office. The following conversation will, literally and figuratively, speak for itself:

"Have you any particular fault to find with your treatment?" I asked.

"No."

"What are the hardest things about your



THE TOWN OF AGADIR
Under pretext of protecting German subjects, of whom there were but a handful in Agadir, from a rebellion which had occurred, but in reality to gain control of the town in retaliation for the seizing of Fez by the French, the Emperor of Germany despatched the *Panther* to Agadir in 1911 and nearly precipitated a world war

THE PORT OF TANGIER

f port and best harbor of Morocco which France must, and now does, control to govern Morocco

e?" The reply was what I felt sure
d be:
e heat—it affects many."
ve many malaria?"
, but of course the French officers here are not responsible for the climate." The mortality out of these four hundred prisoners for the last nine months had been six deaths.

"What else is trying?"

THE PRINCIPAL STREET OF TANGIER

as at Tangier, during the rebellion of Moulaï Hafid against Abd-el-Aziz in 1905, that the German r suddenly appeared in person and demanded that a conference of European Powers be held to de- the status of Morocco. *The Conference at Algeciras* in January, 1906, was the result

AFRO-FRENCH TROOPS

There are several contingents of Moroccans fighting France's battles throughout Europe to-day

Copyright by George G. Bain

"Well, the bread does not always agree with us."

"What was your occupation in Germany?"

"I was a teacher in the public schools."

"I, also, have been a teacher, so we have a common interest."

"Yes?" he replied with a faint smile.

"How has the climate agreed with you?"

"I have kept well."

"Do all have to do the same work?" I inquired, turning to Lieutenant Tock.

"No, we try to give the men the work they are most adapted to—masonry, carpentry, wood chopping, etc., and dispose the men in the liberal arts."

"But the fine arts and professions?"

"Well, we try to arrange that, as far as possible, but remember, these men are prisoners of war." Then I turned again to Herr Deutsmann.

"Have you heard of any ill-treatment of prisoners?"

"No."

"What guards do they put over you out on the road building and other hard manual work?"

"French soldiers."

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THE VICTORIOUS REBEL ARMY AT FEZ

Sultan Moulai Hafid's policy of endeavoring to please both foreigners and natives in Morocco resulted in the loss of his throne

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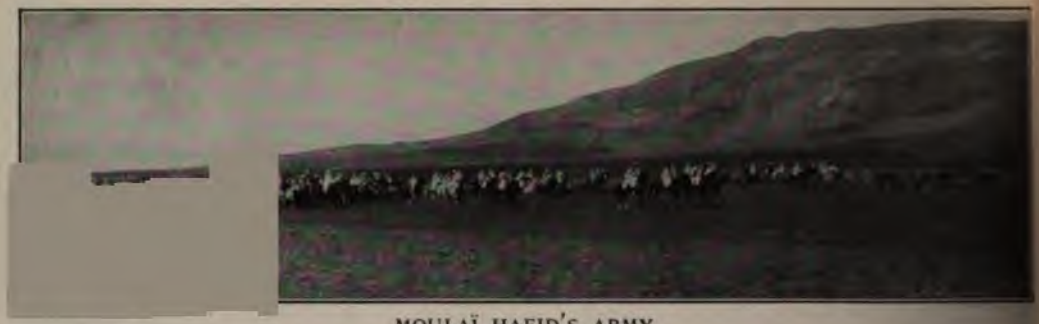
GERMAN PRISONERS OF WAR

he French have confined a large number of German prisoners at Mazagan. Here they are treated humanely and reasonably well as prisoners of war



MOULAÏ HAFID'S ARMY

By the aid of which he organized a successful revolt against the then reigning Sultan, Abd-el-Aziz

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"French Arab soldiers?"

"Yes."

"Any Negroes?"

"No."

"Have you heard of any Negroes being put over German prisoners?"

"No."

"Then, as a whole, you are treated reasonably well?"

"Yes."

"Thank you." And then I asked permission of Lieutenant Tock to take Herr Deutsmann's photograph with the latter's consent. He acceded, and then in turn snapped one of the Commandant and myself, telling me that at home he had a camera like mine.

"At home!"

How romantically strange the whole situation seemed! This fine-natured, gentle-mannered German teacher, a prisoner in far-off Morocco, under a Frenchman with whom he would have associated on quite different terms a year and a half ago, but now his warder. I, a stranger to the two, passing by on my way to a land as yet—thank God!—out of the great Molochan caldron of war into which so much of the world had plunged.

A GRAIN MARKET AT MOGADOR

An Atlantic seaport in southwestern Morocco. France has already commandeered millions of bushels of this grain for its army in Europe

HALL WE HAVE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT?

THE BUDGET SYSTEM AND "R. & H." PORK

ENCES BACK OF THE ANNUAL RIVER AND HARBOR BILL—THE CHIEF MOTIVE CONGRESSMEN NOT THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE, BUT THE DESIRE TO SPEND MONEY IN THEIR DISTRICTS—NO CENTRALIZED RESPONSIBLE HEAD DIRECTING APPROPRIATIONS—A BUDGET THE ONE POSSIBLE METHOD OF REFORM

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

ITS treatment of the river and harbor bills introduced in the last two years, Congress took action that was as significant as it was unprecedented. These measures, in the 1914 and 1915, carried appropriations nting to $102,000,000. They reached igh-water mark of extravagance in priations of this kind. The Demo- Party, which for years had denounced ension legislation of Republicans, rifled the country, in 1911, by pass- pension bill more extravagant than itherto known. Similarly, after mak- Presidential campaign largely on the ion that the Republicans had wasted ns of federal money, the new De- tic majority in *Congress concocted* the most extravagant river and harbor bill in the Nation's history. Under ordinary circumstances these bills, like dozens of others, would have quietly slipped through. A new Republican member in the House, however, Congressman James A. Frear, of Wisconsin, and a small group in the Senate, led by Senators Burton and Kenyon, started a terrific fight against these bills. For days they exposed the appropriations item by item, showing, in bewildering detail, their wasteful and sometimes almost criminal character. The advocates of these appropriations, Congressmen and Senators who were seeking them in obedience to the insistent demands of their localities, stood fairly paralyzed in the face of these disclosures. Against the definite facts laid

EX-SENATOR BURTON, OF OHIO

Probably the best informed among the enemies of the pork barrel in public life. He declares that most of the money spent on improving creeks and rivers is wasted

bare in the record, they had practically nothing to say—they could not, for the facts stood open, incontrovertible, and abhorrent. The members of the lower house contented themselves by voting silently for a measure which their ablest spokesmen could not defend. In the upper chamber, however, Senators Burton, Kenyon, and a few others absolutely refused to let the measure pass. They used the familiar expedient, permitted by the Senate rules but not by those of the House—the filibuster. They announced their determination of repeating Senator Carter's famous performance of 1901, when, with no assistance from his colleagues, he talked a river and harbor bill to death.

It was then that Congress did the unprecedented and significant thing. "It is quite evident," the leaders said, "that we can never agree upon this bill. Everybody admits that it contains many meritorious items. But it cannot go through unless it goes through as a whole. We cannot begin cutting out separate items; as soon as we do that, we shall simply start each *member fighting for his own* appropriation, and start a Kilkenny riot that will make any bill impossible. The essence of river and harbor bills is that each member gets his slice; as long as he gets that slice he votes for the bill as a whole. But if we start cutting out things, we shall destroy this beautiful equilibrium and have no bill at all. Still, we do want some appropriations. We need some—the national interest, on genuine business grounds, demands them. How shall we get them?"

Here was a fine legislative puzzle. Ultimately some one had a bright idea. "Let us appropriate a lump sum, said, "for river and harbor improvemen say $20,000,000. Don't let's specify w this money is to be used for—what part lar creeks and rivers and harbors are t improved. Instead, let's hand this mo over to the engineers of the War Dep ment, to be used at their discretion. these experts pick out the 'projects' n deserving, simply on their merits, of money. We can't agree on this oursel we can't spend the whole session squabb about it. Let's decide how much Federal Treasury can stand this year this work, and then let the best quali men in the Government service decide it is to be spent."

Congress adopted the idea and ap priated $20,000,000 on this basis. In it appropriated $30,000,000 in precisely same way. In one sense these approp tions are the most important things C gress has done since its organization.

For essentially, so far as river and har improvements were concerned, Congr

all unconsciously, adopted the budget system. It approached the subject from the rear, it is true; still the one important idea is there. Had the War Department, at the beginning of the session, asked for $20,000,000 to be spent, in its discretion, on rivers and harbors, the upholders of Congressional prerogatives would have jumped to their feet. What, take away from Congress the power to say precisely how the people's money was to be spent! Leave to "bureaucratic" experts in the executive department that had immemorially resided on ill! The proposition, Congress- d have said, was the negation of tive institutions. Yet Congress- heir own will, now did this very nd they did it simply because they eir own powerlessness in the situ- ey practically said that whether 's money should be spent on the or the Kissimee or the Chatta- r the Matawan rivers was not a function, but an administrative ull sight of the country, they con- failure of the time-honored plan appropriations. In their des- rushed to that system which ge member denounces as un- and monarchical—the budget appropriations and expenditures. fellows from New England and thern states," said Congressman Texas, in a recent speech to his ts, "have plastered their coun- unnecessary federal buildings. Democrats are in charge of the

SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK, OF MISSOURI

A champion of present methods of making appropriations. A foremost advocate of spending $20,000,000 on the Missouri River—a project Senator Burton denounces as an "economic crime"

House and I'll tell you right now every time one of those Yankees gets a ham I'm going to do my best to get a hog."

"The River and Harbor Bill is a humbug and a steal," said Senator Tillman some years ago, "but I am going to get my share."

"I have recommended appropriations for rivers that now make me blush," says ex-Senator Burton, recalling the days of his own mental darkness on this great question.

"We send a Congressman here to legislate for the Nation, theoretically," said Mr. J. F. Ellison, when secretary of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, "but actually to get all he can for us; and if he does not get our share, and then some, we do our best to replace him with some other man who will take better care of our particular Congressional district."

Some one has described the American Congress as a "convention of local envoys." The frank opinions quoted above apparently sustain this diagnosis. Each man is interested, not in legislating for the Nation as a whole, but in obtaining what he can from the Federal Treasury for his own dis-

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CONGRESSMAN MOORE, OF PENNSYLVANIA

A Philadelphia Congressman who also edits a waterways journal and spends a large part of his time seeking appropriations for his district

trict. This ingrained practice—the custom, as Senator William Alden Smith says approvingly, of the "man from Peachtree Creek having Peachtree Creek at heart"—is our greatest legislative vice. Until the year 1713 the same abuse prevailed in England. A locality that wanted to bridge a river or a creek, instead of paying for this improvement out of its own pocket, would get its representative to push a bill through Parliament. The abuse became so unbearable that Parliament—more than two hundred years ago, be it noted—passed a resolution saying that it woul sider no bill appropriating money exc the recommendation of a responsible ister of the Crown. This simple reso founded the budget system not on England, but ultimately in every civ country but one. The United Stat still distinguished as the only modern n that appropriates public moneys on th discredited plan.

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The river and harbor bill splen illustrates the weaknesses and the c quences of our present financial met It is worth while, therefore, to exa these appropriations in detail. Wh the mechanism controlling our grea tional public works? What are its quences? How would a more na system give us better results?

As in the case of pensions, public ings, the Army, the Navy, and other activities, the expenditures for the in ment of rivers and harbors fulfil a public need. We have the finest in the world and we also have a larg

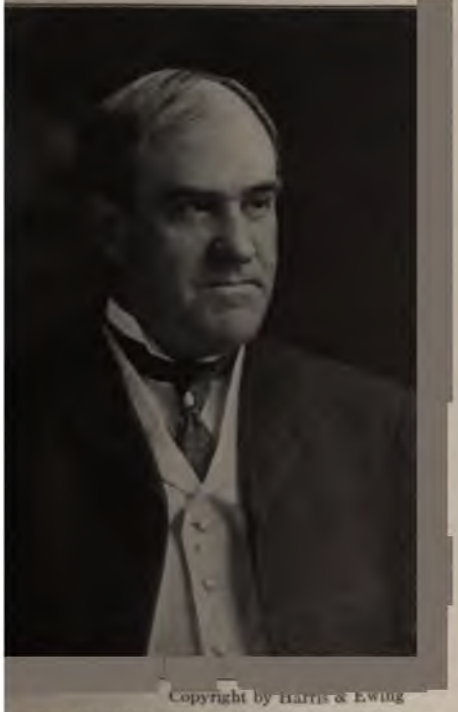
SENATOR SIMMONS, OF NORTH CAR

Chairman of the Senate Finance Co His state is especially persistent in seekin priations for rivers and harbors. It had tv "projects" in the latest bill—a bill that was by Senator Simmons

than that of any other nation. re has given us likewise an unexampled h in water courses. In the early part nineteenth century Congress began priating federal money to develop water highways. It passed its first and harbor bill in 1816—a measure, l by President Madison, that appro- d $178,000. In those days, a e before the introduction of the ıd, the Nation depended almost en- upon waterways for transportation; e this fact, old-fashioned Democrats usly objected to using federal money is purpose. This battle over internal vements raged for many years; by however, the development of water- at federal expense had become the national policy. So long as these priations secured their original pur- that is, so long as they actually ted navigation and commerce— opinion had indorsed them. If an vement of a harbor added to the of the locality and the Nation by increasing shipping, if digging a channel in a river gave farmers and manufacturers

CONGRESSMAN CALLAWAY, OF TEXAS

An almost violent anti-pork-barrelist. He exposes in Congress the criminal waste of money on the Trinity River, which runs through his district



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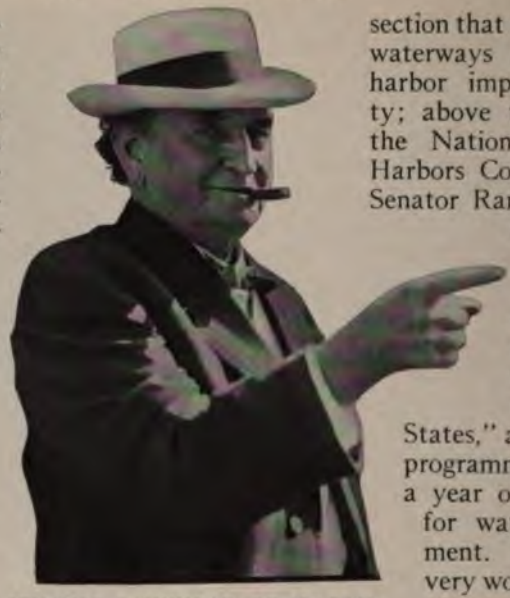
SSMAN HUMPHREYS, OF MISSISSIPPI

ng upholder of the present unscientific of appropriation making. Until the present is changed, the Nation will go on wasting millions every year

CONGRESSMAN FREAR, OF WISCONSIN

A new Congressman who has made a great reputation as an opponent of the pork barrel. With Senator Burton and a few others he defeated the river and harbor bills of the last Congress and saved the country about $40,000,000

a new outlet for their product, certainly the money had been wisely spent. And clearly these considerations alone should govern such appropriations. Our system of federal finance, however, made possible appropriations on other much less respectable grounds. Under that system, the individual Congressman, entirely on his own initiative, can introduce bills appropriating money. The Presidential vetoes scattered along the history of river and harbor bills—vetoes by Monroe, Jackson, Tyler, Polk, Pierce, Grant, Arthur, and Cleveland—clearly indicate that Congressmen and Senators have abused this privilege from the very beginning.



SENATOR BANKHEAD, OF ALABAMA

Another promoter of federal appropriations on the pork barrel plan. His state is one of the greatest beneficiaries of this form of waste

The pork barrel system has now become solidified into a sacred custom. If we seek the real driving force back of such appropriations we shall find it, not in an intelligent national supervising purpose, but in a local and frequently a purely selfish business interest. The cultivation of river and harbor appropriations is now a well established industry; it has its salaried traveling officers, its publicity experts, its constantly alert and high-sounding organizations. There is hardly a section that does not have its waterways association, its harbor improvement society; above them all stands the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, of which Senator Ransdell, of Louisiana, is president, which proclaims itself on its stationery as "Second only to the Congress of the United States," and has a definite programme of $50,000,000 a year of federal money for waterway improvement. In many cases very worthy people back these organizations. Many of our most reputable chambers of commerce support them. There is reason to believe however, that less disinterested forces, such as dredging companies and general contractors, sometimes lend their support. Local pride is quite naturally and innocently enlisted in these campaigns. The average community welcomes $100,000 or $1,000,000 that is to be spent on a local improvement. It believes, sincerely enough, that the dredging of a river will "help business," give large adjoining territories ready access to markets, perhaps exercise a competitive effect upon the rates of an unpopular railroad. If it does

SENATOR GALLINGER, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Who fights federal appropriations for improving rivers in the South, but just as vigorously "goes after" federal appropriations for the Portsmouth Navy Yard, in his *own state*

SENATOR CLARKE OF ARKANSAS

Who thinks the Government should spend millions in improving the River, which has had practically no commerce forty years. The cure wasteful schemes of kind is a federal budge

ARNER, OF
TEXAS

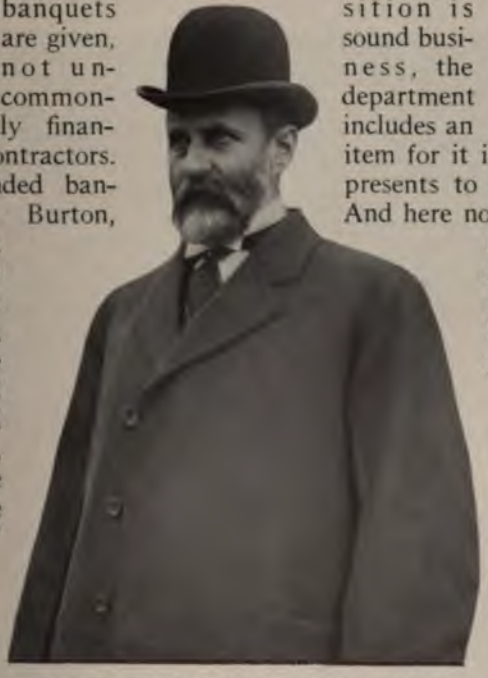
ell you right
said recently on
t of pork-bar-
very time one of
kees [the North-
ressmen] gets a
going to do my
t a hog." De-
he considers the
rrel system
ad business"

nothing else, the new work will certainly "put money into circulation" in the district and, therefore, be stimulating for trade. Not infrequently the paid secretary of a local "booster club," hard put to it to show some justification for his salary, will manufacture interest in some such "project." Articles appear in the local papers, splendidly picturing the commerce which waits only on a federal appropriation; meetings are held, in which all good citizens take part; elaborate banquets are given, not uncommonly financiers and contractors. myself attended ban- says Senator Burton, at nine o'clock queters believed annel ten feet t ten o'clock lieved in one feet deep; and got alongtoward r of midnight, lieved that the ought to be to forty feet." months' cam- f this kind esthemost un- sing commun- its industrial ion depends tting its "pro- rted. If these s lived in such

countries as France and Germany, their plan of operations would be simple and direct. Both France and Germany spend national money for river and harbor improvements; neither country, however, has a pork barrel. Any community that wants a river dredged or a harbor improved presents its case to an administrative department. This department makes a detailed, scientific investigation. It estimates the cost, calculates the time the work will take and the traffic that it may create. If the proposition is sound business, the department includes an item for it in the budget, which it presents to the federal legislature. And here note one important fact: France and Germany do not appropriate on the instalment plan, a hundred thousand this year, a hundred thousand next, perhaps nothing for ten years —with the result that the whole thing drags on indefinitely, as is the common practice here. If the improvement is needed, the legislature appropriates the whole sum and so pushes the operation through. That is what happens in a budget country; now see what happens

SENATOR KENYON,
OF IOWA

An able assistant to ex-Senator Burton in fighting the wasteful appropriations of the Rivers and Harbors Committee. It required all the skill of a small coterie to defeat more than $100,000,000 of river and harbor appropriations during the last session of Congress



SENATOR RANSDELL, OF LOUISIANA

Who, in addition to his official position, is president of the Rivers and Harbors Congress, which advocates, as its main programme, a government appropriation of $50,000,000 a year for pork barrel purposes

here. Instead of appealing to a great federal department, these local communities at once besiege their Congressman. Perhaps a local election is pending; in that case the appropriation becomes a leading issue. The rival candidates take the stump, tell their districts what appropriations they have obtained for them in the past, and what they expect to get in the future. The greatest statesman is thus the man who can obtain the most money out of the Federal Treasury for local disbursement. In a little while the proposed expenditure becomes almost a pathological obsession; any one who raises a doubt is unpatriotic; any newspaper which lifts up its voice against it is boycotted. As soon as the Congressman reaches Washington his troubles begin. Resolutions of chambers of commerce, letters of distinguished citizens, and telegrams fall in showers upon his desk. Delegations from home wait upon him, all reminding him of his one supreme duty. His career as a statesman, he learns, absolutely depends upon his success in getting "recognition" for his district in the pending river and harbor bill. His constituents are constantly looking to see that he gets "what is coming" to them.

MR. SPARKMAN, OF FLORIDA

Chairman of the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, which, next to the Committee on Pensions, wastes more money than any other agency in Congress

Happy such a Congressman who can secure a place on the Rivers and Harbors Committee! Once located in this lofty tribunal, his success is assured. For the Rivers and Harbors Committee controls everything. It is really the "little legislature" which, under our financial system, makes appropriations for these purposes. An analysis of the membership of our various appropriation committees throws great light upon the whole matter. Take the Naval Affairs Committee of the

SENATOR SMITH, OF MICHIGAN

One of Michigan's favorite sons for the Republican Presidential nomination. "I glory in the fact," he says, "that men come from Peachtree Creek and have Peachtree Creek at heart"

. A thrifty Providence so directs the
that Senators from the states having
ards occupy practically all the chairs
l this particular table. Or the Mili-
ıffairs Committee: here, for many
ɔf Republican rule, Senator Warren
:d—a Senator whose state contains
ɔrthless army posts upon which the
ıment has wasted $6,000,000 in ten
Similarly, a generous Destiny se-
he membership of the Rivers and
rs Committee. Take the list of
:rs; compare this with the appropria-
nade: invariably the states having
:rs have the larger number of "pro-
advanced. "Mr. Sparkman, the
an," said Congressman Callaway in
ırse of the debate last year catalogu-
: members of the House Committee,
s from Florida's west coast. His
: has 300 miles of ocean front. Mr.
s, of Texas, on Aransas Pass, has a
of the intercoastal canal with which
ımmittee is paralleling the ocean from
to the Rio Grande, going to put in a
, crooked canal from 5 to 25 feet
ınd compete with the open ocean.
ylor, of Alabama, is on Mobile Bay,
mphreys, of Mississippi, represents
ct which runs for 150 miles along the
ippi River—he wants $63,000,000
he Treasury—and Mr. Edwards, of
; is on the Atlantic Coast at Savan-
Mr. Small, of North Carolina, is
y interested in trying to develop
ce between Norfolk, Va., and
t; S. C., by taking over and spend-
ons deepening a canal which is now
deep and has two little gasolene
s on it that draw 5 feet of water
he one round trip a week, carrying
s much freight at a load as a big
. Mr. Donohoe, of Philadelphia,
boastfully that he has got more
ations for his district than any
ican predecessor. Mr. Scully, of
Jersey, has succeeded in having
ooo shoveled out to that little state,
is nearly as big as a Texas ranch.
riscoll is from Buffalo, N. Y. His
ɔr wants the Federal Government to
ıs much on the Hudson River as has
ɔent on Red River—$183 for each
freight carried. Mr. Gallagher is from Chicago, the home of the river and harbor boosters. Mr. Booher, of Missouri, is interested in the Missouri above Kansas City, and from the best estimate I can get each ton of through freight carried from Kansas City to St. Louis will cost the Government about $200. Mr. Murray, of Massachusetts, came to Congress trying to burglarize the Treasury with a river and harbor key. Mr. Lieb, of Indiana, is from the Ohio River, on which this committee is appropriating for a project estimated to cost $63,000,000. Mr. Kettner, of California, is the only Democratic member of Congress from that state who has any coast line in his district. Then comes the Republican membership of this committee —Mr. Humphrey, of Seattle, Wash., who regards each day lost that he fails to get something out of the Treasury; Mr. Kennedy, of Iowa, one side of whose district is bounded by the Mississippi River, which gets seven millions in this bill; Mr. Barchfeld, from Pittsburg, Pa., the place from which they are going to start the coal and iron down the Ohio to pass through $63,000,000 worth of Government locks and dams, Mr. Hughes, of West Virginia, who comes from the fifth district, which is almost surrounded by rivers more navigable than the Little Pedee and Lumber rivers of South Carolina."

A CONGRESSIONAL GRAB-BAG

Mr. Callaway, apparently, does not mince matters in diagnosing the situation. "We get thicker than thieves," he says; "all defend each and each defends all." River and harbor appropriations, that is, are a fine product of an elaborate system of reciprocity in back-scratching. No single Government officer, and no Government department, takes the responsibility for these appropriations. The engineers of the War Department make "surveys" and investigations; indeed, Congress appropriates for no river and harbor projects which they have not officially recommended. Congress so keeps control of these engineers, however, that, in the words of Senator Burton, "the engineer corps seek to do what Congress wishes them to do." Not infrequently the engineers, after disapproving a project, will

reverse themselves—submitting to the pressure of some Congressman or local booster club. Besides, the engineers report on the feasibility of individual projects, considering each case by itself; they have no authority to map out a year's campaign of improvement. They submit a mass of recommendations—Chairman Sparkman, of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, says that favorable surveys have been made for projects that would cost billions of dollars—and leave it to Congress to pick and choose. No responsible person, like a Cabinet Secretary or the President, comes before Congress each year and says: "I recommend that we spend so many millions in public works on these rivers and these harbors," leaving it to Congress to vote or refuse the appropriation. Consequently the whole proceeding becomes merely a Congressional grab-bag. The members of the committee get the larger number of appropriations in their districts; most outside Congressmen, however, who demand "recognition" or "a slice" get it—otherwise they will vote against the bill. After the House has finished with the measure, the Senate attacks it in precisely the same fashion. Sometimes the Senate will cut out a few of the most atrocious "projects" introduced by Congressmen, but it invariably adds many more choice specimens of its own. Last year the virtuous Senators rejected about a million dollars' worth of wicked items introduced by the House—and then added ten million dollars' worth of their own schemes which were just as bad or worse.

APPROPRIATIONS TO "HELP BUSINESS"

No, if we analyze in still greater detail the forces that annually make up these bills, we shall find them to be about these: the interests of localities looking for federal money whose circulation will "help business"; private interests, such as factories, mills, railroads, real estate speculators, and reclamation experts who scheme to get federal money for enterprises they should finance themselves; contractors, dredgers, and the like; and private concerns whose business depends to a large extent upon *public works.*

A ludicrous illustration of the came out in last year's debate. Congressmen and Senators recei letter from a supply house in Cle demanding that they secure the imm passage of the bill. The delay this house, was "hurting busines particular it was stopping the s "clam shell buckets." That is concern demanded that Congress $100,000,000 bill in order that it sell a few clam shell buckets.

Besides these influences there a course, plenty of chambers of com and other organizations which ad improvements that are really inten promote commerce. Most studen the problem, however, have sadly cluded that these people have less in than any of the others.

FEDERAL PAP FOR THE NORTH AND

Existing facts prove that the dete tion of legislators to spend money, than to build up commerce, has go the whole matter. In the last forty the Federal Government has $800,000,000 on improving wate at present it has under constructio jects that will demand $300,000,000 Next to pensions these expenditure up our largest national pork barrel. sion money is disbursed mostly North—it constitutes our great Na pork barrel. Waterway disburse however, form the great pork barrel South. When pension expenditure up, certain fervid Southern Congr rise and denounce them. These statesmen, however, just as fervently for river improvements. Congr Martin Dies, of Texas, never hesit assail pension bills; however, he works hard for the Trinity and rivers of Texas—about the most "projects" on the calendar. Senat linger, on the other hand, inv ridicules Southern waterways; but ligiously votes for pension bills an stantly seeks appropriations for the mouth Navy Yard—a worthless station which the joint Army and Board has attempted to abolish. A these lawmakers, from both the Nor

object to federal pap, except when
ts money into circulation" at home.
f the few consistent statesmen is
ssman Callaway, who opposes with
fervor pension bills and appropria-
or the Trinity River, which flows
y through his own district in Texas.

E DEMAND FOR RIVER NAVIGATION

t have the American people ob-
for the nearly one billion dollars
they have spent on rivers and har-
forty years? In the first place we
sharply distinguish between the
s and the rivers. These two classes
ter courses stand on an entirely
it footing. Doubtless many mil-
ave been wasted on harbors; as a
however, despite an unintelligent
l of making these improvements,
ave been justified. Clearly, such
s as those of New York, Boston,
lphia, Galveston, New Orleans,
ancisco, Seattle, Chicago, Duluth,
r, and others have enormous com-
l value; money spent improving
ust pay dividends. When it comes
rs, however, the situation is quite
it. Many of these projects have
mply dishonest. Practically every
f the country has visible evidence
is statement is true. The Nation
tered with unused "canalizations,"
hed projects, and streams with deep
ls that do not carry a particle of
. We have "improved" creeks that
for many months in the year. We
redged out branch rivers without
ng channels in the main stream.
ve dug out rivers at their sources
ft their mouths unimproved. We
cated locks, not where they would
romote navigation, but in the dis-
f Congressmen that most clamor-
alled for them. We have dredged
ls, not to improve general naviga-
ut merely to provide access to
manufacturing plants—as justifi-
se of public money as would be the
ction of private railroad sidings.
ve built dams for no other purpose
o provide private factories with
ower, and have drained swamps in
o make valuable privately owned
real estate. We have spent millions in building canals—like the famous Hennepin —which, when finished, have developed practically no traffic.

The millions and millions we have spent making channels, clearing out snags, and removing bars in rivers have apparently demonstrated only one fact: that is, that there is little commercial demand in this country for river navigation. Most Americans cannot understand this; few of us will willingly believe it; yet this is the unpleasant fact. Above all others, the Mississippi River teaches this lesson. In the last thirty years we have spent $150,000,000 improving the navigation of this river; in that same period its traffic has declined 80 per cent.! Many people explain this on the ground that the river is not improved. There is a current impression that it has been neglected. In fact, for purposes of navigation, it is a finer river now than it was in its palmiest days. The Rhine, which carries 40 million tons of freight a year, has a channel for a large distance of about four feet; the Mississippi, which carries only 5 million tons, has a channel of nine feet from St. Louis to the Gulf. Ocean steamships can sail up to Vicksburg, the heart of the cotton district; yet the cotton, even from this point, goes to New Orleans by railroad. It is not necessary, in this place, to analyze the causes of this change. It is not due, as some imagine, to the unfair practices of the railroads; the one fact is that the railroads have had such a great development, and are so well equipped, that they carry the freight more quickly and more safely. River transportation in this country, despite the millions spent in making rivers navigable, has almost reached the vanishing point. Most students of the subject think that it cannot be revived.

Although we have given the Mississippi a channel twice as deep as it had in the old days, and have, for our pains, a traffic 80 per cent. smaller than when we began, Congressmen are constantly seeking appropriations for dredging other rivers infinitely less promising. Although half finished projects are scattered all over the face of the Nation, they are seeking money to begin new ones! I could cite hundreds of

cases to prove this point—the material at hand is bewildering in its quantity. The story of practically all inland waterways is the same. Local interests appeal to Congress for an appropriation. They tell pitiful stories of railroad extortion and present elaborate statistics showing the traffic awaiting transportation. Congress votes the money; the river is improved; and nothing except a few thousand tons of logs—which would float down just as well without the improvements—ever uses the river.

Take the Big Sandy River in Kentucky, for illustration. In 1899, numerous committees appeared at Washington, picturing the enormous coal shipments awaiting transportation on this river. Although certain of the ablest Army engineers advised against the "project," Congress has spent $2,000,000 building locks and dams. The Big Sandy River is now ready for shipping coal; how much is being shipped? Last year just 12 tons went down this stream! In the same period the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad carried out of the same district more than 2 million tons.

"THE RIVER OF DOUBT"

Perhaps the "project" that best illustrates all the evils of the present system is the celebrated Trinity River, of Texas. This stream, rising in northeastern Texas, pursues its narrow, crooked, sluggish way past Fort Worth and Dallas into Galveston Bay. Though 511 miles up to Dallas, the Trinity is open to ocean-going vessels for only six miles from its mouth. Fifty years ago, light-draft boats used this stream for a certain distance. The head of navigation then was Magnolia—a place 207 miles below Dallas. The hardiest sailor, however, never attempted to negotiate the waters between these two points. There was a good reason for this. The Trinity lacks only one essential of a river—it is extremely deficient in water. The section near Dallas has a river bed, banks, rocks, snags, stumps, and all the other appurtenances of a successful "project" in the great Southwest; all it needs is a little moisture. Far be it from me to repeat all the scandalous stories circulated in Congress about this stream—that Dallas once sought to insure it against fire, local trolley road tried to lease it interurban line, that the idea was entertained of macadamizing it. T River, indeed, has a mythology all it this accounts for the story that, wh Rivers and Harbors Committee visited Dallas to inspect the stream, committee asked whether they wo up on a buckboard or an automobile. Callaway's latest speech on the Tri he loves to entertain the House o subject—conclusively proves that a is malicious fiction. At times the T does contain water, for, says Mr. Cal "I have often been there and waded it; I never had to swim." Legend are many of the stories told of the T —the "River of Doubt" Senator K calls it—there is one that is not a l That is that the original estimates f proving the river contained an it $200,000 for obtaining an "artificial supply" by digging artesian wells. advocates have denounced this an many times as a lie; yet it is a scientific fact. "By canalizing the by means of locks and dams," says tain Riché's report—the report upon Congress began work in 1901—"wi addition of an artificial water supply, obtained by storing surplus water the wet season, or by sinking addi artesian wells, or by a combination o methods, it will be possible to ob navigation continuous at all se except possibly for a short season years of excessive drought."

Another recommendation, made i same report, sheds light upon the a of water in this part of the Trinit proposed to remove "by burning low water all drift that has collected bed of the stream."

Still, the Commercial Club of and the Texas representation in Co succeeded in persuading Uncle Sa undertake the improvement of this st They drew the usual attractive pictu the mountains of freight that wou transported; not only cotton and agricultural products would use the but the proposed canalization would this part of Texas one of the world's

ppers of iron ore. They used again miliar argument that this water would have a healthy influence in ing freight rates. Now, if railroad nce in this country has demon- one thing, it is that competition, r by rail or water, is not the way of g the rate problem. The Federal ment, and most of the states, have ce reached this conclusion; instead, e established everywhere railroad sions for this purpose. Texas has the best railroad commissions; if e situation were oppressive, herein proper remedy. Still, the War ment estimated that $4,000,000 and y maintenance of $280,000 would e Trinity a four-foot navigable l from Dallas to the Gulf. The pros- med so alluring that even Senator , at that time chairman of the House ttee on Rivers and Harbors, spoke ver. Probably this was one of the endations that have since made sh; at least he has since said that e that speech before he had seen r. For improvement purposes the ent divided the river into five , the first of which extended for ne miles south of Dallas. Now, n sense would have suggested that, river were to be channeled at all, ould begin at its mouth and work this way we should get some ion each year, as the work went on; the sense in beginning at the upper , when we cannot get by the mouth? ly, our Congressmen have ignored ple rule in most of their river im- ents, the reason being, of course, ey wish the appropriation spent in stricts. The Trinity illustrates this perfectly. In the last twelve years s has spent $2,229,000, most of it building five locks and dams in the section, nearly 500 miles above tide So far nine locks and dams have thorized, of which seven are located fifty miles of Dallas. Though Con- as been working on this river for years, it has not yet carried a single of commercial freight. Concerning spect of navigation, this is what engineers say in an official report: "The normal flow of the Trinity River is so small that open river navigation between pools is not feasible, and until the river is completely canalized no practical navigation will obtain." This, the engineers' report, will mean the building of thirty-seven locks and an additional expenditure of $8,000,000. Congress is carrying on this work at the rate of $200,000 a year. That is, the "canalization" will be completed in forty years, making fifty-two since the work started. The improvement of the Trinity River thus resembles the construction of a medieval cathedral, begun by one generation and finished Heaven knows when. In fifty-two years, that is, we shall have thirty-seven locks; that does not mean, however, that we shall have water, for water in this stream, especially in the upper reaches, is a scarce article. Even if our grandchildren get water, there is practically no chance that they will get traffic. If river boats will not go up the Mississippi River to Vicksburg, with a channel of thirty feet nearly all the way, what is the chance that they will go up the Trinity River to Dallas, where, after spending $10,000,000 or $15,000,000, we may, or may not, obtain a channel of four feet?

It is not surprising that, even in Texas, the Trinity River is the favorite butt of newspaper paragraphers? "It's a farce," one of these papers quoted a local citizen as saying, "but we want the money spent down here." That is the whole story. And it is the story of countless other Trinity Rivers—of the Brazos, the Red, the Ouachita, the Arkansas, the Tennessee, the Big Fox, the Cumberland, the Matawan, the Little Pedee, the Altamaha, the Oconee, the Ocmulgee, the Coosa, the Newbegun, and countless others. We shall go on wasting money in this fashion until we adopt some system of responsible government. It is inconceivable that the executive department, if given authority to develop our waterways on commercial grounds, would undertake these absurd waterway expenditures. Only the greed of districts which are thinking, not of the national interests, but of purely local and temporary profit, can prostitute popular government in this fashion.

THE STRATEGY ON ALL FRONT

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN FIVE THEATRES OF THE WAI MILITARY BALANCE SHEET BROUGHT UP TO THE END OF NOVEMBEI LOSSES AND GAINS AND THE PROBABILITIES OF FUTURE CAMPAIGNS

IN THE month of October the centre of interest in the European war shifted from the French front to the Balkans. All through November it remained there. Although no immediate success or failure which can have a decisive effect on the final outcome of the war is to be expected in this most recently developed field, the operations there are exceedingly important. If the Central Powers succeed in linking up all their home territory, from the Baltic to the Danube, with the Anatolian, Syrian, and Arabian territories southward to the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea, the efficient fighting armies of these hitherto beleaguered states will have an abundance of material resources to draw upon in their future prosecution of the war.

Moreover, the strategic advantages they have from the start enjoyed by reason of occupying a central position, with terior lines, separating their enemi still be maintained, although much extended. In other words, they w resources without surrendering p And in addition, numbers of troo ticularly of Turks, which are partially trained and need only su arms and equipment to bring them a into the field will be increased by corps.

On the other hand, an unsuccessf come of the British attempt to fo Dardanelles must inevitably weaken British military prestige am neutral nations. For these reaso for others, which are developed in detail in the following special divi the subject devoted to this theat world has continued to regard the campaign with major interest at th of the year.

THE OPEN ROAD TO TURKEY

ON OCTOBER 4th the dramatic centre of the war shifted to Serbia. On that date the Austro-Germans crossed the Danube and the Bulgars broke over their borders into eastern Serbia. At the end of November, after less than two months' fighting, nearly all of Serbia was in the hands of the invaders—all except a narrow strip of mountains bordering upon Montenegro and Albania and an equally narrow strip south of Monastir from Lake Ohrida to the Vardar. All the chief cities of Serbia—Belgrad, Nish, Uskup, Mitrovitza, Prishtina—were held by Teuton or Bulgarian troops in whose hands lay also the river valleys, the highways, and the railroads. And the great highway from Vienna through Belgrad, Nish, and Sofia to Constantinople was opened up—the road which for centuries has been the p of armies of conquest heading n south, and which now bears much munitions of war to the much estimated Turk.

It would be difficult to find in all p geography a more convoluted re twisted mountain chains than that of the Balkan peninsula which is m of Montenegro, Albania, Macedon Serbia. Serbia is the key to the s situation in the Balkans, and even knowledge of its geography will hel rially in explaining the course of th paigns fought over its volcanic terra

Mountainous as the country affluents of the Danube make good r roads into interior Serbia. Pass from the Danube through the val

ina, the Morava, and the Timok, ard along the courses of these north-owing streams until at their sources divide leads over into the gentle of the Vardar and the Struma, flow southward into the Ægean. railroads follow the most impor-ver valleys, and the vital railroad of all this part of the world runs elgrad up the Morava Valley 130 o Nish and thence southeastward Bulgaria and Thrace fair into the al station at Stamboul. From Nish, is a good deal of a junction city, an-ine runs northeastward to the Dan-Prahovo and Radujevatz. South-ut of Nish trains run to Uskup, 110 way—where they make connections rishtina and Mitrovitza—thence on ard along the Vardar to the Greek Saloniki.

eneral, the present conquest of has taken place by means of and the river valleys. German and n divisions, effecting the crossing Danube at Belgrad and at Semen-5 miles eastward of the capital, their way southward, at first slowly h the 75 miles of defile which the a River makes in its lower courses f Kraguievatz, and then, with more ss speed, across the great plateau, ere the river's eastern confluent s western branch.

ltaneously with this movement, an-Austro-German advance which had the Danube near the Iron Gate in theastern Serbia first joined hands eir new Bulgarian allies in the lower of the Timok, up which valley, by lroad already in Bulgarian hands, converged toward Nish. Other n forces which had crossed the on the Bosnian frontier in north-a Serbia headed southeastward, ng the broken Serbian brigades of them toward Novibazar and the negrin frontier.

ntime, strong Bulgarian army corps, tely mobilized, concentrated. and d, broke straight west over the ins for Nish and Uskup. On r 24th they had occupied Uskup. vember 5th they were in Nish. The speed with which these separate phases of the Bulgarian offensive were executed and maintained exceeded that with which, just three years before, in October and November, 1912, General Savoff threw the Turks backward across Thrace to the lines of Tchatalja. With the possession of Nish the control of the railroad was secured from Belgrad to Constantinople, and with the occupation of this city the advance of the Franco-British allies from Saloniki to the relief of the Serbian armies was headed off. But the Bulgars did not stop here. Within three weeks they had taken Prishtina and Mitrovitza as well as the railroad connecting those places with Uskup, and their southernmost army had invested Monastir, close to the Greek border.

Undoubtedly this apparently brilliant success of the Bulgars against a people of proved fighting ability like the Serbs, occupying a country especially made for defensive warfare, has also a negative explanation. It must be remembered that the little state of Serbia, when the storm so long accumulating finally broke upon it, was almost encircled by efficient and vigorous enemies, all coöperating in a predetermined and thoroughly understood plan of campaign. Serbia was forced to defend itself on lines as long in miles as is the battle line in France but with not more than a maximum of 300,000 troops, all told, to do it with.

These are military and not political articles, but this appears to be an example of strategy giving place to political considerations in the councils of the Entente allies, of which there have been other examples during the course of the war. The object and the imminence of this Teutonic campaign were obvious nearly four months previous. It was imperative for the Central Powers to open the road through Serbia to Bulgaria, Turkey, and Anatolia. It was only a question as to when sufficient units could be spared from other theatres to insure the success of such a movement. By opening up this road to Turkey, Austria and Germany would gain all the resources in materials, produce, and personnel which Bulgaria, Turkey, and the rich Asiatic hinterland afford.

Investigation shows that the Balkans

produce vast quantities of cereals, cattle, pigs, and sheep, not to speak of their great stores of partially developed mineral wealth, including the much-desired copper. All these things, in greater abundance, Asiatic Turkey also possesses. From the mere standpoint of supply, then, if the Teutonic campaign through the Balkans were successful, the economic defeat of the Central Powers must be long postponed.

Moreover, the population opened up for development by this move, counting Bulgars, Macedonians, Albanians, and Turks, would exceed 30,000,000, or a total of 2,500,000 fighting men, if they could all be armed and equipped. Turkey and Bulgaria are now obtaining all the arms and munitions they can use, and it must also be remembered that each of these countries possesses a well-established and well-recognized military system capable of turning out its entire military strength.

Another matter of more far-reaching consequence must also be attributed to the German conception of this campaign. Along the open road into Turkey a stroke at Egypt and India looms in the future as an indirect attack at England, a blow at the vitals of the Empire. Complete success of the campaign through Serbia also means that a large part of the Teutonic forces might, if necessary, be eventually withdrawn from that theatre, as Turkey and Bulgaria, once communications with their great manufacturing allies were established, might be trusted to take care of themselves.

Particularly in November this seemed a fair assumption, since the neutrality of Greece had withstood the representations of Lord Kitchener and M. Denys-Cochin; Rumania, with several Bulgarian army corps watching its every action from the other bank of the Danube, facing at the same time a strong Austro-Hungarian concentration and Transylvanian disloyalty on the north, had no heart for offering passage to Russian offensive across its neutrality, to say nothing of actually coming in as a belligerent against a military success uninterrupted for seven months. Indeed, the Allies had to face even the possibility that both of these states might in the end rally to the side of the combination seemed more certain of victory.

To recapitulate, then, this camp the Balkans was undertaken by the Powers, first, to open a road to Tur Bulgaria and from them obtain t and materials there available; sec re-supply and equip the Turkish ar help them drive the British and away from the Dardanelles with t sequent loss of their prestige, ex among their many Mohammeda jects; third, to threaten, if not act attack, Egypt, Persia, and India.

Even with this array of possibl this, it must be remembered, was means a decision-compelling stroke as the whole war is concerned. Bu designed to clear the atmosphere f in that *Drang nach Osten* direction.

With this brief glance at th strategic reasons which impell Central Powers to undertake the campaign, let us consider what th paign meant to the Entente allies. they have induced Bulgaria to con their side, the fate of Constantino the Dardanelles would almost c have been settled in their favor. immensely important to them, if t tended to continue operations in th East, to act promptly and decisively ing the summer, while Germany a tria were floundering in the mar Russia and deadlocked on their front, a continuing good opportun presented of anticipating a concer on Serbia. As long ago as Augus came morally certain that Bulgaria actively side with the Central Emp Turkey. But during the early sum Bulgarian army was not complete ilized; an attack at that time wou probably have been supported by and possibly by Rumania. Such a would have been sound strategy, bu particularly fearful that an acce strength to the Serbs would mean control of Albania and possibly D wet-blanketed the whole proceeding land kept on deluding itself into lief that Bulgaria must in the end s them. The instant that the Teuton a heavy concentration on the

er those golden summer moments
ıe Entente allies had passed away
l time.

ring the month of September the Ger-
and Austrians gradually accumulated
ce of twelve divisions, or about
o men, along the Austro-Serbian
r. These divisions were distributed
e way around from the frontier of
enegro near Visegrad to the Ruman-
oundary at the Iron Gate of the
be. The heaviest concentration was
e line Obrenovatz-Ram, including the
:ts of Belgrad and Semendria, the
important strategic centres in
ern Serbia. This front also controls
wer Morava River valley which, as
een indicated, offers the most prac-
e direct line of advance into the
or of Serbia.

is, therefore, was the Teutonic main
gic front; secondary forces acted at
'a, on the Rumanian border, and
s to the west along the Save and Drina
. The westernmost force, in addi-
o taking care of the few Montenegrins
ıt vicinity, endeavored to get behind
of the Serbian army as they withdrew
westward into Montenegro and north-
lbania.

e approximate locations of these main
s of the Teutonic armies of invasion
ıdicated on the diagram in the left-
column of page 292.

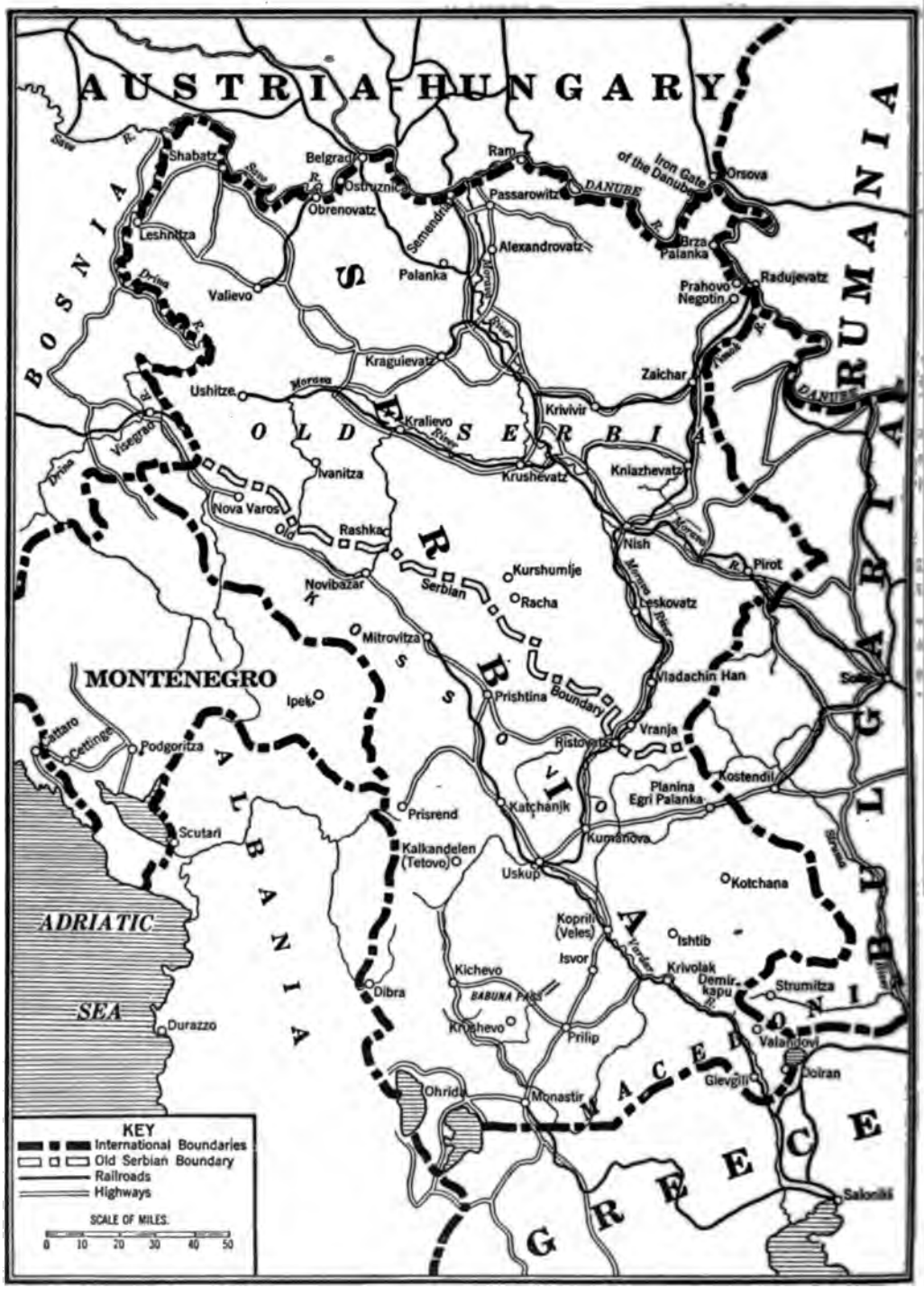
coöperation with these dispositions
Bulgars, operating on the eastern
ın frontier, had two principal func-
to perform; the first was to hit the
Serbian army's right flank on the
Pirot-Zaichar, seize Nish, the ex-
ly important railroad centre con-
ıg the railroad to Constantinople, and
a junction with the Austro-Germans
theastern Serbia. Their second func-
vas to throw a force across the line of
ıce of any of the Allies advancing
from Saloniki.

fulfil this large order, the Bulgars
yed also about twelve divisions—in
ase, 240,000 men—a little more than
alf of their whole field force, the re-
ler of which was held in reserve to
ı Rumania and Russia along the
be. To help cover any possible move
from these countries Turkish troops to the number of three first-line army corps were moved up into the area east of Adrianople, where they could be expeditiously used anywhere from the Gulf of Saros to the Black Sea or even pushed westward through Dedeagatch toward Saloniki.

Opposed to this array of first class troops the Serbs could deploy eighteen of their divisions, or about 300,000 men. What few troops the Anglo-French allies were able to send north from Saloniki before the 4th of October could not even make a demonstration in sufficient force on the Greek frontier to divert any considerable number of Bulgars. Over on their western mountains the Montenegrins mustered about 60,000 men of all classes, with very little mobile artillery. The impressive task of the Serbs, therefore, was to hold off the Teuton-Bulgar combination until help could arrive from Saloniki.

The attacks which began on October 4th continued uninterruptedly for six days, as the Austro-Germans struggled to cross the great rivers. In many places their attacks were repeatedly beaten back, but by the 10th of October they had effected their crossings at all intended points, except in the extreme east, had seized and securely held the southern banks of the Save and Danube, and were in a position to organize their forces for an advance into the interior of Serbia. The crossing of these great rivers, the initial obstacles of their campaign, was the greatest military achievement which they were to be called upon to perform in their march southward across Serbia. For ten days thereafter, the Austro-Germans quietly re-arranged their fighting forces and transportation, and brought over in the wake of their armies and established on Serbian soil the great basis for supplies and ammunition of all descriptions which alone could give continuity to their subsequent extended operations. Mackensen, Koevess, and Von Gallwitz were not going to take any chances of a shortage such as hamstrung the first Austrian invasion of Serbia a year ago.

On the eastern frontier, meanwhile, the Serbs anticipated matters by pluckily taking the initiative themselves against the Bulgars' line in an attempt to hinder the



THE RAILROADS, RIVERS, AND WAGON ROADS OF SERBIA

These three kinds of highways are the only practicable means of traversing this mountainous country, and their location has determined the strategy of the invasion of Serbia by the Teutonic allies and the Bulgars as illustrated in the charts on pages 292 and 293

of their concentration as much as pos-
. This, however, they were unable to
ınd before the 14th of October General
ıdjieff's and General Theodorow's army
s were attacking with great impetuos-
lown the mountain valleys of the Var-
; and Morava's affluents. As at this
: of their operation they did not have
natural obstacles to face which held
. their allies in the north, they were
lled in the same time to make much
: progress.

ı the 23d of October the easternmost
ro-Hungarian army forced the line of
Danube at Orsova, close to the Iron
: on the Rumanian frontier, and
ched out their hands to the Bulgars,
were fighting their way northward
. Negotin and the railhead at Prahovo.
he hills south of the Danube and the
the Serbs had constructed elaborate
ndary positions which they held with
trength of desperation, but by the 26th
ctober these positions had all been
ed and the Austro-Germans were in
ssion of the line Valievo-Palanka-
Palanka reaching straight across
ıern Serbia.

was in the oak forests of Brza Palanka
the first dramatic meeting took place
een the patrols of the Teuton ex-
e left and the Bulgarian extreme
. These forces cleared the north-
rn tip of Serbia and opened up the line
he Danube River to water-borne
c from Austria to Bulgaria and thence
urkey. Bulgaria has five different
ads touching the Danube, and all
river terminals were then opened up
e fleets of river steamers loaded to the
ales with munitions from Austria
h had been tied up to the Hungarian
s or anchored above the Iron Gate in
ness. And every one of these vessels,
it had discharged its cargo on a Bul-
n dock, started back upstream loaded
grain and other Bulgarian and Turk-
roduce for Austria. On the 22d of No-
er the first of these grain shipments
ed at Berlin. In readiness for such
ıcture, the Bulgars had warehoused
overstock of grain. This was indeed
of the important elements which in-
d them to throw in their lot with the
Central Powers, to whom they could sell all their surplus at top prices.

Undoubtedly the Serbs had deployed their strongest corps in the north against the Teuton attack. On the east nothing they could do seemed capable of stopping the rush of the Bulgars, who promptly occupied Pirot, the strong hill fortress defending Nish. Further south they swarmed over the Saloniki-Nish railroad, at Vranja and vicinity, where it ran within twenty miles of their own borders, and, by an extremely rapid advance, took the superlatively strategic point of Uskup, which controls all the railroads and main highways of southern (upper) Serbia.

These Bulgarian operations indicate the highest degree of preparation and a perfection of supply almost Germanic. Tunnels and cuts on the main railroad line from Nish having been blasted or blocked by the retreating Serbs, the Bulgars seem to have made the most effective use of the good metalled highway from Kostendil to Uskup as the main line of supply for their army corps based on the latter place. There was no hesitation at Uskup; immediately forces were thrown south and southwest toward Krushevo and Monastir in order to prevent a union of the Allies from Saloniki with the Serbian southern army, and at the same time other divisions were dispatched into the northwest through the valley of the Sivnitska to Katchanik and Prishtina to get behind the main Serbian army being driven sullenly southward by the Germans.

To form a junction with this column an Austro-German division was detailed to act in the direction of Novibazar, coming in southeastward from Visegrad, on the Bosnian frontier, toward the Bulgarian column with the idea of cutting off the entire Serbian army. This object seems, however, not to have been accomplished; the main Serbian army was broken and swept out of its territory but the announced capture of 136,000 Serbs on all fronts could not include what was left of it. Meantime from Strumitza, the Bulgars moved out a couple of divisions toward Doiran, where the railroad from Ceres and Kavala turns southward to Saloniki, on the Greek frontier, so as to threaten the flank of any Allied move to the north.

THE SERBIAN CAMPAIGN—OCTOBER 4TH-10TH

After a thorough reconnaissance of the whole Serbian position, the Austro-German forces began their main attack on the Serbs on the 4th of October. The Bulgars at the same time attacked the Serbs from the east. The Teutons had before them the great river lines of the Drina, Save, and Danube. In places these streams are more than a mile wide and more than 100 feet deep. After six days of heavy fighting the Austro-Germans succeeded in crossing the rivers at the places indicated on the chart, while the Bulgars on their side drove back their opponents, who had taken the initiative on their eastern front, and counter-stormed the first lines of the Serbian defense. The invasion was then in full swing, the Serbs holding on to their extremely strong positions in the hills. The Germans and Austrians mustered something less than 200,000 men with about 100,000 in reserve behind them in case they were needed. The Bulgars deployed about 240,000 men, the rest of their army being held in reserve to see what developments might take place, particularly along their Rumanian borders. The Serbs mustered about 300,000 men of all arms. The French and English had begun landing at Saloniki but so far had been able to send no appreciable force to the north

By the 8th of November the Austro-Germans had occupied the main Serbian arsenal of Kraguievatz and had driven the defending main army into the hills south of the Golieska (Serbian) Morava River. Their advance through this rough country of north central Serbia, with its bad roads

OCTOBER 26TH

The Teutonic forces, after transporting equipment and supplies necessary across th lines, drove the Serbs from their main posi defense along the hills in the northern part country. The Bulgars seized the Nish-railroad at numerous places and took the s point of Uskup. This operation absolute vented the Allies who had landed at Salon sending any troops over the railroad into cen northern Serbia. The Teutonic forces and joined hands in the extreme northeastern Serbia. This junction opened up the line of th Danube to boat navigation, thereby ma possible to transport supplies to Bulgaria and Sofia via the railroad to Turkey

which in many districts are only tra possible for the use of wheeled trans tion, was difficult in the extreme, and of all their transport difficulties fell th and snow of an early Balkan winter.

Nevertheless, on they plowed, ir bly, uninterruptedly, over 135 m hostile Serbia, until their main finally effected a junction at Krus with the westward-driving Bul armies which had taken Nish, the S war capital, and occupied the whole Saloniki railroad southward of Veles

From this time until the end of N ber the operations in the north were

NOVEMBER 8TH

this time the Austro-Germans had captured eat Serbian arsenal of Kraguievatz and had the Serbs across the line of the Morava River Krushevatz to Nova Varos. The Bulgars tven the Serbs away from the railroad at all from Nish south to Veles, and their main army ected a junction with the main Teutonic army vivir. In the south the Bulgars had driven rbs back on Babuna Pass and halted at the Allied movement north from Saloniki. rthern Serbian army was now practically cut n all supplies, had lost about half its numbers and artillery, and was in a very serious position. ature of the country and the very bad weather ffensive operations slow

delaying actions on the part of the , with an occasional counter-attack ever a good opportunity offered. die game, the Serbs. The Austrians, meantime, had attacked the western ier of Montenegro with strong forces ler, by gaining a foothold in that very tainous area, to cut off possible an lines of supply from the Adriatic. ile thus the old Empire of Serbia is ered its allies have not been idle. ong reach of the Gulf of Saloniki be- in October and November a contin- procession of transports going and g, and from those ships flew unex-

NOVEMBER 20TH

By this date in the north the Serbs had been driven into a still smaller area based on the line Novibazar-Prishtina. The Teutonic allies were trying strenuously to get behind this force so as to cut off their retreat to Ipek in Montenegro. The Bulgars, on their side, concentrating the principal part of their forces against the Allies in the south, had succeeded in forcing Babuna Pass and occupying Prilip and on November the 28th Monastir, strategic positions which control western Macedonia. The Serbs in the south had been driven in the direction of Albania while the French line recoiled before the Bulgarian attack in the vicinity of Veles. The Central Powers had the way opened both by river and rail to Turkey. The Entente allies continued to land troops at Saloniki; in addition to sending troops directly north they had thrown a small detachment toward Monastir. The railroads were now clear behind the Bulgars, so that they were thus enabled to bring up supplies with rapidity. Neither the positions of the Serbian forces nor those of the Allies north of Saloniki were favorable for a successful termination to their operations in this field. Only by a remarkable display of military efficiency can they now hope to retrieve their fortunes

pected flags: French, British, Italian, and Greek, of course; but also Rumanian, Belgian, Dutch, and Russian, all engaged in one way or another in transporting or victualing this eleventh-hour attempt of the Entente allies to save the Balkans. On the long stone quays of the port Greek, French, and British troops were disembark-

ing at the same time, and across the nominal neutrality of Greece (but with what seems to have been a warm Greek welcome) the Allied troops were marched and transported over the single track railroad up the valley of the Vardar.

The total number of these Allied effectives, French and British, landed at Saloniki up to the 20th of November amounted to about 150,000. Since that time steady disembarkations up to the end of the month finally swelled the numbers by twenty or thirty thousand more. As fast as possible these troops have been shoved up to the front, only a matter of about 60 miles of rail transport, to Strumitza station, and of about 125 miles by the windings of the railroad to relieve the Serbs in the defense of Monastir.

But at the end of November there was no indication that these troops could accomplish anything decisive in this theatre, for the simple reason that the Austro-Germans with their Bulgarian allies had already gained the decision; had already ac conclusively their announced purp opening up the Danube River and th roads of Serbia as lines of communi between the Central Empires and Bu Turkey, and Asia Minor.

Whatever chance the Entente allie have in the now restricted theatr depend upon their ability to strike enemies in detail before a complete co tration and interrelation takes place. to do this is already a matter of the extreme difficulty. In the first pla drive a sustained offensive into the Ba will require a well-organized and su army at least three times the size o present force landed at Saloniki, according to reports from various so the comparatively small units al landed are having difficulty with tran

Again the strategy of the Central P has been definite and vigorously pu The strategy of the Entente allies ha again indefinite and weakly carried o

THE FRENCH FRONT

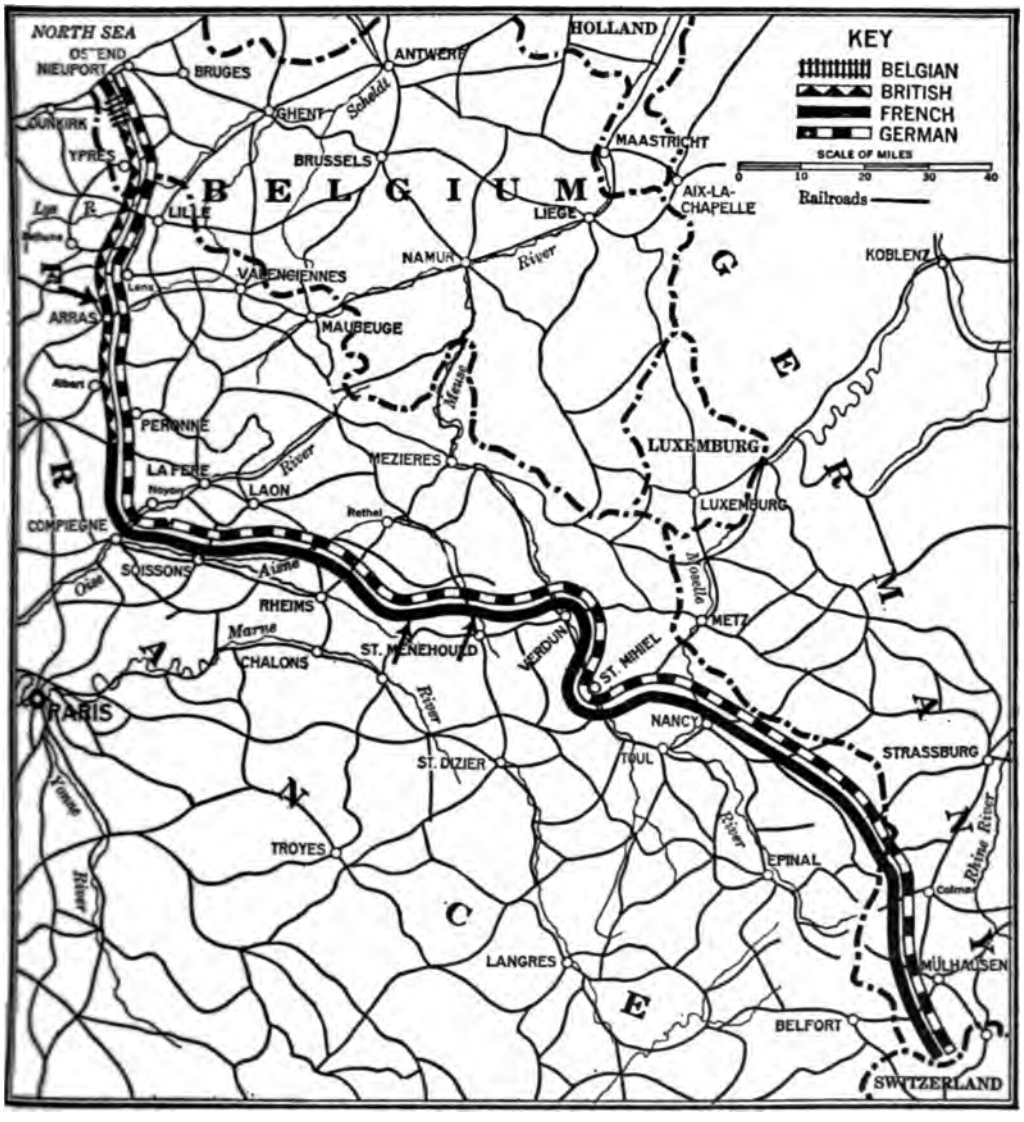
THE great Anglo-French offensive reached its height on September 24th, when the Allies' maximum gain of about 2½ miles on a front of 15 miles in the Champagne country was reported. Here, as well as north of Arras, they bent and indented the German advanced lines but in no place did they break completely through them. The English, in the sector around Ypres and south to Loos, although they made some advance at first, were eventually driven back to a point very near their original position.

There has been a wide diversity of opinion expressed as to whether this offensive movement on the Western front was in reality the long-heralded and anticipated "drive" which was first announced to take place last May. If so, its discontinuance would seem to indicate failure. On the other hand, it may have been a demonstration or test in great force to determine once for all the actual strength of the German lines and just what it would cost in men and munitions to adopt and maintain a general offensive against them.

In making a just estimate, therefo these operations, it is particularly esting to know what the forces en amounted to. Judging by the numb troops engaged and the preparations this offensive movement must be reg as a main operation by the Frenc English, designed to drive the Germa French soil. Rations had been issu a long period, enormous reserves of a nition accumulated, long transport were provided, and masses of cavalr many months unused as mounted t were held in readiness to take up a h for pursuit. The new heavy French lery, lacking at the beginning of the wa been provided in abundance, and as pieces of medium calibre were on ha could be used. The French total of c of all calibres and varieties actuall ceeded 5,000, of which nearly half heavy pieces. The number of French t engaged amounted to 25 army corps o line, with 6 in reserve, or a total of 1,5(men. The British used about 250,00(and the Belgians approximately 70,0

The forces thus brought to bear were ery close to the maximum which the llies could deploy on their front between erdun and Dixmude and were in excess f one half of their total force under arms n the active units.

But in spite of the most persistent attacks, sustained during a period of more than ten days, after which they began to wane in frequency and intensity, the maximum-gains were those noted. They were not sufficient to cause the Germans to call across any large number of their strategic reserves from the interior of Germany. In



THE FRENCH THEATRE—NOVEMBER 20TH

The assaults launched by the French and their nglish and Belgian allies during September consti- uted the most serious operations undertaken in this heatre since October, 1914. The French used about ,500,000 men, the British 250,000, and the Belgians ,000, these numbers representing more than ne half of the total Allied forces available. The ermans opposed them with a total force of about ,500,000 men.

The result of the attacks was that the French gained a maximum of approximately 2½ miles to the front on a line 15 miles long in Champagne. Most of these gains have been held. North of Arras a maximum of 1½ miles was made. The British gained in some places to the south of Ypres as much as 1½ miles but were almost immediately driven back practically to their original positions As a great offensive move designed to break the German lines the operation failed. The localities and directions where gains were made by the Allies are indicated by arrows on the map

some places the general reserves of the German army in France were called upon, but only in a few specific localities. For several days the Germans were anxious about the result, especially in the Champagne district, where the French kept up their offensive with the greatest enthusiasm, regardless of the most appalling losses, and at one time they seriously threatened the Bazancourt-Challerange Railroad paralleling the German lines between Rheims and the Argonne. These heroic attacks were, however, practically decided by the 15th of October, since which time the usual trench warfare has gone on as before.

The German system of defense leaves comparatively few men, armed principally with machine guns, in their extreme advanced line. The rest retire unobserved through communication trenches to other lines in the rear when once a concentrated artillery fire indicates preparation for an infantry attack by the enemy. These few men left remain in their trenches alive or dead; their single duty is, at whatever cost, to break up and disorganize the attacking forces coming against them. When these attacking lines, if successful in their charge, surge over the advanced enemy trenches and become involved in a network of communicating and reserve trenches behind them, the attackers, inevitably broken and partially disorganized, are promptly subjected to frontal, flanking, and reverse fire from every sort of ordnance in addition to being impeded by broken ground and wire entanglements.

To counter this method of defense, the only measure which has proved effective is the absolute leveling of all ascertainable defensive works by artillery fire preliminary to the infantry attack. This is the so-called "artillery preparation" of which we read so frequently in the official reports and in this "preparation" the French, with their new and abundant field artillery, were successful at several points, notably at the Navarin Farm and at Tahure, in the Champagne district.

When the French infantry followed up the devastation their artillery had wro for them and became sprinkled out mixed up in combat with the enemy i came impossible for the French arti to help them to the same extent. A same time, when the French attacks been completely developed the Ge artillery could then be brought fully action with the greatest accuracy ranges previously determined. The mans have had more than a year to pre for just such eventualities and have so with such thoroughness that a pen tion of their advanced lines at any only brings to bear a concentratio artillery and infantry fire upon an ent wedge far more withering than that w can be directed against lines paralle their own.

The very success, therefore, of the Fr penetration was disproportionately co If a frontal attack, such as these in Fr have necessarily been, succeeds—tha if it can be carried through to the poi completely dislodging the enemy- losses may be greater for the defender the attacker. But if such an attack not succeed—as, according to the foreg definition, these in France have not ceeded—the losses are usually five ti or even more, greater for the attacker for the defender.

And this is the ratio of losses which German official reports claim. Tha they give their casualties as one fifth t of the attacking enemy. The total man strength, mostly of second-line tr in France amounts to about 1,500,000 We do not know what the French l were but the British have published casualties for the period as 100,000. as these latter troops were of a part trained character they naturally incu greater losses than the trained troo France. More than half the entire n ber of French troops deployed, how kept up their attacks throughout the p to the limit of human endurance. S performance for such a quality of t means that they must have incurred a high percentage of loss before the e prise was abandoned.

THE ITALIAN FRONT

HE great offensive launched by France, which has been analyzed, was evidently part of an enormous erted general attack by the Allies. be remembered that in September, the Austro-Germans launched their gn across the Danube into Serbia, bject, even to its details, became to those who have been making a study of the strategy of the war. rally, every one of the General f the Entente nations knew full well what was coming. Their best military advisers had long been apprehensive of just the overwhelming success which an unforestalled Austro-German drive down through the Balkans would achieve. But the best military advice seems to have been incapable of compelling timely action by Foreign Offices or Governments.

At all events, just before the inundation of Serbia began, a concerted effort was made to prevent or at least to weaken it. At that time the Central Empires had distributed

THE ITALIAN THEATRE—NOVEMBER 20TH

October and November, in accordance with l plan of the Allies to attack the Austrians ans on all fronts, the Italians launched trem- tacks at the Austrian positions. The great- e have been the operations along the Isonzo h Gorizia as the principal objective. Up to r 20th the Italian artillery had caused con- damage to the Austrian works but the Italian troops had not succeeded in taking any important points. The combats continued with great violence. In the Trentino area, however, the snows have delayed the operations to a great extent. The Italians now have 800,000 troops in the north which are opposed by about 450,000 Austrians. In the Alps, the Italian army has to contend with the most formidable natural obstacles that confront any army in Europe.

their troops over a wider territory and on longer lines than at any previous period during the war. Accordingly, arrangements were made for each one of the encircling Allied armies to attack the Austro-German lines opposite them at the same time. The French and Russian movements are discussed elsewhere. The Italians in their turn initiated the most desperate series of attacks of their entire war.

These operations, although directed at the whole Austrian line, from the Tyrol clear around the mountain crescent to Gradiska and Monfalcone at the head of the Gulf of Triest, were, especially late in November, aimed at the Isonzo River sector and, in the last days of November, centred against the city of Gorizia.

In general, this field offers no new or decisive aspects. When compared to the territorial gains of the Teutonic armies in France, Belgium, Poland, and the Balkans the actual acquisition of territory by the Italians in their first six months of fighting is small, strategically negligible. Their campaign has been conducted at right angles: one effort being made straight north against the Tyrolean salient, and the other, straight east against the north and south line of the Isonzo. In the Tyrol they hold a strip of Austrian territory about 40 miles long by 10 miles wide along both shores of Lake Garda. On the Isonzo side they have pushed in on a 50-mile line to a distance of about 15 miles at the southern Adriatic extremity and to varying depths of from two to five miles at Tolmein and Plezzo. They have taken three towns of some importance: Monfalcone, Gradiska, and Plava.

To the attack in September on Gorizia General Cadorna brought an artillery which by general assent is, in excellence, number, and size of guns, unequaled on any front. Against the enormous advantages in terrain which the nature of the country has given to the Austrians, Cadorna has also thrown the flower of his comparatively untried Italian army against the seasoned veterans which General Boroevic brought from the Carpathians. In these attacks the Italians have been using great masses of troops variously estimated as between 300,000 and 425,000 in number. Their losses have been enormous and these against thin lines which are correctly estimated as only about one-third the number of the attacking forces.

THE EASTERN FRONT

BY THE first week in October the Russians had succeeded in extricating the bulk of their central or Vilna army from the wide-flung jaws of the German vise which had been for many weeks inexorably closing in upon them. At one time it seemed as if this force must be irretrievably lost, for the Germans had succeeded in throwing a cavalry division behind it and in cutting the railroad which was the sole line of Russian supply.

At this juncture a change in commanders of the Russian army occurred. By a quick shift of troops from the Dvina River lines and their transportation by way of Polotsk toward the exposed flank of the German attack near Vileika, the Russians succeeded in pressing that flank back and thus extricating—badly defeated but by no means destroyed—their great central army. It had lost heavily in personnel and guns but retained its organization throughout the withdrawal.

The weather by this time had turned into the rainy season of the Russian autumn, the unmetalled roads of Poland became almost impossible for heavy transport, and operations on a large scale accordingly ceased. Each contestant crept behind the nearest river line and, as in France, took to subterranean life. But along the banks of the Dvina River between Dvinsk and Riga, and directly at both these places, the Germans continued to launch periodically strong attacks in which, although they gained some ground, they were held off by the Russians.

To the east of Riga, however, the Germans, late in November, held the south bank of the Dvina River, along the north-

ık of which runs the railroad con-
; Riga and Dvinsk. In a flat
/ the German artillery effectually

ASTERN THEATRE—NOVEMBER 20TH
he Russians succeeded in extricating their
ny from Von Hindenburg's grip during the
of September, they took up positions behind
· lines and intrenched themselves. Their
l been straightened out and no especially
s salients or reëntrants presented themselves.
nans also dug opposite them in most places.
g the Dvina River and opposite Dvinsk and
y continued to attack vigorously so as to
n this left flank as much as possible for the
rinter. The Russians have been successful
German efforts to capture either of these
it the Germans, from their possession of a
f the south bank of the Dvina River, can
he Riga-Dvinsk railroad to artillery fire,
nterrupting traffic along it. All the Russian
rth of the Pripet Swamps are now in touch
another, but this northern group is divided
southern Russian armies by the Pripet
Communication between the two groups
good. Behind the whole Austro-German
railroads, which are very complete and
, give them a great advantage. Attacks
ter-attacks have been made by both parties
ea south of the Pripet Swamps, mainly to
Rumania. Neither side has gained any
advantage, although some of the actions
the character of great battles. The Austro-
have about 1,250,000 men in their Eastern
ile opposed to them are approximately
Russians

prevents the use of this important railroad. To obtain lateral communication, therefore, the Russians must go more than 150 miles north to Pskof. All the troops in this theatre have been supplied with winter equipment and it is possible that a winter campaign will be attempted by one or both of the deadlocked armies.

From a point southwest of Dvinsk the opposing lines run nearly due south for 200 dreary miles to the great Pripet Swamps. It was through these swamps from Brest-Litovsk that Field Marshal von Mackensen during the summer months led a portion of his army, and it was from Pinsk that he quietly left in September to join his divisions assembled in southern Hungary for the invasion of Serbia. During November the most active part of the Eastern theatre of war was south of these Pripet Swamps: that is to say, in the triangle formed by the fortresses of Lutzk, Dubno, Rovno, and the upper reaches of the Styr River; also, in eastern Galicia, over the area between Tarnow and Czernowitz. In both of these territories, Russians and Austrians have attacked and counter-attacked with great determination, although without any decisive result. The lines have wavered one way and the other and a few thousand prisoners have been taken by both sides. These attacks, however, have been of a distinctly local nature, not for the purpose of assuming or of carrying on a general offensive by either side, but with the main idea of holding Rumania safe. Up to the end of November the Austrians had a little the better of the argument and Austro-German troops were accumulated in southeastern Hungary for the express purpose of taking prompt action against Rumania, should that country eventually turn against the Central Empires, or against the new Russian army believed to be concentrating for use in the Balkans either across Rumania or by sea to the Bulgarian coast.

Of this last contingency it may be said that there is no indication of Russia having sufficient troops, adequate organization, or equipment for this purpose, although a concentration is undoubtedly being made in the Odessa district. To send such troops by transport into Bulgaria means that

complete command of the Black Sea must first be obtained, and such control seems, though not impossible, at least improbable so long as the Turkish cruisers *Goeben* and *Breslau*, assisted by German submarines based on the Bulgarian port of Varna, are capable of offensive action.

Similarly, a Russian expedition through Rumania, even should that country be willing to give it passport—or even if Rumania joined it—would prove a hazardous undertaking. If such an army once became involved with their opponents along the Danube River, Austrians from Bukowina would directly threaten their communications and in case of a successful invasion of Bessarabia could entirely cut off such a Russian force. Therefore, under circumstances such as they are at the end of November, in the absence of direct help from Rumania, it seems rather improbable that Russia will attempt any movements in force to the Balkans. The Russian Staff might more reasonably be expected to make their own lines strong against German and Austrian offensive moves in every quarter with a view to taking the offensive at a later date when they may be able to do so under conditions of more adequate preparedness.

THE TURKISH QUADRILATERAL

ON FOUR Turkish fronts matters remained comparatively quiescent during October and November, except in the Tigris and Euphrates basin. On the fatal peninsula of Gallipoli the opposing lines remained in practically the same places where they had been fixed on the 22d of August, when the last strong offensive of the British was brought to a close. British troops to the number of about 20,000 were landed to take the place of French regiments withdrawn for service in Serbia and to replace casualties. The entrenched force then remained in a total strength of about 60,000, confronted by about 100,000 Turks.

After the opening up of transportation routes through Serbia and Bulgaria, some new heavy artillery material was shipped and set up on Gallipoli. This consisted chiefly of 12-inch mortars of the coast defense type, which throw a projectile of about 800 pounds in weight. As this ordnance will be used against very small and determined areas, where the Allies are confined on the peninsula, it will render a far more effective service than the flatter trajectory artillery formerly there in use. With the coming of autumn the Ægean became chronically rough, making it more than ever difficult to land troops and equipment and to keep up communications with the island bases on Lemnos and Imbros. All these ingredients in the situation favored a grand Turkish attack.

The British saw the storm coming and attempted in every way to strengthen their lines. The continuing discussion in England as to the strategy of continuing to hold the Dardanelles expedition in a place where it can do no good is rather academic. As a matter of fact, the withdrawal of that expedition under the circumstances would be about as difficult a military undertaking as one could conceive. It would entail a great loss of life and material, to say nothing of morale. The moment that a move toward withdrawal was made Turks would attack in greater force than ever before all along the line; and the troops attempting to embark would be subjected to an artillery fire of much greater intensity than they have had to bear heretofore in this area.

From a strategic standpoint, the Dardanelles operations and those against Serbia bear an intimate relation. The Central Powers have the inner lines and, with even a total force smaller in numbers than their enemies, can place superior forces against any one particular offensive which the Allies push forward, providing the Allies as at present keep their forces divided. The perfect example of this strategic advantage was in the attack on and demoralization of the Serbian army before any effective help could reach them from their allies.

Now the best military brains in the councils of the Allies are advocating the

ıtration of all their forces in one
e of operation where a campaign can
de for a decision. The best line of
ions for such a campaign would be
the port of Dedeagatch toward
ıople. In this way, if success at-
l the operations, the main Turkish
ulgarian armies might be separated
efeated in detail and the railroad
Vienna to Constantinople seized at
uthern end. Moreover, a Russian
tion advancing either through Ru-
and across the Dobruja, supple-
d by landings at Varna and other
on the Black Sea, could immediately
rate with its allies. Such a joint
would be sound strategy, provided
ıecessary troops could be obtained.
ht there is where the major difficulty
. If the Franco-British allies act
at least one half million first class
s will be required—that is to say,
which are able to campaign con-
ısly in the open field. Mere trench-
rs will not do in a war of manœuvre.
sed to these troops would be the
ine main armies of Turkey and Bul-
with German and Austrian army
, all of them seasoned, mobile units.
ee or four hundred thousand Russian
s could be thrown in at the back, or on
ank, of this situation, the number of
o-British troops might be reduced
out three hundred thousand.
matters stood at the end of Novem-
however, France and England had
:r the required number or character
ops necessary for such an operation
ıre from other theatres of war.
ng the Suez Canal great preparations
made all through the autumn by the
sh to resist an attack, and traffic
gh the Canal was held up to a great
t as a result. The line to be held
s so short and is now so thoroughly
ed that to force it would necessitate
tremely difficult operation on the
of the Turks and their allies. To
r the Canal unusable for traffic
gh it would not, however, be quite
fficult. The Turks, at the end of
November, continued their railroad building from the Damascus-Medina Railway toward Egypt. By the beginning of the year this line will be in condition effectively to transport and provision a determined joint offensive against the Canal.

Around Aden small attacks against the British garrison continued but were usually driven off.

In the Caucasus and Euphrates areas, finishing out the Turkish quadrilateral, the movements in November took on the character of a combined operation by the Russians and British: the Russians attacking from the north in the Caucasus and the British pushing up the Tigris River toward Bagdad. The Russian campaign was easily stopped by the Turks in the Caucasus before it obtained any headway. The British campaign in Mesopotamia has failed, for the present, in accomplishing its object. Their troops at the end of November had approached within sight of Bagdad, although when ten miles south of the city they met a more determined resistance, necessitating a retirement. The extent of these operations may be realized when it is known that this expedition had come 550 miles up the River Tigris from the Persian Gulf.

Bagdad is 700 miles from the Black Sea and more than 500 miles from any point of strategic value in eastern Turkey. Consequently its capture would bear little relation to the fortunes of the main Turkish armies, but its possession would mean the control of the entire Euphrates and Tigris valley. The British forces, based on India and with excellent water routes, were able throughout their expeditionary campaign to maintain their line of communications with great ease and to supply about 150,000 Anglo-Indian troops in that theatre.

Aside from the operations on land, the Turks have been successful in closing the mouth of the Dardanelles to British submarines, with the result that they have been able to resume the transport of equipment on the land-locked Sea of Marmora.

ITALY AND THE GREAT WAR

SECOND ARTICLE

THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALITIES—THE PAN-SERB STATE—ITALY'S INTERESTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN—THE DODÉCANÈSE ISLANDS AND ASIA MINOR

BY

W. MORTON FULLERTON

IN LOOKING at Italy's relations in the Balkans let us look from the background of those relations.

The famous Clause VII of the treaty of the Triple Alliance bound Austria and Italy to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans.

In 1909, at Racconigi, the Czar, King Emmanuel, and their ministers had outlined a treaty between Russia and Italy guaranteeing that *status quo*.

In 1911, when Italy had threatened to attack the Albanian coast then belonging to Turkey, Austria had called her attention to their treaty and Italy had desisted.

A year before the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo, Austria had tried in vain to get Italy's acquiescence for an attack on Serbia. The aggressive character of Austria's demands after Sarajevo were therefore doubly understood in Rome. Italy had more than once taken a stand for the principle of nationalities—the principle that every people should govern themselves, the principle upon which Italian independence had been builded. This principle, applied to the Balkans, meant the integrity of Serbia and Montenegro.

Four months after the outbreak of the war Italy asked Austria for "compensations" in Triest and the Trentino for Austria's breaking the treaty. The price of these compensations was to be Italian neutrality. In December, 1914, Italy landed troops at Avlona, in Albania. Austria made no protest at this time. Having transgressed against the treaty herself, she was willing for Italy to become guilty also, and she was willing, too, to be generous with compensations in Albania if it would save her any of her own possessions. To the Serbs it looked as if Italy were about to forget the principle of nationalities for the profit of territory and the control of the Adriatic.

But as the negotiations went on the Italian demands grew until they amounted to an ultimatum which Austria was not willing to accept.

The method adopted by Italy, however, —by Italy, the ally of Germany and Austria-Hungary—for making it "honorable" for her to declare war, without the excuse of having been attacked, had entailed one serious inconvenience. It inevitably exposed Italy to grave suspicion throughout the Serbian world. She had come perilously near sacrificing a goodly portion of her moral birthright. Rumors had been rife at Nish and at Cettinge, and not alone in the Serbian and Montenegrin capitals. All the newly awakened Slav provinces of the rotting Hapsburg Monarchy suddenly found themselves face to face with a new problem of racial patriotism. Not only was Italy reported to be bartering away her Serbian good-will for an exchange of Croat and Slav lands that no one had any right to offer her: Italy was also declared to have extracted from the Triple Entente the firm promise that, if she would join the three Powers in their defensive war against Germany and Austria-Hungary, she should be given, in the great readjustment of the map of Europe after the war, virtually the whole Dalmatian coast-line! That might not much matter to the public opinion of Copenhagen and Washington and Peking. It was a topic of some interest in the cafés of Agram and Sarajevo and Belgrad.

On the 28th of April, 1915, the Serbian Prime Minister, M. Pashitch, made a

protest in the Serbian Chamber. not, for my part," said this states- I cannot wholly credit these rumors, ɛ I do not believe Italy means to ɪn the principle of nationalities to she owes her unity. . . . I that if Italy takes part in the war I take the side of the Triple Entente, ɪe will seek her inspiration in the le of nationalities, and that she will le her interests in the Adriatic that ɪculties will ensue between her and es, and no discord arise on this sub- ɔetween the Serb-Croat-Slovenes e Italians. For, harmony between *ɔo peoples* can alone offer sufficient tees to prevent the success of the n penetration toward the Mediter- . Italy contains some great and t statesmen, who will certainly per- hat friendship and concord between *rb-Croat-Slovene people* and Italy ɔessary to both. Italian statesmen possibly make it their aim to secure more or less or this or that island, y know that Italy's power will not ɪe possession of this or that particu- n, or this or that special island, but harmony that will reign between *rb-Croat-Slovene people* and Italy. ɪrmony will be the earnest of a long not only between us but throughout :, and it will seal the object of the War."

e solemn words, spoken in the ɪa Skupshtina by the greatest of ɪv parliamentarians, rang through- : shores of the Adriatic as a rallying the crushed Slav populations of the -Hungarian Monarchy. This popu- now for the first time in history, had s it were, officially declared one race, ɔople! The Prime Minister had l the great truth thrice: the Serbs, the , and the Slovenes are "a people." ; the Italians are a people, proud ɪity which was won solely by their n the principle of nationalities, Slovenes and the Croats of Austria- ry, and the Serbs of Serbia and Mon- ɔ, were one people, resolved at last eve their unity. One and all they , at last, in the crumbling of the ɪrg Monarchy, the chance of realiz- ing their dream of coming forth out of bondage and of making of themselves a nation.

M. Pashitch, however, knew full well that the new Italy was the same old Italy as the Italy that had forged Italian unity, and that, though her present-day states- men well deserved the praise he had be- stowed on them for a clairvoyance, they had to contend with an exalted, almost imperialistic nationalism, which it was not so easy to temper to the needs of a really prudent national policy. In the complex soil of the old idealism the familiar flower of imperialism had pushed once again to the light, and was now flourishing magnifi- cently, with strange, megalomaniac petals. And M. Pashitch, no less vigilant than the Italian statesmen themselves, now that he had hoisted the Pan-Serb flag in full view of Europe, resolved on making the Pan- Serb programme better known in all the European capitals.

The principle at stake was simple: the corollary of the dismemberment of Austria- Hungary is the creation of a Greater Serbia. What was the astonishment of Paris and of London, therefore, in the early summer of 1915, to be invited out to dinner to meet a little band of gentlemen hailing, one from Spalato (where he had been mayor, the leader of the Croat national party at the Diet of Dalmatia), another from Fiume, another from Triest, deputies, journalists, writers, all declaring solemnly that "the Southern Slavs were resolved to unite and to form a single independent State!" With an insistent fervor, the members of this sympathetic and uninvited mission declared that "to remain divided, some owing allegiance to Austria-Hungary, others handed over to another Foreign Government [Italy], would be a flagrant violation of their ethnographic, geographic, and economic unity; and that it was certain that this people (sic) would resist justly and energetically any such solution." For some weeks this interesting mission scat- tered the seeds of the gospel of Pan- Serbism in the political worlds of Paris and London and Petrograd—at the very mo- ment when Petrograd and London and Paris were turning, despite M. Pashitch, a docile ear to the demands of Italy as

the price of her intervention in the war, side by side with the Entente Allies, to be allowed to annex, not only Triest and Pola and Fiume, but about 300 miles of the Dalmatian coast, from the mouth of the Zermagna to the mouth of the Narenta, and all the Dalmatian and Croatian islands, leaving to a future independent Croatia only the high, harborless coast from southeast of Fiume to the Zermagna, and to Serbia and Montenegro only the coast from the mouth of the Narenta to south of Durazzo. Promises were made to Italy—promises painful for the Pan-Serbs—from which Italy herself was partially to release the Allies later on, when she found it prudent to temper her demands during the negotiations for the reconstitution of the Balkan Confederation. But for the moment, Pan-Serbism still loomed as a menace on the eastern horizon for many Italians: M. Pashitch's warning to Europe, his appeal to Italy, seemed to have missed its double mark. Nevertheless, Italy declared war against Austria; and early in June the Serbian forces crossed the Albanian frontier and pushed forward to the sea at Tirana and Elbasan, while, almost simultaneously, the Montenegrins occupied Scutari. M. Pashitch and Nicholas of Montenegro thus reminded Italy that, though they were masters of pathos, they were practical statesmen as well. Italy was now busy on the Isonzo and in the upper Alps. There was little chance of her undertaking to fight at the same time the original enemy of Austria! . . . Italy at Avlona, Serbia almost at Durazzo, Montenegro at Scutari? The destiny of one goodly portion of the eastern Adriatic, at all events, was thus being fixed by *faits accomplis* that were likely to be more valid than any treaties. But the great question still remained unsolved: Was Pan-Serbism, or was it not, a danger for Italy?

ITALY AND PAN-SLAVISM

When, in October, 1908, after the Young Turk revolution of July, Count d'Aehrenthal tore up the Treaty of Berlin, by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and when the signatory Powers—Russia France, and England, scandalized by an arbitrary high-handedness that had dealt a fatal blow to the public law of Europe as well as to their own prestige in the Balkans, insisted in vain on the summoning of a conference to settle the legitimacy of the Austrian statesman's action, it was obvious to every perspicacious observer of European politics that events were rapidly ripening for the bursting forth of that great Continental War which had been in being ever since the annexation by Germany of Alsace and a part of Lorraine. Italy, partner to a treaty with Austria which permitted her to veto every initiative threatening a change in the Balkan *status quo*, was particularly interested in the action of Count d'Aehrenthal, and particularly alive to the significance of that action. Signor Tommaso Tittoni, now Italian Ambassador in Paris, was in 1908 Foreign Minister, and at that critical moment in international relations he declared in a speech in the Italian Chamber: "Italy's task tends to the well-being of the Slavs, the Greeks, the Rumanians, indeed, of all the nationalities that people the Balkan peninsula. One thing alone saddens us, their sanguinary strifes; one thing alone do we sincerely desire, their concord and their progress."

No student of Italian foreign policy will deny that this utterance fairly describes what has uniformly been the policy of Italy toward the Balkan States. But the policy which Signor Tittoni defined in 1908 is exactly the opposite of the policy unremittingly pursued by Italy's two allies, Austria and Germany. The Balkan Confederation was the death-knell to German expansion. The second Balkan, or the Inter-Balkan, War was the result of Austro-German interference at Sofia. It became the avowed aim, not only of the Hapsburg Monarchy, but of Pan-Germanism, to maintain unrest in the Balkans, and the Pan-German propagandists poured forth their money lavishly in Italy with a view to alienating Italian sympathy from the Balkan peoples, and to creating the bugaboo of the Pan-Serbian menace. During the last ten years in Italy the success of this propaganda has been considerable. Indeed, so successfully had the Pan-Germans poisoned Italian public opinion that one of the necessary preliminaries to frank

ernmental action in Italy on the side he Liberal Powers, and against Italy's s, was bound to be an effort to uproot widespread Italian prejudice as to the ry already done to, and the greater ry in store for, Italian interests, as a literranean Power, by the rights of the s and the march of Pan-Slavism.

GERMAN PROPAGANDA IN ITALY

: is true that the Pan-Germans at work taly manœuvered on an exceptionally orable ground, for the origins of a certain understanding between the Italians and Serbs, whereby the Italians had a lency to dread a possible future of -Slavism, were more than a generation they long antedated the period of ve Pan-German propaganda against Serbs.

: should not be forgotten that one of the iediate consequences of the introduction taly in 1882 into the alliance between many and Austria-Hungary was the porary strangulation of the Balkan rs. However, the evolution of Europe , no doubt, slowly weaning the Italian ple from short-sighted views; but large ions of the Italian press, of Italian lic opinion, were slow to alter the pre-ces which so long complicity with the man Powers had engendered. One of main tasks before Italian statesmen, efore, was the education of the nation o the gravity of the deep-rooted error ording to which Pan-Slavism was a ger for Italy.

he sober discussion of Italian interna-al problems that began in pamphlet newspaper immediately on the out-ak of the Great War, the elevation of the ate that ensued as to the relative advan-s of intervention and neutrality, aled in the Italian people a political e and competency which were abso-ly remarkable. Innumerable were the lications which, pending the decision the Italian Government, considered, er all their aspects, the *problemi Italiani*. : entire country seemed to be aware that ad reached a crisis, and to be bent on overing a rational way out. It re-ved its past from Jacopo Ortis to Gio-; it took careful count of stock of its present, from the point of view of its rôle as a partner in the limited liability company known as "Germany, Austria & Company"; it sought to balance off the advantages of continuing its relations as a sleeping-partner with the Pan-German House against the possibilities in store for it if it dissolved partnership, and entered into an agreement with more congenial associates. And in this conscientious effort to discover its national duty—this spiritual exercise in "sacred egoism!"—nothing was more characteristic than the importance ascribed to the question of Pan-Slavism. It was obvious that the fine political sense of the Italian people had penetrated with courageous probity to the very heart of the essential problem confronting them. Serbia they clearly saw to be the keystone of the European edifice. They had been divining as much ever since 1908. They now saw equally clearly many things that their Government had withheld from them. They saw, in the first place, with luminous precision, that if the Great War were to end by the defeat of the Triple Entente and the victory of the Austro-Germans, all neutral states would be just as much obliged as the defeated Powers to accept Pan-German domination. They saw, at the same time, that the victory of the Triple Entente would threaten the national independence neither of Italy nor of any other European nation. But what about "the Serb-Croat-Slovene people?"

PAN-GERMANISM VS. PAN-SLAVISM

The present writer spent some time in Italy in the spring of 1915. He met many members of the diplomatic corps, he conversed with politicians and makers of Italian opinion, and he diligently watched the press. His general impression as to what had finally become the dominant Italian view with regard to the avowed ambition of Serbia to establish itself on the Adriatic, and to form a Serb-Croat-Slovene State within the triangle Lubiana-Belgrad-Antivari, cannot be better formulated than in the language of Signor Gaetano Salvemini in his brilliant study, *Guerra o Neutralità*. Signor Salvemini took matters hypothetically at their worst. "Suppose," he said, "that Austria, after the victory of the Triple

Entente, were reduced from 50 millions to 30 millions of inhabitants, having lost her Adriatic, Rumanian, and Galician provinces; and suppose that her place were taken by a Greater Serbia, composed of Herzegovina, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and even Istria. Yet even then, and above all then, Serbia would constantly have need of Italian friendship in order to protect herself against the renewed assault of Austria. Moreover, once Austria-Hungary were definitely driven out of the Adriatic and confined to purely Continental boundaries, Italy, with her 35 million inhabitants, would find herself face to face with a nation of only 10 million, scattered over a poor soil, incapable of becoming in the Adriatic a rival of Italy. We cannot prevent Austria from having a fleet, for she already possesses one. Serbia we can prevent, both in her own interests and in our own. And we can profit by the present moment, which will never come again in history, to exclude from the Adriatic Austria, who has a fleet, and to defend a new state which has no fleet and which we can prevent from building one." The partisans of the Triple Alliance, continued Signor Salvemini, "continually agitate the spectre of Pan-Slavism: according to them Greater Serbia will be the vanguard of Russia in the Adriatic. They ignore, or feign to ignore, that the Pan-Slav peril is hypothetical and a matter of the future, whereas the Pan-German peril is real and immediate. They ignore or feign to ignore that, not Serbia, but our ally, Austria, tried to come to an agreement with Russia in 1897 and in 1903, in order to secure a free hand in the whole western Balkans and in the Adriatic to the injury of Italy. . . . Serbia, like Rumania, like Bulgaria, like Greece, has pursued in the past, and will continue to pursue in the future, a policy solely inspired by her own interests, and not the policy of Russia. . . . The whole history of the nineteenth century is a history of systematic infidelity on the part of the Balkan States toward the Empire of the Cazrs. . . . *The best way to emancipate the Serbs from Russia is to help them to have no further need of Russia, that is to say to conquer unity and national independence against Austria. In a word, even in the hypothesis that Serbia conquers all the Austrian provinces of the Adriatic, and that Italy remains within her present boundaries, Italy in such a juncture has nothing to lose, and she has much to gain.*"

Here, once again, we have to note the cool, calm, calculating temper of the Italians in their effort to determine the data of rational patriotic action. While certain nations had been caught napping by the German aggression, and, on the morrow of their rude awakening, were obliged to improvise precipitate resolutions, Italy, vigilant, actively self-conscious ever since 1908, delimited, with an admirable, deliberate, self-reliant statesmanship, the exact extent and character of the part she meant to play in the prodigious drama. When, in May, 1915, she declared war against Austria, she carefully avoided declaring war on Germany. The Italian Minister of Finance might explain all the imperative reasons why. She did not declare war on Turkey until it was strategically safe to do so, until, that is, she had proved to herself her ability to stop up all the gaps in the Alps through which the Austro-Germans hoped to glide so elegantly into the Lombard Plain. When she had made Verona secure —as well as the whole so perilously exposed Plain—against the torrential descent of the Barbarians; when she had driven from the flaming battlements dominating her own immediate kingdom the alien race that had so long manned this Alpine wall; when she herself at last had closed the too long wide-open Northern Gates of Italy, then, but not till then, she turned to the methodical treatment of her interests in the Mediterranean. The astuteness, of course, had been in deciding to fight at all, for the risks were great. From the purely military point of view Italy's task at the outset of the war might easily have seemed all but hopeless. But "Now or never!" was necessarily the watchword, if Italy seriously meant, while recovering the Italian "unredeemed" provinces of Austria, so to rectify her frontier as to protect herself henceforth against invasion from the north.

ITALY RECONSTRUCTED

Consider the situation. From the Trentino to the valley of the Isonzo successful

ılt of the Alpine bastions held by Aus- fortresses would be an all but impossi- chievement, save at a moment when ria was engaged in a life-and-death gle elsewhere. Italy had waited two rations for such a moment. During months of the European War Italy methodically sought to learn the mili- lessons of that war; she had remade rmy and consolidated her finances. · her North African expedition Signor tti had allowed her forces and her isions to dry-rot. Men, and even the Deport field-gun, alone, were in- uate instruments with which to storm ristling heights overlooking the Lom- Plain, along a frontier already med, as at the Lake of Garda, with rian invaders. But during the months een the fatal August of 1914 and the nciation of the Treaty of the Triple nce all deficiencies were magnificently : good; and it is one of the ever- ıting proofs of the way Teutonic ence has nearly always blinded the to the real situation and feelings of the gner, that Vienna and Berlin ignored : preparations, and fancied they could t on the prolonged neutrality of a le and a government whom they had wont to find cringing before a little erous bluff. The real Italy, in fact, ed their vigilance. In their scorn of talians they did not detect the exis- : of the Italian national soul.

: REASONS FOR ENTERING THE WAR

s, it was not merely the Italy of the *'gimento* that had come to life again, inspired by the old sublime passion to ve its unity, was preparing to scale the st Alps, and to fling its frontiers back e on league to the north. The now resuscitated was also an Italy ing to enter into the heritage of the blic of Venice; an Italy, even, on the of whose public buildings the lettering P. Q. R." of the most ancient Rome attests—however pompously—the ric sense of the nation; and, thus, an that was dreaming not merely, as has seen, of naval domination in the Adria- ut of naval hegemony in the whole East- Mediterranean. On the 20th of August, 1915, Italy declared war on Turkey. What was the meaning of this grave decision?

When Italy unhesitatingly took upon herself this extra burden, the Powers of the Triple Entente congratulated themselves on the proof thus afforded of Italy's whole- hearted, disinterested desire to succor them in their expedition in the Dardanelles. Incurable mentalities of the romantic French and English! The real fact was that Italy was once again acting with the same cool calculation that uniformly marks her admirably patriotic and clear-sighted national policy. The imperial task she had set for herself in her first war against Turkey had been literally truncated by the Treaty of Lausanne, after having been hampered and thwarted by her allies, Germany and Austria. She was now free to seek to carry that task through to com- pletion. She seized the event.

ITALY AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE TREATY

Italy had been in possession for more than three years of a vast region of North Africa, which, from time immemorial, had been Ottoman territory, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, and of a certain number of islands in the Mediterranean, including Rhodes and the famous Archipelago known as the Dodécanèse. This Turkish territory had been seized and annexed by right of conquest, as a consequence of the Turko- Italian War of 1912. By the Treaty of Lausanne of October 18, 1912, the two parties bound themselves, the one to evacu- ate North Africa, the other the Mediterra- nean islands. But Italy cannily stipulated that the withdrawal of her officers and civilian agents from the islands should not take place until after Turkey had com- pletely recalled all her functionaries from Libya. The holding of these islands placed Italy in one of those ambiguous positions she loves. During the negotiations be- tween Italy and Austria relative to Italy's claims for compensations owing to Austria's assault on Serbia, Vienna reminded Rome, on several occasions, that Italy was still holding the "Ægean Islands," and urged that if this action became definitive it would constitute a flagrant breach of Italy's engagements as a partner to the Triple Alliance, warranting Austria's in-

sistence on obtaining "compensation" from Italy, under Clause VII of the Treaty of that alliance. Italy replied that the treaty in question applied only to the Ægean Sea, and that, precisely out of respect for that treaty and for Austria, she had carefully avoided occupying, for instance, Chios and Mytilene—a grave decision from a military point of view, for such occupation would have immediately brought Turkey to terms; moreover, that the Dodécanèse and Rhodes were not "Ægean" but "Mediterranean," and did not fall under the provisions of the treaty. Italy's great argument, however, was that by remaining in the Dodécanèse she had rendered Turkey a signal service. Those islands, she pretended, would certainly have been seized by Greece during the Turco-Balkan War of 1912 to 1913, and thus, by prolonging the occupation of them during the Great European War, Italy rendered a service also to Austria, Turkey's ally. So real was this service, indeed, that Turkey had acknowledged it; but she had not yet compensated Italy for the trouble and expense of the occupation of these islands, by granting Italy certain concessions in Asia Minor, the principle of which she had accepted!

ITALIAN AIMS AND AMBITIONS

The ingenious subtlety of these remarks could hardly be expected to satisfy Austria, as it certainly failed to satisfy Greece and the Great Powers. But the fact remained that Italy still kept firm hold of Rhodes and the Dodécanèse, and that so long as Turkey persisted in intriguing in Libya against Italian domination, Italy had the letter of the law on her side—the letter of the law of the Treaty of Lausanne—to warrant her claim to the right of maintaining garrisons in those islands. If she tore up the Treaty of Lausanne by going to war with Turkey she would procure for herself, it is true, a kind of automatic annexation of the islands, and be no longer obliged to justify her presence there by arguments, however beautiful, of a scholastic subtlety. But the fact was, she was keeping the islands with a view to bartering them, or some of them, for territory on the mainland of Asia Minor, whither for some years she had been casting covetous glances. It was to this ambition that she made the frankest allusion in her reply to Austria.

The region which she has in view as a potential protectorate is the southern coast-line of Anatolia, the old province of Cilicia in Asia Minor in the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean. During the years that intervened between the Turko-Italian War and the Great World War, the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople spent much of his time in trying to induce the Porte to grant to his Government important concessions in the Gulf of Adalia. There was a question of a railroad line, which, penetrating from the coast, would eventually tap the Badgad Bahn. Germany sedulously opposed Italian ambitions in Asia Minor. To-day Italy is resolved to take her revenge. The future will see her master of the coast-line facing Cyprus. But whether she will be content with the possession of a mere Cilician strip in the parcelling out of the Joseph's-coat-of-many-colors of Asiatic Turkey, depends not alone on the Great Powers, nor even entirely on herself. It depends also on the ex-Prime Minister of Greece, M. Venizelos, and on his master, King Constantine. That monarch, early in 1915, had it in his power, when the Triple Entente began their expedition for the penetration of the Dardanelles, to extend the reign of Hellenism among all the coasts and cities of old Ionia, from Mount Ida to the mainland opposite Cos. It was the rightful heritage of Hellas, offered to Greece on the single proviso that she sacrifice Kavala and join the friends to whom she owed her independence in a Holy War against the Turk. The King of Greece refused, and Achilles-Venizelos retired within his tent. Italy's declaration of war against Turkey permits her not only to keep the Greek islands that she has been holding, not only to pursue her projects in the region of Adalia eastward toward Germany's whilom predestined coaling-station of Alexandretta (which should now fall to England), but also to seek to extend her claims to the Anatolian hinterland behind the islands which, now irrevocably hers, are barterable property that she may keep or surrender as she likes—the whole question having become a function of a still greater

:m: the destiny of Smyrna, the destiny
: Ægean, the destiny of the Eastern
:erranean. When, on the 3d of
mber, 1915, the French *Journal*
l announced that a detachment of
'rench Fleet, blockading the Syrian
had occupied, two days before, the
l of Jezireh Ruad between Latakia and
li, it was made known to all that
e had taken a timely and suggestive
:he full significance of which could not
sunderstood either in the capitols of
ıs or Rome.

ile, from Nieuport in Flanders to
'ch in Alsace; from Riga in Lithuania
'ody in Galicia; from the Lake of
ı, at the head of the valley of the
, to Gorizia in Istria, ten million men
ighting and dying at the battle-front,
:nse of their fatherlands, and to secure
for generations happier than their
a dozen Foreign Ministers, keenly
ing each other's moves along the
)ling boundaries of the old Europe,
:hus diligently planning for their sev-
ates silent diplomatic victories, which,
: fullness of time, fresh wars would
r. So also, in 1814, some months
: the assembling of the Congress of
a for the liquidation of the bankrupt
re of Napoleon, the winning Powers,
secret agreement, settled, without
ltation of the Peoples, a goodly pro-
ın of the grave questions at stake, and
for a halcyon brief period the uncer-
ıoundaries of the nations.

A MORE INFLUENTIAL ITALY

:, meanwhile, Italy had amply, and it
ɔe said gloriously, justified the eulogy
:he present writer made, two years
: the Great War, of the subtle diplo-
of the Consulta: "the general result
ıt diplomacy has been to assure to
—not in spite of, but because of her
ently conflicting engagements to the
ıers of the two reciprocally hostile
ɔean groups—a position of indepen-
superior to that of any of the Euro-
pean Powers, not excepting England. She seemed to have allowed herself to have been bound fast. Seen from afar she looked like a Laocoön in the toils of the two monstrous serpents. Yet she felt herself free in all her movements. . . . At present she is so placed as to play a preponderant rôle in the councils of Europe." One thing alone hampered her action. In order to achieve a completely self-conscious sense of her national dignity, a new faith—fusing the sublime passion for unity of her Mazzini with her Cavour's practical statesmanship, and enabling her to seal the *Risorgimento*—she had to tear off the Nessus shirt that parliamentarism had woven round the body-politic; she had to abandon the old period of opportunist *combinazione*, during which she had been content to take something, anything, from the hands of the Pan-German tyrant—the policy of the *parecchio* which Giolitti had incarnated; she had to cease thinking, in a mercantile mood, merely of profits and losses. The real Italy of King and People had vowed to be free. They would henceforth pay themselves the luxury of owing no man anything, of being no other nation's debtor. They saw with D'Annunzio that *to acquire* is not the same thing as *to conquer*. "In Rome great memories have ever been the germs of new life," wrote Mazzini in 1871. When Dante meets Mazzini now, as they promenade in the Elysian Fields, the Divine Prophet and Forerunner of the Sublime Triumvir of "Young Italy" may, perhaps, be pardoned if he gently chides his companion for not having seen what Cavour saw, that the House of Savoy was the one hope of the Italian people; and that, though it was true, when Mazzini said it, that in the Old Italy, "Monarchy neither did, nor attempted, anything for the Unity or Liberty of the country," the time was to come, the time *had* come, when, again in Mazzini's words, "Monarchy was to receive the Nation's baptism and initiate itself to destinies till then ignored or betrayed."

FIGHTING LEPROSY IN THE PHILIPPINES

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN ONE OF THE POSSESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES TO COMBAT THIS MOST DREADED OF ALL DISEASES—HOPEFUL RESULTS FROM THE USE OF CHAULMOOGRA OIL

BY

VICTOR G. HEISER, M. D.

Dr. Victor G. Heiser, who writes the following account of his experiments on lepers in the Philippine Islands—experiments that promise to result in a permanent cure of one of the most dreadful and famous diseases in history—was for more than ten years in charge of the sanitation of the Philippines When he went there, experienced Europeans ridiculed his proposals to make Orientals pay any attention to sanitation. As a result of the work of Dr. Heiser and his associates, however, the Philippine Islands to-day are more sanitary than the United States. The influence of his work has so spread throughout the East that so formidable a task as cleaning up China is now being undertaken. Dr. Heiser's encouraging report on the new leprosy treatment, as well as his sympathetic picture of those pitiable people, who, in a peculiar sense, are wards of the Nation—the lepers of Culion—is one of the most creditable chapters in recent American history.—THE EDITORS.

IN THE last few months twenty-three lepers have been discharged as cured from the hospitals of the Philippines. In the United States Health Reports the writer announced the "apparent cure" of six individuals who for several years had suffered from this disease. In these latter cases the official publication had been withheld for two years, for the reason that in many previous experimentations with leprosy, patients apparently restored to complete health had subsequently relapsed. In these cases there had been no permanent cure—the infection, one of the most insidious known, had simply existed quiescent, unperceived, only to break out again under provoking circumstances. It was safely assumed, however, that any one "cured" of leprosy who remained cured for two years could be regarded as permanently free from the disease. Since describing these six cases another year has elapsed and all six are still, to outward appearances, in excellent health. The recent news from Manila, recording the cure of twenty-three more lepers, is, naturally, very encouraging. Reports from Hawaii, the Straits Settlements, the Malay States, India, and certain parts of the United States—leprosy, brought in by immigrants, prevails here to a greater extent than most Americans understand—also record satisfactory progress.

The outlook for a permanent cure is, therefore, very hopeful. It will take many years and exhaustive experimentation in all parts of the world to establish this fact definitely; but we have already obtained results that justify the widespread use of the treatment.

It sometimes seems as though the mere intuition of the less progressive peoples grasped more than the scientific wisdom of the Western world. The common people of the East can often, merely by a glance, detect a leper when the American or European physician, after a clinical examination, fails to find the disease. In such cases bacteriological examination will show, nine times out of ten, that the ignorant native is right and the Western physician wrong. Similarly these leper-ridden lands have had, for centuries, their "cure" for leprosy. This is the chaulmoogra oil—an oil obtained from a tree which is indigenous to India. The people of India and other Eastern countries have often asserted that this oil, if taken persistently enough, would

this disease. They have abundant
f cures obtained in this way. Some
go medical men in this country,
ly Professor Dyer, of New Orleans,
ed to test these claims. Professor
ported the successful use of chaul-
oil in the treatment of several lepers
lberville Parish Leper Colony,
ıa. Later this treatment was used
ne success in the Philippines. But
ble was that very few people could
: medicine. They became so nau-
rom its use that they could stand it
few months at one time. Several
continuous treatment was believed
:cessary to produce a cure.
:ntly the East Indians were right.
estern experimenters saw indica-
ıough that chaulmoogra oil exer-
decidedly antagonistic influence
›rosy. Perhaps the scattered cures
l represented the patients who
l sufficient moral courage to keep
treatment for years, or whose
l tenements were so constituted that
had not resulted. What Western
has accomplished is the discovery
:thod of administering this chaul-
oil that does not produce nausea.
ıoogra oil is mixed with camphorated
resorcin and given hypodermically.
progress made in the treatment of
is due to this simple procedure.
: are perhaps two million lepers in
ld at the present moment. From
times this disease has aroused in-
ıterest. The fact that leprosy is
the few diseases described in the
probably explains this. It will,
e, interest the people of the United
o learn that their Government has
ıe of the first to deal with the prob-
its treatment and eradication on a
:ale, and that these efforts have
›re successful than any which have
›re been made. If our annexation
Philippines leads to the cure of
, certainly that itself will justify us.
ı Uncle Sam undertook the solution
leprosy problem in the Philippine
, the number of lepers there was
ed from six to thirty thousand. A
disclosed that the number did not
six thousand. Obviously the de-
sirable thing was to cure the victims and to prevent the spread of the disease. It was soon decided that one of the first steps would be to segregate all lepers on a suitable island where they would not endanger the remaining population. It was indeed horrible that each year more than a thousand Filipinos should contract leprosy, which, after all, is nothing more than living death, because the disease drags along for many years and the victims die usually when they contract some intercurrent malady.

Until recently, as already said, all treatments for leprosy have ended in failure. From time to time there has been an isolated case here and there reported to have been cured. But generally the diagnosis was not satisfactorily confirmed, or the question was complicated by the fact that occasionally leprosy undergoes spontaneous cure, or there were other doubts cast upon the reliability of the reports. Experience with many thousand lepers in the Philippines has shown that occasionally there are individuals who alternately recover and relapse, and during the period of temporary recovery it is impossible to make a diagnosis even by microscopical methods.

We had a recent illustration of this in our own country. The case of one victim, a man named Early, has received world-wide newspaper publicity. One set of experts declared him to have leprosy and other experts pronounced him free from the disease. It would seem quite possible that he may have been inspected by the experts at different periods of the disease and that these may have corresponded to periods of recovery and relapse. Subsequent developments have shown conclusively that he is undoubtedly a leper. That caution is necessary in announcing a cure for leprosy will, therefore, be apparent. Up to the present time no one has claimed that any considerable number of cases have been cured by any one form of treatment. It is, therefore, of more than ordinary importance that in the Philippines the use of a chaulmoogra oil mixture has resulted in the practically demonstrated cure of six cases and the probable cure of twenty-three more.

The present stage of the development of the treatment herein described does not warrant the belief that anything like a

specific for leprosy has been found, but experience does show that it gives more consistently favorable results than any other that has come to our attention, and it holds out the hope of further improvement. The situation may be summed up as follows: it produces apparent cures in some cases, causes great improvement in many others, and arrests the progress of the disease in every instance in which we have tried it. Experience also shows the great desirability of further trial in the hands of other workers in different parts of the world. Finally, it is always important to remember that there are many treatments which apparently cause some improvement, and it not infrequently happens that when cases of leprosy are placed under better hygienic conditions and have hospital care the disease is often arrested, in a few instances improvement results, and apparent cures may take place without any treatment.

This treatment is only one phase of the work which the United States is doing in the Philippines for its lepers. Probably no nation does so much for these, its especially unfortunate wards. The Island of Culion, which was selected as the site of the leper home of the Philippines, is a beautiful island approximately fifteen by thirty miles in dimension. It is located about two hundred miles southwest of Manila and forms one of the Calamianes group. It has many fertile valleys, and the whole island is covered with an abundance of trees and tropical vegetation. The site was chosen because it was well isolated, sparsely inhabited, had plenty of good fresh water, an excellent harbor, and offered excellent opportunities for the lepers to engage in agricultural pursuits.

It is difficult to appreciate the amount of work involved in constructing a complete town on a remote and deserted island. Under natural conditions a town comes into existence over a period of years, and many private individuals are concerned in its building. To bring a complete town into being for the use of other persons has very seldom been done. It meant the laying out of streets and alleys, the building of more than 400 dwelling houses, the erection of a theatre building, a town hall, a *school building*, a modern-piped water supply, the necessary reservoirs, the installation of a sanitary sewer, the building of docks and approaches, warehouses, dining halls, hospital buildings, lighting systems, post office, store, a refuse disposal plant, cemeteries, and the erection of suitable buildings, for non-leprous employees—in brief, all the modern conveniences that one would expect to find in any up-to-date, well ordered town.

The work was accomplished only after many heart-rending experiences: At one time 300 laborers ran away at the first report that a shipload of lepers was to arrive on the island. It was only after a number of weeks of painstaking effort that a new supply could be secured. Skilled mechanics had no desire to undergo the isolation, some quit after a few days' work, and the class that could be induced to go often lacked skill and made blunders which sometimes took months to correct. Construction work on even smaller projects is often difficult in the United States, so that our experience on this remote island in the Pacific Ocean can perhaps better be imagined than described. There was no telegraph, and mail steamers arrived only once every three weeks. Captains of steamers carrying building materials who were unfamiliar with the port often would anchor miles away, and the supplies had to be laboriously landed in small boats. Many of the materials had to be obtained in the United States or Europe, and this alone required six months or more. Sometimes a part of a machine would be lost in transit: another six months would be needed to replace it. The colony was finally completed and, though it is by no means perfect, it represents an amount of time, labor, thought, and perseverence that is not obvious in the finished product.

While the construction work was going on at Culion, a campaign of education with regard to leprosy was conducted throughout the Philippine Islands. Upon the instance of the governor-general, the provincial governors were asked to make every effort to tell the inhabitants of their provinces a few salient facts about the manner in which the spread of the disease might be lessened. They were requested to start a campaign of edu-

THE CULION ISLAND LEPER COLONY

Where the United States has built, on a hitherto practically uninhabited island 200 miles southwest of Manila, a town for 3,500 lepers of the Philippines. Here the first successful effort has been made to arrest, if not actually to cure, leprosy

THE CULION LEPER COLONY AT CLOSE RANGE

The town on Culion Island, about two hundred miles from Manila, was built under the greatest difficulties. Workmen and materials had to be transported from Manila, and some of the machinery had to be brought from the United States and Europe

cation in order that the masses might learn the dangers of leprosy. They were also to inform their people that, by modern methods, there was reasonable hope that the number of new cases could be greatly reduced and that by special care the course of the disease might be greatly modified and even steps taken toward a cure. A few months later a Filipino medical officer, who could speak the dialect, would call at the province and give public lectures on leprosy and often, with the aid of lantern slides, would show views of the leper colony which was then under construction. As soon as the colony was ready to receive lepers the present writer would go to such provinces with a steamer and invite those who were afflicted with the disease to accompany him to Culion. It was hoped, by using methods of persuasion rather than of force, that much more rapid progress could be made in the segregation of the unfortunates. Furthermore it was hoped, after the lepers arrived at Culion and found that they were provided with good food and living quarters and an ample supply of clothing, all without cost to them, that they would write home and encourage other unfortunates to come. This proved to be the case. Briefly the great majority of the lepers in the Philippine Islands were transferred to the Island of Culion without the use of force. When it is remembered that this frequently involved separating husband from wife, mother from child, brother from sister, friend from friend,

THE STORE, KITCHEN, AND TENEMENTS

The colony is a complete community in itself, embodying all the conveniences of an up-to-date town

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THE LEPERS' THEATRE AND APPROACH

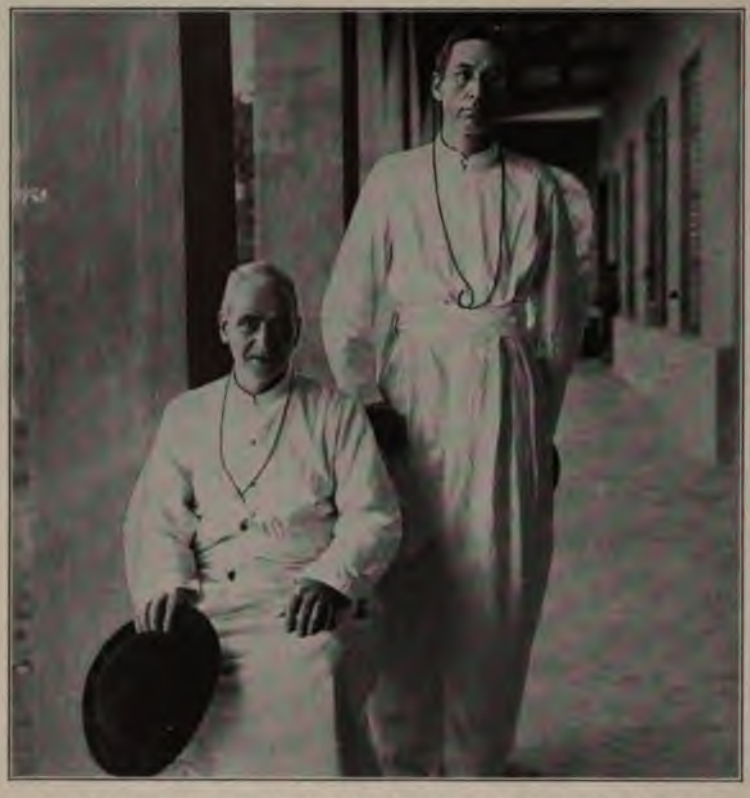
The town has been completely equipped in every way to make it attractive. However, the lepers take very little interest in the esthetic element of life, with the result that the efforts of the authorities to beautify the colony have so far not met with complete success

tered almost everywhere without
estrictions. In a number of in-
they worked in cheese factories,
men in grocery stores, as coachmen,
teachers, clerks, in tobacco factories,
other similar pursuits. One of the gratifying results of the segregation of the lepers was the discovery of persons who were suffering from other diseases who had been classed as lepers and had been compelled to live with them. It often happened that these persons suffered from maladies that could be readily cured, and in such cases they were taken to Manila or other places for treatment and upon their recovery they were restored to their homes and friends.

SANITARY TENEMENT HOUSES FOR THE LEPERS

reinforced concrete, these houses are divided into six apartments, each of which holds twelve persons

The present colony numbers about 3,500 lepers. They live in more than 400 nipa palm houses, each of which is large enough to accommodate from five to seven lepers. In addition there are reinforced concrete houses which are divided into six apartments, each of which is suitable for twelve



THE SPANISH AND AMERICAN CHAPLAINS OF THE COLONY

persons. These houses are built with ventilated tile roofs and are especially adapted for housing persons afflicted with this disease; the ventilation is of particular importance because the disease gives rise to very unpleasant odors. In front of each house is a small flower garden and every effort is being made to instil sufficient civic pride in the lepers to maintain them; but so far these efforts have not met with much success.

The lepers are given all possible liberty, and to a large extent are controlled by regulations which they themselves make. They are allowed to punish offenders against their own regulations. They are privileged to elect their own mayor and councilmen. A police force composed entirely of lepers has been organized, and it is its duty to see that the

THE LEPER HOSPITAL AT CULION

The special ventilation system in the roof is constructed because a continued circulation of air is desirable in the treatment of leprosy

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es, nervous in-

THE SISTERS OF ST. PAUL DE CHARTRES, WHO NURSE THE LEPERS

ents which result in loss of muscle power, and general debility. Only a small proportion of them are capable of performing sufficient manual labor neces-

THE INTERIOR OF THE HOSPITAL AT CULION

he United States established this *leper colony*, about 1,000 persons a year contracted the disease in the *Philippine Islands*. *To-day* the islands are practically clear of leprosy

THE PRESIDENTIA, OR TOWN HALL

To a large extent the local administration of Culion is in the hands of the lepers. They elect their own mayor and councilmen, who enact regulations. Each councilman is responsible for the good order in his own district. The leper police force, seen in the foreground, enforces the laws and sees that the town is kept clean

THE STORE AND POST OFFICE

The Government pays the lepers in specia for whatever work they do. This coinage is at face value for money orders sent out colonies. At the store, which is managed b a stock of such things as the lepers may wis is kept. All mail leaving Culion is thoroug fected

sary to supply food for themselves. There are many lighter occupations in which a fair percentage could engage, yet the articles produced would not be of a kind useful to themselves. The repu which the public has for things by lepers, even though rendered sterilization, would preclude the pos

THE LEPER BAND

The leper is naturally apathetic, but as his condition improves he takes more and more interest in the ments of life

BALALA—THE MAIL BOAT AND DOCK
Here all the supplies for the leper colony are received

lling these products at a profit. Then n, so many of them are bedfast, and wounds and ulcers of others require so h attention, that many of those not o badly afflicted must devote their time those not so fortunately situated. nestic duties, cooking, the making of clothes, laundry work, cleaning, the care of streets, and the repairing of buildings require the entire time of many more, so that the sum total of the remaining effective labor is very small.

The question of raising cattle is now under consideration. Apparently this

BALALA, THE UNINFECTED SECTION OF CULION
e the doctors, nurses, and non-leprous employees live; and here also are the administrative offices of this remarkable organization

A BATH HOUSE IN THE LEPER COLONY

Concrete is used in the construction of practically all the buildings except the small nipa palm dwelling houses

should be a light occupation in which our lepers might be successful. On account of the fact that cattle do not contract leprosy, it would seem that the public would not object to the meat of such animals if it were placed upon the market.

At first it was hoped that the able-bodied lepers would be glad to perform such tasks as might be assigned to them, but it was soon found that even a leper who receives free board, lodging, hospital care, and clothing from the Government does not care to work for that Government without receiving compensation, notwithstanding that the labor is for his own benefit. There are many things to be done each day in Culion. The streets must be swept, the garbage cans emptied, assistance rendered in the hospital, and supplies carried. Each leper thinks it is the duty of the other to do the work, and so it goes in an endless circle. To meet this difficulty it seemed desirable to change artificial conditions of institutional life more nearly to resemble the conditions prevailing in ordinary communities. With this end in view, a store has now been started at which anything produced by a leper may be sold. There is also kept for sale a stock of such things as the lepers may wish to buy. This store is beginning to exert a *very favorable influence*. For example, nearly a ton of fish is offered for sale by the lepers every day. Milk from the goats and special vegetables may now be obtained for the sick. In connection with the store there is a post office, with a leper postmaster in charge. All outgoing mail is disinfected. When it is ready, a non-leprous employee collects it and places it aboard the mail steamer.

A special currency has been coined for the exclusive use of the lepers. The denominations are the same as those of the regular Philippine currency. If a leper has occasion to send money out of the colony, he can purchase a regular money order from a non-leprous clerk, who mails it for him.

Briefly, then, the United States has established the world's largest leper colony. In the course of a few years the feat of gathering up more than 8,000 lepers has been accomplished without creating any serious disturbance. The treatment for leprosy has been greatly advanced. The lepers themselves, instead of being shunned, often wanting for food, and driven from pillar to post, now have a comfortable home where they are welcome. And finally, due to the decreasing number of new cases, hundreds of unfortunates who were formerly doomed each year to contract this most loathsome disease are now saved from this horror.

AMERICA, A NEW WORLD ARSENAL

BRIDGEPORT, CONN., AN EXAMPLE OF THE EFFECTS OF WAR ORDERS ON THE UNITED STATES—POSSIBLE PERMANENT RESULTS OF THE WAR BOOM

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BROWN BROS., N. Y.

WAR orders in one year have made the difference between semi-starvation and a feast to the metal working manufacturers of the United States. In that year, the making of munitions has become a colossal industry in this country. Dozens of great manufactories of steel, brass, and copper have turned their equipment to the production of shells, rifles, and ammunition. These big concerns, in turn, have demanded unprecedented quantities of machine tools from the tool makers. And they have sub-

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST CRANKS AND SPIES

Nobody can get into or out of any of the buildings of the Remington Arms Company or the Union Metallic Cartridge Company at Bridgeport without showing a pass to an armed guard

MARCH 15, 1915

AUGUST 16, 1915

In the five months after the picture on the preceding page was taken, sixteen of these eighteen buildings were erected by the Remington Arms Company. The new plant comprises five one-story bayonet factories, each about 70 feet wide by 300 feet long; and thirteen five-story rifle factories, each 60 feet wide by 272 feet long, and joined by five-story connecting buildings each 48 by 80 feet in dimensions

THE RIFLE FACTORIES OF THE REMINGTON ARMS COMPANY AT BRIDGEPORT

Already in three of these buildings (as they will soon do in all thirteen) the Remington Comp making rifles for the French and Russian armies. In five smaller buildings beyond these the comp making bayonets for the British, French, and Russians

let parts of contracts to hundreds of unknown smaller concerns. Thus the munitions business is so stupendous and so complex that the mind cannot grasp it entire.

But Bridgeport, Conn., is a comprehensible example of the effects of this new industry on the United States. P. T. Barnum and Fanny Crosby are the that probably occur first to most when Bridgeport is mentioned. lived and died there, and carried its wherever circuses and churches tra But, though both left indelibly the press on the town, the thoughts of t

THE NIGHT SHIFT AT WORK IN A RIFLE FACTORY

In nearly all the factories in Bridgeport that are making munitions of war, the work is continuo *and night, and is done in* three shifts of eight hours each—from 7 o'clock in the morning till 3 o'clock *afternoon, from 3 to 11,* and from 11 to 7

TO WORK BY JITNEY BUS

Probably 20,000 new people had come to Bridgeport between January 1 and December 1, 1915, and hundreds of automobiles were required to relieve the overtaxed trolley lines of Bridgeport in carrying the munitions workers to and from the factories

tives swiftly passed on to other local celebrities. Of these one of the most interesting was young Marcellus Hartley Dodge. His career appealed to the romantic imagination of his townsfolk. His grandfather was Marcellus Hartley, a shrewd Connecticut Yankee who built up, and made a fortune in, the Union Metallic Cartridge Company—a concern that is famous wherever rifles, revolvers, and shotguns are used. In default of a male heir, Marcellus Hartley left his millions, and the business that made them, to his daughter's son, who bore his name. Young Dodge thus became one of

WHERE MUNITIONS MAKERS ARE HIRED

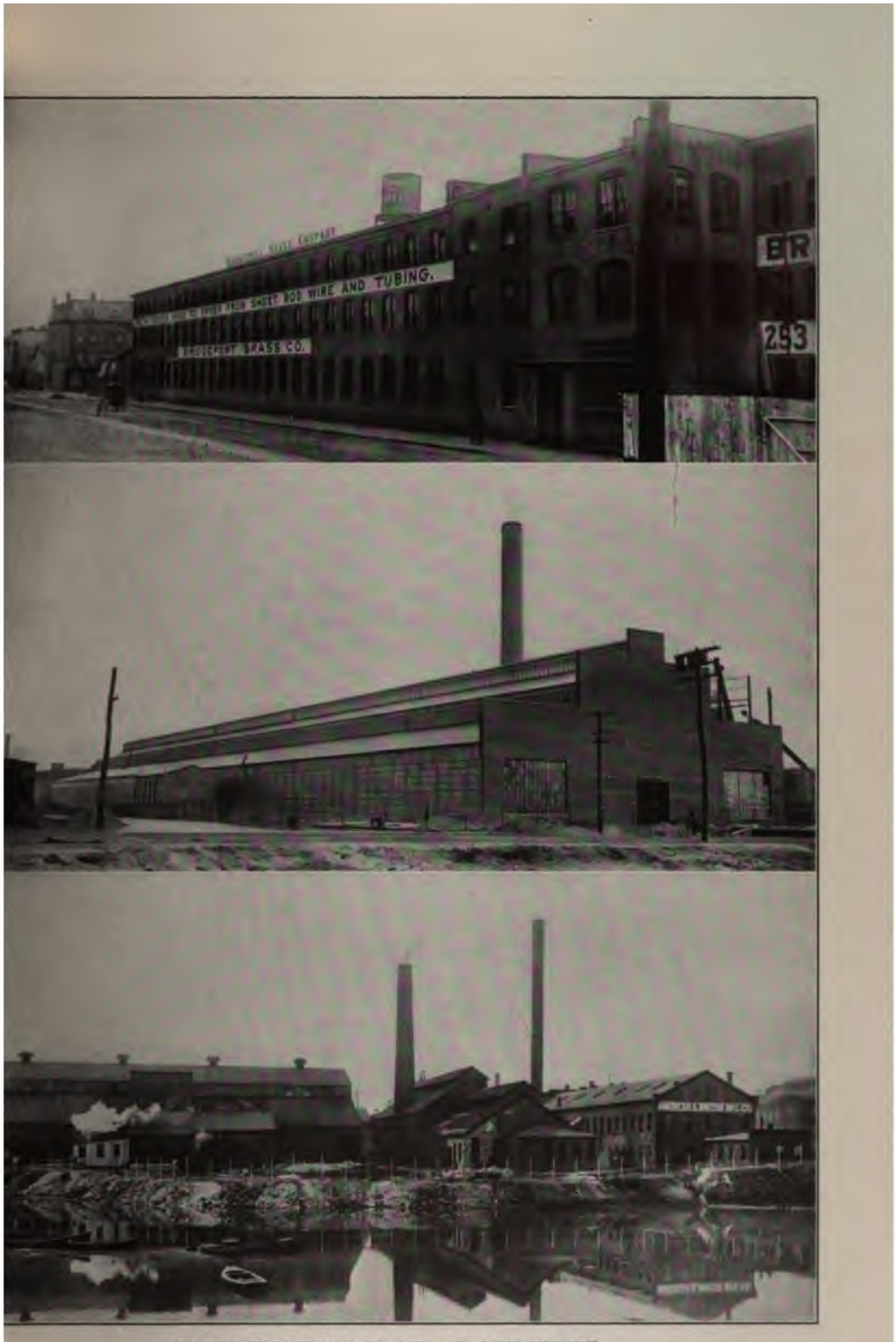
This line of mechanics seeking admission to the employment bureau of the Remington Arms Company is replenished so fast by new applicants that it can be seen all day every day in the week except Sunday. In the fall, between 300 and 400 new men were employed every week

CARTRIDGE MAKERS LEAVING THE WORKS FOR LUNCHEON

The Union Metallic Cartridge Company had employed about 2,200 people before the war. Du first year of the conflict it added seven four-story buildings to its plant, installed the three-shift sy continuous operation, and employed altogether more than 7,000 people

WORKERS "CHECKING IN" TO A CARTRIDGE FACTORY AFTER LUNCHEON

Every worker must be identified every time he enters or leaves the factory and when he moves f part of the works to another



THREE MUNITIONS PLANTS AT BRIDGEPORT

ridgeport Brass Company makes shell parts, and the American & British Manufacturing Company artillery. The middle picture is of the seven-acre plant of the new Bridgeport Projectile Company

WHERE MOTOR TRUCKS ARE MADE FOR THE ALLIES

The factory of the Locomobile Company has about doubled its working force to fill its orders. The trucks are tested in the roads around Bridgeport by runs with heavy metal weights aboard, and after passing inspection are run under their own power to the pier in New York from which they take ship for Europe

the first of the "millionaire babies." He disappointed the expectations of people who naturally doubted the benefits of a ready-made success by plunging head-first into business the day after he graduated from college in 1903. He soon showed an understanding of the tendency of modern business to consolidate allied lines of manu-

BRIDGEPORT SEEN FROM THE CARTRIDGE WORKS

Nearly every machine shop in Bridgeport that could be adapted to the manufacture of machine tools or of rifle accessories is working on war orders for the Allies. In the foreground are fulminate sheds in *which is manufactured* the explosive contained in the caps of rifle cartridges

ure by buying a rifle factory to supple-
t his cartridge factory. And he be-
e a member of one of the most astute
ness families in the world through his
riage with the daughter of Mr. William
kefeller.

hus, in 1914, Mr. Marcellus Hartley
ge, aged 34, possessed the big plant of
Union Metallic Cartridge Company at
geport, the big plant of the Remington
s Company at Ilion, N. Y., and busi-
connections that radiated from the
heart of the powerful Standard Oil
p of financiers in New York.

hen came the European war—and war
racts.

he inside story of the Dodge war con-
ts is probably known only to the in-
rs. But the material effects of them
t upon Bridgeport like the efflorescence
tropical jungle under the influence of a
mer's sun. Where had been vacant
or rambling houses, swiftly rose seven
-story brick buildings, fronting the
length of a city block apiece—new
lings of the Union Metallic Cartridge
pany. Where one shift of working
le had been employed nine hours a
suddenly three shifts of eight hours
were substituted, at better wages.
e 2,200 people had been an average
ing force, more than 7,000 now crowded
street between the twin rows of fac-
s. Electric lights glared on every
of yard and wall, armed men mounted
at every gate and passageway. As
product of these stimulated factories
destined for the Entente Allies, the
sion by an employee of a German
became at once a suspicious circum-
that earned discharge unless proof,
egree and past performance, could be
ished of indubitable loyalty.

idgeport quickly showed the effects of
first war orders. Street cars were
ded, jitney buses multiplied, "rents"
me scarce, real estate rose in value,
tres and hotels did a big business,
deposits began to grow, shop-keepers
pered. Bridgeport was in the first
e of a war boom.

ut more was to come. A rumor
hed the ears of the Board of Trade that
Dodge intended to build an *immense* new plant of the Remington Arms Company, to supplement the plant at Ilion, N. Y. The rumor located this new development in Canada. This was intolerable to the Board. They first verified the rumor, and then demonstrated to the Dodge interests that Bridgeport was better equipped to supply skilled laborers, and houses for them to live in, than their Canadian rival. The new factory came to Bridgeport.

Probably no more dramatic illustration of the power of money and organization has lately been given anywhere than was given by the magician-like creation of this mighty plant. In the five months from March 15 to August 16, 1915, a row of one-story brick buildings and a parallel row of five-story brick buildings a quarter of a mile long rose upon a site north of the Union Metallic Cartridge works. Where before had been only cheap frame dwellings scattered through a desert of vacant lots, suddenly swarmed two thousand workmen, tearing down old structures, digging up the earth for foundations, arranging mountains of brick into orderly walls. Carpenters and glaziers and roofers followed, and before the first dead leaves of autumn had reddened the ground, machinery was installed in eight of the eighteen buildings and three thousand mechanics were making rifles and bayonets for the Allies.

And all this had come to be because the Allied Governments had put in the hands of the House of Morgan large sums of money, that had coaxed into activity other large sums of money in the hands of Marcellus Hartley Dodge, which had attracted still other large sums of money in the hands of the Rockefellers and others. A few conversations in London and New York had been translated into 8 or 10 million dollars' worth of visible new value in land and buildings in Bridgeport, Conn., besides daily work for thousands of flesh-and-blood American men and women.

The organizing genius displayed in mobilizing the man-power of this undertaking was as striking as the financial genius that mobilized the money which made it possible. The mere erection of the buildings had, of course, been committed to a construction company that had its

organization already in existence and trained for rush work. But how man this new factory, so suddenly called into being? How create quickly from nothing that delicately balanced mechanism of skilled hands and heads, working harmoniously and effectively, that is called an organization—and that usually is the product of years of carefully nurtured growth?

The employment of high-priced specialists was the solution. Major Walter G. Penfield was placed in command of the works. By his military training he was an organizer and disciplinarian; by his special studies he was an expert on small arms; and by his long service as superintendent of a Government arsenal he was a practical employer and manufacturer. He in turn committed parts of the management to other men equally experienced in specialized work. The employment director of a big corporation in Pittsburg was commissioned to hire the mechanics to man the machinery. The president of a large company near Philadelphia was engaged to solve the problem of housing the men whom the factory would call to Bridgeport. Men of like kinds were set at the other big tasks of organization.

HIRING A MAN EVERY TEN MINUTES

One of the biggest jobs was the hiring of men. For several months the employment bureau of the Remington Arms Company has been one of the sights of Bridgeport. It occupies a small detached building at one corner of the group of factories. All day long a line of men stands on the sidewalk in front of it. Each man in his turn has to satisfy an armed guard that he is a bona fide applicant for work before he may even enter the building. Once inside, he may have to wait twenty minutes before he can get the ear of the secretary to the director of employment. The secretary stands behind a counter, and the director sits behind the partitions of a private office. The secretary eliminates at once men who are obviously unfit for the work. They must be skilled—whether mechanics, draftsmen, statisticians, or what-not. If a man seems to be a likely candidate, the secretary hands him an application blank. It is a big sheet of paper, and the questions are as searching as the medical examiner's when a man is seeking life insurance. I address, age, education, trade or profe experience, nationality, citizenship, ences, even religion, are required. A man has filled out his application he it to the secretary. In the next few his answers are checked up from ind dent sources, and if he still seems while, he is again interviewed or emp outright. For several months, latel tween 1,400 and 1,600 new men a n have been employed. Though only were working last November, the pla then built, when fully equipped with chinery, will require the services of 16,000 to 20,000 men; and that numbe probably be at work by the first of

The housing of these men and families has required the work of an e director and a staff of assistants. I office in a tall building downtown, looking the city, he has kept a card file of every room, house, or apartm Bridgeport that could be rented. workmen are placed in homes throug agency. But long ago Bridgepor hausted most of its resources in lod Last February, the seven leading real dealers reported to the Board of Trad they had 527 houses available—sc them two-family, some six-family, ho so that perhaps 800 "rents" were market. Practically every one of was occupied before the summer wa New houses were built, and were before the framework was up. Ind rooms grew so scarce that newcomer had to sleep in the railroad station or two before they could find lo Many housekeepers that had never their homes to lodgers were persuade so; and in a number of regular houses the rooms were occupied b sets of tenants every day, the beds by the morning shift being rem accommodate the dog-watch nigh just home from work—and so on t the twenty-four hours. Naturally have risen, and Bridgeport landlo housekeepers are taking a profit.

But, at the best, Bridgeport was to supply the demand for living qu The Remington Arms Company ha into house-building on a big scale

t was erecting 84 brick dwellings lest of them being two-family the biggest of them duplex nt houses. All these houses either four or five rooms and they are furnace-heated and lighted. In this way 196 re being provided for. The ven then had plans laid out, which it will ultimately pro- n dwellings for 2,500 families. enlisted the coöperation of real-estate operators from as Chicago in the development of ntial tracts in Bridgeport to thousands of additional fami- om homes must be provided year.

re of the men at their work has ly considered from the first. es contain the most modern pliances—steel lockers for the es, shower baths, gymnasium, hospital, and a kitchen from o people can be fed in thirty The man whom the Govern- wed from the Y. M. C. A. to welfare work in the Canal Zone digging of the Panama Canal ed to install and direct the rk of the plant. His duties supervision of the details men- e, and, besides, the formation teams, rifle clubs, and other agencies; the organization of r "safety first" and of "first s; and the arbitration of indi- of friction in the relations of d their bosses.

ARMED GUARDS ON DUTY

discipline is maintained the works. Two hundred armed posted around the grounds and the buildings. They are not in t they wear a distinctive badge; one of them is an ex-United lar soldier and means business s "Stop!" Every person who ounds, workmen included, must and the pass expires during the at an hour that is marked on it. orway in every building a guard bearer and inspects the pass. It is as hard to get out as to get in. If a man loses his pass while inside, the next guard he meets takes him to the guard house, and he is not released until he gives a satisfactory account of himself and gets a new pass from the head office.

In this atmosphere of military efficiency and under the mellow glow of so much new gold, Bridgeport blossomed into a rapid business growth. The "Remington-U. M. C." had not only brought to town men and money: it had come demanding tools as well. Even by November it had managed to equip only the five bayonet factories and three of the rifle factories with tools for the men to work with. It placed orders with practically every machine shop in Bridgeport that could work in metal, so that concerns that had nearly starved during the lean summer of 1914 were running three shifts a day in the summer of 1915. Shops that could not make tools were set at other useful tasks; one company that normally manufactured chains and locks was soon turning out nothing but the little metal clips in which soldiers carry cartridges in rounds of five.

But Remington-U. M. C. was by no means the only concern in Bridgeport that profited by war orders and contributed to the booming of business: it was simply the biggest and the most spectacular. The great Bridgeport Brass Company took contracts and enlarged its staff of mechanics. The Locomobile Company increased its working force from a normal average of about 1,200 employees to about 1,800 employees; and soon motor trucks, laden with test loads of old iron, were careering around the streets and suburban highways of Bridgeport—going, after final inspection, under their own power to the piers in New York from which they embarked on ships for Europe. Here, too, a curious and profitable indirect reaction of war orders was felt: the depression of 1914 had hard hit a company in Bridgeport that manufactured monumental bronze castings, chiefly for cemeteries. After the Locomobile Company got its contract for trucks, it gave to this company an order for castings, to be used in their construction, that far more than made up for its sluggish business of the year before.

All these accretions of men and money in Bridgeport were utilized on behalf of the Entente Allies. Meanwhile, the Germans also were busy. As the New York *World's* exposure of the activities of German agents showed, the seven-acre plant of the Bridgeport Projectile Company, which was created from nothing in the last year, was erected to manufacture munitions for the Central Powers. Some evidence exists to suggest that it was intended chiefly to give a material basis for a gigantic game of bluff by which the Germans should be enabled to contract for great quantities of shell-making machinery and thereby hinder the manufacture of shells for the Allies. However that may be, land was bought and large factories erected at a cost of several millions of dollars; and Bridgeport prospered accordingly.

Meanwhile, our own Government was stimulated to begin taking military precautions, and Bridgeport got the benefit of some of its near-war orders. These came to the Lake Torpedo Boat Company, which manufactures submarines after the designs of Mr. Simon Lake. When the war began, this company was making few boats and had no immediate prospects of expansion in business. But a month ago, the company, having bought new water lots adjoining its old plant, was finishing work which would quadruple its capacity of 1914. Whereas it could build five boats a year at that time, it can now turn out twenty. And the product is intended for the American Navy, as the company has so far refused all foreign orders, though it has been able to maintain this position only with great difficulty.

THE WAR GROWTH OF BRIDGEPORT

Before the war began, a recent careful census showed that 102,000 people lived in Bridgeport. Very conservative estimates, based upon the known new mechanics employed in the factories, upon school statistics, and upon other dependable indications, prove that at least 20,000 people have been added to the population in the last year. By next April, when the Remington plant will probably be fully manned, at least another 20,000 can fairly be added to the estimate. An increase of 40 per cent. in population in eig months is a pretty good performanc even a small boom town in the We achieve it in a staid old manufacturin in New England is to give striking evi of the significance of war orders i economic life of the country.

The war, of course, has not create new mechanics. It has not cause immigration of mechanics from abroa they are all needed at home. In many American artisans have go Europe to work at high wages in Go ment arsenals. Hence the newcom Bridgeport are workmen from other of the United States. But the signifi of their employment here is that the employed. In 1913 and 1914 manufa of all kinds had lagged. Many men laid off; many more were working onl time. The war itself threw still more in certain manufactures, out of Textile mills, especially, were forced t down their staffs because they could n German dyestuffs through the B blockade. But for men thrown o work by industrial depression and b war, the war created new jobs.

EFFECTS ON LABOR

And these new jobs were of a cha that gave the men an opportunity of v they quickly availed themselves—an o tunity to make new and better ter the sale of their labor. Speed is o essence of war contracts. Thus Remington-U. M. C. early went o eight-hour day to get continuous o tion at the highest possible efficiency. choice was between two shifts of t hours each and three shifts of eight each. With American skilled workm customed to the nine-hour day as theo limit, the three-shift eight-hour day w only possible alternative. The com accepted the situation—war contrac highly profitable if the goods are deli and worthless if they are not. And the men they needed, and to keep high wages were offered.

The effect of this situation on conditions in the older establishme Bridgeport is easily imagined. Here powerful new company come to

altogether probably 25,000 men—
s many as the whole town had
employed. It was bidding high to
n. The old concerns simply had
t the competition. Strike after
as declared—some of them foolish,
nsuccessful. But the net result
general adoption of the fifty-hour
Bridgeport in the place of the old
ır day, without reduction in wages.
ıe conflict of Kaiser and Czar
obscure corset makers, silver-
ınd brass workers in New England.
ıot New England only, of course.
ɔove the excited hum of its own
ted industry, Bridgeport reëchoes
ɔund of like industry in other cen-
ar manufactures. Add to Bridge-
activity in Pittsburg, Schenectady,
Providence, Bethlehem, Brooklyn,
ı-on-Hudson, Philadelphia, Toledo,
tee, Birmingham, and other major
of the manufacture of munitions;
that the multitudinous ramifica-
sub-contracts—and the total will
impressionistic picture of the effect
rders on the United States in terms
estacks fuming, lathes and drills
new houses and factories rising,
ork, children in school. Whatever
one may hold of the ethics of the
, its benign effect on the bread-and-
ide of life, for the present at least,
ngly apparent.

AN WAR PROSPERITY LAST?

t last? Already people are dis-
that question in Bridgeport as a
blem just as seriously as economists
nciers in New York are discussing
nal aspects. The man in the street
ɔt. He sees in the coming of peace
n end to an artificial activity—
closing or going back to one shift,
looking for jobs, empty dwellings,
ıe of real estate values, the usual
ıg after" effects of a dead boom.
ıen, of more practical if less vivid
ɪion, see a fairer picture. They
edge, of course, that when war stops
ers will stop. But they see the
ɔtates continuing for the next half
ars the working out of a great plan
of military preparedness that would keep even the Remington plant busy for a long time. They see the neutral nations of Europe and South America taking the same hint from the war and continuing the work of armament. China, they believe, has already placed huge orders for war supplies in this country, orders that have been sidetracked until Europe's demands are met. These things may very well take care of the next few years.

But even if they should not, these men point out, such concerns as the Remington-U. M. C. could continue at work. For they are adapted, both structurally and in their equipment, to the manufacture of almost any sort of tooled metal product. And their owners are the "Standard Oil crowd"—men whose interests are not merely in oil but in chains of retail stores, in mining, in all kinds of business in which great accumulations of capital may make a profit—and members of one or another of the big banking groups—men whose business and whose world-wide outlook puts them earliest in touch with new avenues of profitable investment. What more simple than for men of such power and such vision to find a substitute for munitions with which to keep their factories busy? Surely they are not making an investment in Bridgeport alone—in factories, machinery, land, and houses—that probably totals 20 million dollars, without some such insurance against sheer waste on such an extravagant scale.

What will happen to the sub-contractors and their employees, who have no such insurance, time alone can tell. Doubtless the manufacturers who are not quick enough on their feet to shift into new kinds of profitable manufacture will feel the slump severely—and their working people with them.

But for the present Bridgeport bears witness, along with the dozen or more other cities that are in the business, that war orders pay. Statisticians may prove by abstract figures that the United States is prospering as a result of the war, but in Bridgeport that prosperity is not vague in origin nor intangible in effect. Each man, asking his neighbor, "How's business?" gets the hearty response, "Never better."

THE NEW FRENCH CABINET

HOW THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS CHANGED HORSES IN MIDSTREAM TO GREAT ADVANTAGE—THE REAL REASONS FOR THE NEW MINISTRY—PERSONALITIES AND PARLEMENT

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

THE keynote to the change of the French Ministry was union, Parlementary union. It is an apparently successful attempt to associate every party, every faction, every line of cleavage in French politics. Right, Centre, and Left, as well as the interstices between them, are all represented in a consultative Cabinet which includes nearly all the most eminent public men of this and previous generations.

Nearly every one believed in October that the demission of the old Viviani Ministry was due to the resignation of Delcassé. That was rather the signal for the demission. It had been a long time brewing. Since the beginning of the war dissatisfaction has always been latent because all parties were never represented in the Viviani Ministry. So long as it seemed possible to entertain sanguine hopes for a short war, that Ministry held together, but as France has now come to face a long struggle to the finish the Nation has realized, and its leaders have determined, that the coöperation of all parties in the State is vital to the national endurance; that only by a literally united effort can eventual success be hoped for.

Bearing in mind, then, that this change in Government has been Parlementary rather than popular, the counterplay of personality makes the change still more reasonable and understandable.

Viviani is a neurasthenic. He writes his speeches and recites them by heart. He has, by the same token, very little forensic power, cannot by voice and presence hold the Deputies. For many years he has suffered from bad health. If for no other reason, therefore, change in leadership is justified because it has been necessary for the French Government in these decisive times to have at the he War Ministry a dominant leader power and ability of self-expre public, a gripping personality. Bri new Premier, is that man.

It would be too much to say that has failed. His retention in the m istry is partial proof that he h Viviani is New France—the new Frenchman of this generation crop here and there in public affairs, wh in reality Frenchmen. He is an A a colonial of Corsican origin. H brilliant early career in Paris. Millerand, the deposed Minister both distinguished themselves at early age as advocates and as leade then new Socialist Party. But never made any success as a great or speaker, though Millerand emph did. Viviani's ability has been of ent character: strong in judgment, counsel, very vigorous in the orga of political movements, and invalu keeping up their *esprit de corps*.

Now he goes back to a portfolio, Justice, with comparatively little work attached to it, and to admini functions for which he is bette than for the premiership in the con foreign affairs. In his direction new portfolio the Government still his peculiar abilities undiminished i though in a less conspicuous position is only another instance of an e player making a mediocre captain.

This new French Government posed, with few exceptions, of ol men beyond three-score. In Fra an enormous number of men wh ordinarily figure in political life ha called to the colors. All the young the Parlement, if, because of bad h

bility, they were not called to the not care to appear at all promi- the present circumstances. This on that the Cabinet is so venera- lic opinion in France devotedly at the main duty of a Frenchman o and 45 years of age is to be in fighting for France. And that nion which, as the war progresses, nore and more like a creed or a not understand political excuses. s who come under the law and avoid its proscription will never Chamber of Deputies again.

THE NEW LEADER

w Cabinet of France is a Govern- and by lawyers for the people. very Government since the be- the Republic has been a collection , a survival of the fittest lawyers . Every President of France, exception of Carnot and Faure, lawyer. President Poincaré, be- ection, was admittedly one of the able corporation lawyers in The other was Millerand the new Premier, is also a lawyer, rom Nantes. In public life he is vely a newcomer, his career being f the last fifteen years or so, and hort public life compared to the rs of Viviani's politics. He began a lieutenant of Jean Jaurès in the Party and founded with that tri- e people *L'Humanitie*, the Social- He entered the Deputies first in he age of 40, representing then e, a Socialist stronghold. He has n a most liberal spirit, of supreme patient of political convention. s ardent belief in a free Church e State which made him in the the Chamber of Deputies the f the measure in 1906 which parated Church and State in But to this measure, most vitally is country in its religious, social, cal structure, he brought a very it, so broad, indeed, and so lack- otry that by his very moderation sed all the more violent radicals, eads in French politics who flame Right or on the Left.

Undoubtedly Briand is and has long been chief of all that representative part of political France which may be called the Centre. Beginning very radically and Socialistically, he has constantly grown more balanced, less of a self-seeker, less of a partisan, until now he has achieved something of the clear statesmanship of a Venizelos. Indeed, without the strength of that Greek statesman, he is in a way the Venizelos of France.

MILLERAND

Now, Millerand, excellent lawyer as he is, is quite another man from either Poincaré or Briand. He began his public life in almost precisely the same way as Briand did, but, instead of broadening and sweetening as he grew older in the public service, he has grown more impatient and intolerant. With the exception of Delcassé, he was notoriously the hardest man in the old Cabinet for his subordinates and colleagues to work with—a *sauvage*, as they called him in the Chamber of Deputies, never a diplomat.

What made Millerand was the three-years' military service law, passed in 1913, by which he has been widely credited with saving France. There is no disputing his patriotism; that was merely the most notable of a series of patriotic measures he has advocated, and whether or not he, or Briand as some people believe, is chiefly responsible for the inception of the most important of all French military measures before the war, he at least it was who gave to that legislation the fiery and compelling advocacy in Parlement and before French public opinion which carried it into a law.

DELCASSÉ

Delcassé, like Millerand, is a man of enormous ability but, also like Millerand, one with whom his colleagues have found it almost impossible to work smoothly. His desk, they say, resembled an elephant's nest. A dispatch or letter once lost in it could never be found. Yet Delcassé was probably the only man in the first War Ministry, who long ago, at the very beginning of the war, correctly diagnosed the situation in the Balkans. He is believed to have opposed vehemently the policy

of the Entente Allies in southeastern Europe of which Sir Edward Grey was the chief spokesman. He opposed the abortive operations at the Dardanelles. But with all his shrewd judgment and accurate foresight, he lacked the power to carry his opinions into action or to make converts.

The presence in the old Ministry of Millerand and Delcassé, as may be observed, made administrative coöperation merely a theory. It is now a fact, a practice. A strengthening of the Ministry might have been accomplished, one would think, by additions to the old Cabinet, but these two human obstacles lay in the course. And it should be said, in addition to Millerand's disturbance value, that although he and Viviani have been for many years closely associated in friendship and in politics they are now no longer on good terms.

Delcassé was determined to resign and Millerand could not be made to resign. In this deadlock the only course open was for the entire Cabinet forthwith to resign and give Briand, who had been for several weeks previously assuring himself of the support of the most eminent men in French politics, a chance to begin the framing of his Ministry of all the talents. Millerand's resignation was thus compelled because of the intense opposition of the Parlement.

Here, then, we have a curious instance of seeming political paradox; for in the two similar cases of Delcassé and Millerand each Minister had very strong popular support while at the same time each was very nearly unanimously opposed by the people's representatives in Parlement. A slightly different phase of this opposition kept out of the new Ministry another Gambetta-like patriot, Emile Barthou. He was kept in the background by the implacable partisans of Caillaux. In the famous Caillaux trial Barthou made a very persuasive witness against Caillaux, with the result that the latter's friends, disorganized now but still influential, have kept Barthou out of office.

Just as Viviani has not strictly failed, neither has Millerand, as Minister of War, made bad. He has made good as Minister of War, but he has fallen short of expectation because of his inability or unwillingness *to work in harmony* with the other members of the old family. And this dis in Cabinet councils cuts beneath amount of individual ability in se departmental offices. The Army ha for Millerand all along, partly becaus acknowledgment of the three-year ment plan, generally credited to hi already said, and also because he has interfered with Joffre.

GALLIÉNI, THE NEW WAR MINIST

Now Galliéni, who has taken Mille place, was generally expected to int with Joffre and with the general cond the whole army establishment. As a g and as a military administrator of ur length of experience, it would have most natural for him to do so. I would have been most unwise to ann any such change of policy.

Hence we have Briand's official annc ment to the contrary on Novembe when, in commenting on the change War portfolio, he expressly disasso the reconstruction of the Government any possible changes in the high com of the armies.

General Galliéni, who contribute winning stroke to the Battle of the I by throwing in his Paris garrison 50,000 strong on Von Kluck's right has with that and one other brillia ception been always more of a mi administrator than a commanding c He began to be known by the publi colonel, distinguishing himself for orga ability in Tongking, in French Indo-C His one military exploit up to the Ba the Marne was in Madagascar, when brigadier-general, he led a column Mòjangà (the port on the Strait of ambique, where his troops disemb to Antanànarivò (capital of the Hòva dom) in brilliant style, finishing a tive expedition, which might easily taken a year or more with less pre in a sharp campaign of two months a reward for this service he wa pointed governor-general of Madagas province to the organization of which voted himself with tireless efficienc rare success. Galliéni is what the F call a sweet-minded man. His subord sometimes reproach him with being

than military. So he is. And a good
, too, in his new position.
lmiral Lacaze, the new Minister of
ne, was in command of the French
er squadron blockading the Adriatic
ıe beginning of the war. It is not
rally known that at that time Admiral
apeyrere, who commanded the French
iterranean fleet, did not engage the
rians when he had an excellent oppor-
y to do so. Lacaze, who seems to be
ıd of Bob Evans of the French navy,
so mad to engage the enemy that he
promptly broke for his insubordinate
t at the time and for his subsequent
ıl reports to the Ministry of Marine.
einstatement at the head of the navy
ınts, therefore, to a most complete
eration and apparent approval of
: vigorous sea tactics.

THE OLD GUARD REINSTATED

their paramount desire to make of this
abinet an administrative body which
ld eliminate every possible cause of
nsion and should therefore present
strength of a united Parlementary
ort, Briand and his co-artificers have
ı in several ancient members who
be comparatively useless except as
ols of union. For example, the vener-
De Freycinet is nearly ninety; Leon
geois is close to seventy and ill at that;
bes is past eighty.
: Freycinet—author, scientist, railroad
ıger, statesman—they used to say
ı ago, was the most intelligent man in
ce. He was Gambetta's War Minister
70 and drew the prestige then gained
ıto his later life. He it was who in
urrendered Egypt to the British, an
lent piece of work for all concerned.
ng the last generation he has played
st picturesque rôle in French politics.
tite souris blanche, they call him in the
nber: "the little white mouse," for
white, and small, and thin, and mousy,
ıg hither and yon in public affairs
an alertness beyond his years.
on Bourgeois, another one of the five
lled Ministers of State—the other
: in addition to De Freycinet being
bes, Guesde, and Denys-Cochin—was,
D'Estournelles de Constant, the
representative of France at the Hague in 1907. He is essentially a pacifist or, more exactly, an ex-pacifist, for one cannot be pacific in France very well just now. Here again we find, however, the zeal to include all possible veins of political sympathy or angles and points of view in a comprehensive union. It is almost as though, to make perfectly sure of getting Congress all together behind emergency measures, our present Administration in Washington should find it advisable or necessary to bring Mr. Bryan back into the fold he once forsook.

Another example of the same endeavor we find in the close association as Ministers of State of M. Combes and M. Denys-Cochin, the former the chief of the anti-Clerical Party, the latter the leading Clerical and Monarchist, who also, as a representative of the extreme conservatives, finds himself now yoked up with the fifth member of this Ministry of State, Jules Guesde, who is an extreme Socialist. One would have thought a year and a half ago that acid and alkali would mix better.

M. Emile Combes, the old chief of the Radical Party, is an anti-Clerical of the most fanatical type. Briand reported the bill, but Combes was the man who actually separated Church from State in a movement that was approved by the majority of the intelligent people in France. But afterward he went too far. Together with the Minister of War at that time, General André, he tried to expel from the army all the so-called Clerical officers, using for this purpose the *système des fiches* (literally, slip system), in which, with censuslike thoroughness, he encouraged every officer to denunciate such of his comrades to the Cabinet as were supposed to be Clericals, so that their promotions could be stopped. Such insidious extremes stirred up strong opposition. Clemenceau, although himself very anti-Clerical, fought a measure which struck at the very roots of the army, and Combes, with General André, had to leave the Cabinet. Since that time he has been so unpopular that it is difficult to imagine what strength he is now capable of adding to the new Ministry.

The Clerical opposite of Combes in French politics is his present colleague,

Denys-Cochin. This man, also the leading Monarchist member of the Cabinet, is the descendant of a Parisian family of very old bourgeoisie who were made noble about eighty years ago. In the eighteenth century one of his great-grand-uncles constructed the "Hôpital Cochin," in Paris and some early representatives of the family were very well known as engravers to the Court. He is closely related to all the Faubourg Saint Germain. M. Denys-Cochin, who has been a member of Parlement for twenty-five years or more, has always taken a great interest in foreign affairs. In the discussion of the Balkan question he has always had a prominent part, advocating the interests of the Greeks against those of Bulgaria. As he is very popular in Athens, it is most probable that his mission to the Levant, on which he embarked in the middle of November, was with a view of helping Lord Kitchener to influence King Constantine in favor of the Entente Allies.

A remarkable fact which should be remembered about Jules Guesde, the chief of the Socialist Party, and now the fifth member of the Ministry of State, is that he was the only Socialist leader in France who refused to take part in the agitation in favor of Dreyfus. He consistently held the view that the Dreyfus affair was essentially a fight between the army and the rich Jewish class and therefore did not materially interest Labor. Furthermore, he has always supported the idea of a National Socialist Party, and has never been disposed to sympathize with the Germanophile faction headed by Jaurès. The pro-German feelings of Jaurès were very strong.

The other Socialist member of the Cabinet, Marcel Sembat, the Minister for Public Works, also belongs to the same wing of the Socialist Party as Guesde. Just before the war he wrote a book called *Faites un roi ou faites la paix*—Make a king or make peace—in which he pointed out the deficiencies in the French democracy and advocated some arrangements with Germany in order to fight the whole monarchical principle in Europe. Marcel Sembat belongs to a family of millionaires. He was educated by the priests in one of the most aristocratic colleges in Paris and for this reason the priests now consider him as a betrayer of the faith, although as a matter of fact he is one of the most honest and talented men in French politics.

M. THOMAS, MINISTER OF MUNITIONS

The only newcomer in the present Cabinet is the Minister for Munitions, Thomas, who is also one of the very few young men included in the new Ministry. As he is extremely near-sighted—so much so as to be of small value with a rifle—he can honorably hold up his head in the councils of the nation. He, too, belongs to the Socialist Party, and although he entered quite recently into political life—being only about thirty years of age—he had already taken a distinguished and prominent part in the discussion of financial and economic matters before the war.

Jules Cambon, for ten years French Ambassador at Berlin, is now nominally the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the new Cabinet, acting of course in that capacity under Briand. But there are those who believe that his brother, Paul Cambon, Ambassador to the Court of St. James, is the actual Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is at least probable that from across the Channel comes a good deal of the initiative in the foreign policy of France just now, or at least of suggestion, for Paul is the stronger of the two brothers, a man of very extraordinary intelligence and vital personality. Of the two, however, Jules is the more diplomatic; his previously made connections all over the world are intimate and most useful. Even now he is writing regularly private letters to certain influential ladies in Washington who keep him posted more accurately, or perhaps, let us say, far more humanly, on affairs in this country than his official sources of information are able to do.

This brotherhood is a strength for France. Particularly is it a strength for the Anglo-French Entente at a time when many reverses and some mistakes have arisen to jeopardize the full sympathy and mutuality of these two allied nations.

IE OUTLOOK FOR AN ABOUNDING PROSPERITY

SOUND IMPROVEMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN BUSINESS AND AGRICULTURE, AND THEIR PROMISE FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

BY

A. W. DOUGLAS

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SIMMONS HARDWARE COMPANY, ST. LOUIS, MO.

EW traits in human nature are more persistent and obvious than the desire to lift the veil which shrouds the future.

This is particularly true at a when we are confronted with the ean war conditions, which not only ur imagination, but are of such vital t as to engage our thoughts in an vor to analyze the possibilities and ood of the effects upon our country the war is over. It is a fascinating , but, being fraught with many per- ies and likewise because of new and d conditions, seems difficult of exact sis. Yet commercial business of pith moment and of much ramification take some thought of to-morrow un- he conduct of its affairs be left to opportunism and to the hazard of chances.

tunately we have at home in the of the future of our own country hing which affects us more immedi- and concerning which it is possible ke some definite prophecy.

e difference between normal activity mmercial life and abounding prosper- largely that of mere replacement or ull measure of the development of al resources. This is the principal of the great business booms in new nly partly developed countries such nada, the Argentine, and the United as contrasted with the most pro- ed expressions of industrial life in der countries of Europe. The younger ries are producing actual new wealth elemental sense while in the old business prosperity is less wide- l and less accentuated in its extreme expression because it consists largely of industrial life which is usually dependent upon foreign demand for its greatest activity. A salient example is the build- ing industry, whose ultimate ramifications affect every line of commercial life and which in new and growing countries is a business of enormous import as compared with its position and its effect in older and more settled nations. Since 1907 not only building but nearly every other form of creative effort has in general been at a low ebb as compared with more prosperous periods. And the return of an era of such development will usher in a period of prosperity such as we have never witnessed. It is somewhat of a commonplace that in all the principal metals and minerals we have untouched and unworked deposits such as cannot be matched elsewhere in the world, that our great waterways have as yet scarcely felt the needed touch of improvement, that our vast forests still standing have abundant supplies for un- told years to come if only intelligent for- estry be applied to them; that potential electric motive power from innumerable streams has only made a beginning of its possibilities; that we shall easily be, in not far distant time, the world's centre in an increasing number of manufacturing industries, especially in iron and steel, cotton and machinery; that our railroad building, from untoward causes, lags far behind its possibilities and our general needs, while electric transportation is but in its infancy.

We have a growing abundance of the capital that is needed for all these develop- ments and a currency system which places our commercial and industrial life upon a

sound and enduring basis. The average man knows little and cares less concerning the details and workings of the Federal Reserve Act, but he feels that banking, the Brahman caste of commercial life, has at last been democratized and that the panics of 1893 and 1907 are hereafter forever impossible. Those who study fundamental conditions from the vantage ground of personal observation have the optimism bred by a knowledge of facts in regard to the great expansion that, for these industries that I have named, barring the unexpected, lies immediately ahead of us.

This optimism exists because of the further developments that are both present and imminent in the compelling cause of all prosperity, the ancient and honorable business of agriculture. There is not now needed any especial exposition of the fast-growing conviction in general that successful agriculture lies at the basis of all national welfare, and that an undue accentuation of any other industry at the expense of agriculture is usually marked by equally undue stress of social and economic troubles and problems. Both Old England and New England are to-day rather glaring examples of the truth of this statement. The problem of agriculture to-day is that of making it a business and not a matter of mere rule-of-thumb practice and inheritance as has been done largely in the past. To do this needs a coördination of the experiences of the past and the scientific study and experiment of the day. This is being done slowly and patiently, single-mindedly and surely, though under many discouragements, by the Federal Department of Agriculture and the great state universities of the South and the West. These latter institutions are creating a class of intelligent farmers who, by the process of increasing production per acre at a less proportionate increase in the cost of so doing, are making the threat of the Malthusian doctrine of no further import and interest than as a subject for academic discussion by cloistered economists. For it must be remembered that among the essentials of an advancing civilization are sufficient clothing and wholesome and abundant food at moderate prices.

One of the striking results of the teachings of these institutions—federal and state—is seen in the status of that great stretch of country from the 95 Meridian of longitude north and south to the Canadian and Mexican borders and westward to the Pacific Ocean. Much of this territory is naturally arid or semi-arid and the sum of these two comprises one-third of the total area of the United States. Steadily this country of the forbidding and inhospitable desert is being reclaimed to productive agriculture by means of dry farming, irrigation, and the cultivation of drought-resisting plants.

Without attempting to go into details, let it be said that these three elements have created a widespread and permanent system of agriculture in this vast area, where before there existed only a sterile waste; that many millions of dollars' worth of various agricultural products are consequently being added annually to our national wealth; and that this process of the reclamation of the desert goes on slowly but steadily. Much of this development has been within the last decade, and there is no sign of its slackening.

In the older states to the East agricultural progress is marked by a slowly rising increase in production per acre through several decades. The natural consequence is found in the statement that, contrary to a generally held belief, there is nothing in the price records of the last half century that indicates any permanent tendency of grains to advance, and that on the contrary, prior to the European war, they were cheaper than a generation ago, and fruits and vegetables were never so abundant and so low priced as they were during the last summer.

OUR GREAT POTENTIAL RICHES

The fact is that we have always so large a surplus of every great agricultural product that we must needs find a foreign market, and this was never truer than at present, when the abundance of food in this country for man and beast was never so great. This should be sufficient answer to those Cassandra-like prophecies of woe which find voice in the daily press and in articles of uninformed statisticians as

ıpproaching time when we shall be a food-importing country. That jeremiad about the social and ic evils wrought by the steadily ng price of farm lands has some of real concern, but it fails to take :ount that only about 27 per cent. ırable land of the country is under ion, that the reclamation of the goes on ceaselessly, and that there proximately 70 million acres of lands in this country, most of which able of being economically drained manently added to our productive They are generally alluvial de- ınd consequently of that type of stible richness that has given pro- ness to the valley of the Nile for thousand years.

gets into the daily press of the illions of acres already drained and vation, but in the valley of the ppi River it is fast becoming a question with the swelling de- hat some of the revenues of the nent be devoted to this construc- k. So far the work is largely being private enterprise or organizations e immediately interested, with of fever-breeding marshes being med into wealth-producing fields.

AND-MADE GARDEN OF EDEN"

e in point is that of Southeast Mis- nce the abode of "one gallus" men ovely women in sun bonnets who d largely on quinine, moonshine and "hog and hominy." Most of nps have been drained, and it is e of the richest and most progres- tions of the state, with a population ubled in the last decade. There is the unquestioned and indefinable f the desert, and even of the gloomy turesque swamp, but the greater o-day is that of hand-made Gar- Eden where once the coyote and lesnake held sway, and, in the re- swamp land of the Mississippi the ebbing of the malarial marsh recrudescence of that primitive type and spirit which made our great and keeps it so despite the ng problems forced upon it by the degeneracy and degradation of the congested centres.

Among the many economic questions of the times is that of the high cost of meat for food. It is not a new problem either in its manifestation or its effects, and its solution seems already in sight. The alarmist cry—that meat as food will become ere long a luxury for the few because of increasing prices—finds no support from facts. Within the last eighteen months the number of all animals used for food has shown an appreciable increase, and this increase, with the exception of sheep, is greater than the proportionate increase in population. Likewise, their prices have receded from the high levels that prevailed a few years ago.

THE NEW SOUTH

The South is the greatest of several factors in the solution of this problem, since by climate and soil it is peculiarly fitted as a great cattle-raising country. But for many long, weary years it has been infested with the Texas fever, or cattle tick, whose existence made cattle-raising on a large scale in the South economically impossible. In 1906, the Federal and State Governments of the South joined hands in a campaign for the eradication of this pest. One third of the infested territory has been cleared and the remainder of the work is merely a question of time and needed appropriations. The result will be shown in a decreasing importation of meat supplies and a gradual resumption of former great exports in this direction. It also marks another step in that diversification of agricultural industries which necessity under the guise of the cotton boll weevil and the European war forced upon the Southern planter and farmer. To-day diversification of the crops in the South is an accomplished fact with the results of a "self-contained" country as to food supplies of all kinds as well as "money crops" to sell, and upon a solid foundation on which to build prosperity such as is new to all its former experiences. Psychologically, the effect is even more far-reaching than materially, for a one-crop country is one of inherited conservatism, slow to move and much wedded to the ways and

ideals of the past, whereas a country of diversification is a many-sided one, alike in thought as in industries, receptive and alive to new impressions and to all the progressive ideas of the day.

AN ERA OF SOUND THINKING

But mere material wealth and the certainty of its development are not alone sufficient basis for an enduring prosperity that shall be widespread in its effects and that shall not be marked with that wild orgy of speculation and exploitation that accompanied the ending of the Spanish War. The needed elements of soundness and readiness are found in the temper of public thought that demands facts as its pabulum and incentive to action and that can no longer fill its belly with the husks of inheritance and tradition. The illusions and delusions of centuries are crumbling away under a leveling criticism that comes from a public which more and more is living upon realities and tests men and institutions in the crucible of individual and collective thinking. It is the peculiar service of the great state universities of the South and the West that they are training the coming American citizen in the ideals of democracy—those of living and acting upon facts which will stand the test of thinking. There is consequently abroad to-day as never before a constructive thought that naturally finds expression in action. In commercial life it passes under the shibboleth of "efficiency" and in the countryside it is known as "modern scientific agriculture." It has assumed in rural life a most significant aspect in the regeneration of the small town, filling it with local pride and ambition, so that life in it may be worth while as a place of sanitation, cleanliness, companionship, and pleasure, and that the great city be no longer the Mecca of those of noble discontent. In such instances it means better roads, more and better schools, running water, electric lights, libraries, and places of amusement. All these things have the natural result of creating a demand for those material improvements that mark an advancing civilization just as the use of automobiles has created an enormous business in many widely diverse channels. Another trait of this mode of thought is a tendency to definite and constructive action. The somewhat common plaint among certain ones in high estate that the drift of public opinion is destructive to commercial action and enterprise comes only from a radical misunderstanding of the situation. There was much discontent with some methods used and results obtained, but not with the principles of action involved. The means, not the end, were in question. There were not wanting errors and mistakes in the economic agitation and legislation of the last decade—but the purpose and intent was not, as is often vainly imagined, that of mere leveling and insensate destruction, but rather the removal of antiquated and out-of-date rookeries of past custom and belief that merely cumbered the ground that more fitting and appropriate methods and institutions might occupy their place. The things of tradition and inheritance are often picturesque and interesting in literature and art, but in the realm of economic life they are too often mere sacred fetishes hung like millstones around the neck of modern progress.

Now as never before in human history the thought and wish is for such times as shall conduce to the benefit of the many, and in which humanity in general shall have proportionate share. The troublous times of the past are in evidence only that the mistakes made may be remedied and the principles enforced that were evolved out of much stress. That great deterrent to action, enterprise, and development, the nightmare and horror of the European war, is fast losing its influence, and a new hopefulness and optimism have taken its place. So with a sober consideration of the essential facts involved—material facts and psychological—the vision of the future seems one of cheer and of confidence.

COLLECTING ACCOUNTS IN FOREIGN TRADE

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

THERE is no more important detail in the vast field of foreign trade than the question of credit. It is the Scylla and Charybdis of the export trade, any a promising venture has been fully launched only to come to grief rocks of non-payment. Usually the an be traced to a lack of common nd even to a lack of courtesy such ld be employed ordinarily in dealing ustomers at home. A striking ex- of this was shown in the case of a re merchant who sold some mer- se to a firm in Japan. Thirty days ie goods had been shipped from the a letter asking for payment was to the Japanese firm. This was d at eight-day intervals by, first, a tter, then a strong demand, a last followed this, and finally a letter ning to bring suit unless payment ade at once. And this despite the at it takes about a fortnight for a o reach Japan, not to mention the of time required for freight to reach ination.

method of defining payment dates ns of a time draft of sixty or ninety s perhaps the most satisfactory otaining payment and the one om sheer force of merit will be d in the foreign trade of the United ooner or later. By the time draft is the method whereby sixty or ninety s the case may be, after the delivery ls a draft payable at sight for pay- f goods is presented and is expected aken up by the customer at once. mestic system of an open account is e considered, as in times of financial ncy) such as occurred at the outbreak war) the manufacturer is often left o capital to carry on his business. gh there are many exporting manufacturers whose first export sales were made in this way, this was done merely because the firms involved failed to consider the question in all its phases and assumed that no better method of defining the date of payment existed than that of the open account. This failure to consider the questions involved in exporting is unfortunately an American trait, but it is being rapidly lost in the expansion of our foreign trade and the consequent infiltration of foreign ideas.

At the very commencement of European hostilities a manufacturer of dry goods in Ohio took account of the money owed to him by foreign merchants. He found to his dismay that to offset the growth of sales in neutral markets he had outstanding roughly $50,000 in open accounts which the records proved took five months to collect, although based on the terms of payment to be made sixty days from the date of the first invoice.

This manufacturer was faced with a certainty of additional delays in payment on account of disturbed monetary conditions due to the outbreak of the war, particularly affecting the exchange rate of money, and furthermore, the mysterious "moratorium," or postponement of the payment of all debts, had a most alarming and indefinite sound. To complicate matters further the manufacturer had undertaken the erection of additions to his plant, and he also found that his domestic payments were coming in slowly.

One of the first remedies suggested was to place all overdue foreign accounts in the hands of attorneys in the countries involved and to press for immediate payment. It was expected that this summary method would sacrifice the foreign business, but that it would result in some collections of money which would permit the completion of the partly erected additions.

FOR THE MOTORIST'S CONVENIENCE
An automobile searchlight with a focusing adjustment that makes it possible to adjust the lamp for any beam

stantly for any kind of beam without disturbing it in any way or removing it from its position.

HEATING A BOILER BY ELECTRICITY

ONE of the Pacific Coast electric companies, finding that the chief obstacle in selling electric ranges was the problem of heating water, has worked out a plan by means of which the equipment necessary for the electric range will also include that of the water heater. The water heater in the picture below, which was specially designed by the company, is operated only when the electric range is not in use.

REMOVING TELEPHONE POLES

A JACK has been recently designed especially for the removal of telephone, telegraph, and electric light poles. It eliminates the necessity of digging around the pole and saves labor and time.

The pole jack is single-acting, operating

AN ELECTRIC WATER HEATER
Which is operated in connection with an electric range when the latter is not being otherwise used

on the down stroke of the lever, or tripping at any point. At the end of its entire lift, the cap may be dropped back to take a new hold on the pole. A pole weighing fifteen tons and twenty-four inches in diameter at the base can be lifted thirty-nine inches without readjustment of the cap and chain. The jack pivots vertically on its own base from thirty to ninety degrees and follows the angle of the pole that is being pulled.

TO REMOVE TELEGRAPH POLES

A jack which recently removed a telegraph pole imbedded five feet in the ground in nineteen minutes without the usual preliminary digging

MOWING WEEDS ON A RAILROAD

A MOWING apparatus that cuts the weeds and grass at the rate of three miles an hour on both sides of railroad tracks at the same time, cutting a six-foot swath on each side, is a device that has recently been put into operation. One man on each side of the machine operates two levers which easily raise, lower, or tilt the cutter bars so that they follow the ground. A varying slope of the grade makes no difference as the mowing bars may be quickly raised to avoid obstructions.

A RAILROAD WEED CUTTER

Which cuts a six-foot swath on each side of the track at the rate of three miles an hour

REFILLING TRENCHES
A simple, power-driven machine for refilling trenches that can operate in four directions

A GASOLENE-DRIVEN TRENCH FILLER

A NEW power-driven trench filler has its engine and winding drum mounted on a turn-table. This turn-table swings easily and can be locked in four positions to permit the use of the winding drum from the front, rear, and at right angles to the truck, so that the power can be applied in any direction required. The entire operation of backfilling is controlled by one lever. The machine is moved forward by its own power as the work progresses.

BORING HOLES IN PILES UNDER WATER

A CONTRACTING company on the Great Lakes, finding that it had to bore holes for tie-rods in several thousand piles under water, devised a special machine for the purpose.

This under-water boring machine consists of sills 30 feet long, with two depending frames which slide along the sills and carry horizontal guides for the augers.

In operation, the framework is placed on the top of the piles.

A MACHINE TO BORE HOLES UNDER WATER
A device, perfected by a contracting company on the Great Lakes, that saves both time and labor

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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COUNTRY LIFE IN AMERICA THE GARDEN MAGAZINE — FARMING

CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32d Street

EMPEROR YUAN SHIH-KAI

THE ONE STRONG MAN OF CHINA, WHO, AS VICEROY, PREMIER, PRESIDENT, AND EMPEROR, HAS KEPT HIS HANDS ON THE DESTINY OF HIS COUNTRY SINCE THE DEATH OF LI HUNG-CHANG

[See page 370]

THE
WORLD'S WORK

FEBRUARY, 1916

UME XXXI

NUMBER 4

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

GERMANY, in the apology for the sinking of the *Arabic*, promised to abide by a decent standard of humanity in the further conduct of its sub- ine warfare and has since reiterated promise.

ustria, in the disavowal of the act of submarine commander who sank the *ona*, promised likewise to abide by the nary dictates of civilization in her war- at sea.

o force such admissions from the two ers most committed to the "might is t" theory of warfare, in the midst of nadness of war, is a large achievement plomacy, not only in its bearings upon war but upon the future conduct of and upon the reliance of nations upon peaceful methods of diplomacy even elligerent times.

his achievement will probably stand in history after its cost has been for- en. But the cost has been consider- . Since we first announced that we ld hold the belligerent nations to a . the lives of Amer- e proceeding at sea American citizens the *Lusitania*, the d the *Persia*. The down *on these* ships have paid in full for our diplomatic achievement. The Nation as a whole has paid somewhat in the loss of esteem in which it is held abroad. This loss is not what some of our citizens who are over-sensitive to foreign comment believe, but still the loss in a certain kind of prestige has cost us something.

Also, during the time of the negotiations those who for various reasons questioned the wisdom of our maintaining our rights at sea had time to carry forward their propaganda, and many who were but momentarily roused by the sinking of the *Lusitania* from the allurements of a returning prosperity sank back into the indifference of commercialism.

We have paid in several ways to re-establish rights that were already our own; and to pay for what belongs to you leaves an unpleasant feeling. But the flat truth is we had no choice but to pay in one way or another. To put it plainly, we had either to argue or to fight or to do both. We argued with skill and patience and with sufficient force to carry our point. To those who wanted to fight the result is not satisfactory.

We have achieved a diplomatic victory for the United States, made an honest and patient effort to serve the cause of peace, and paid the price.

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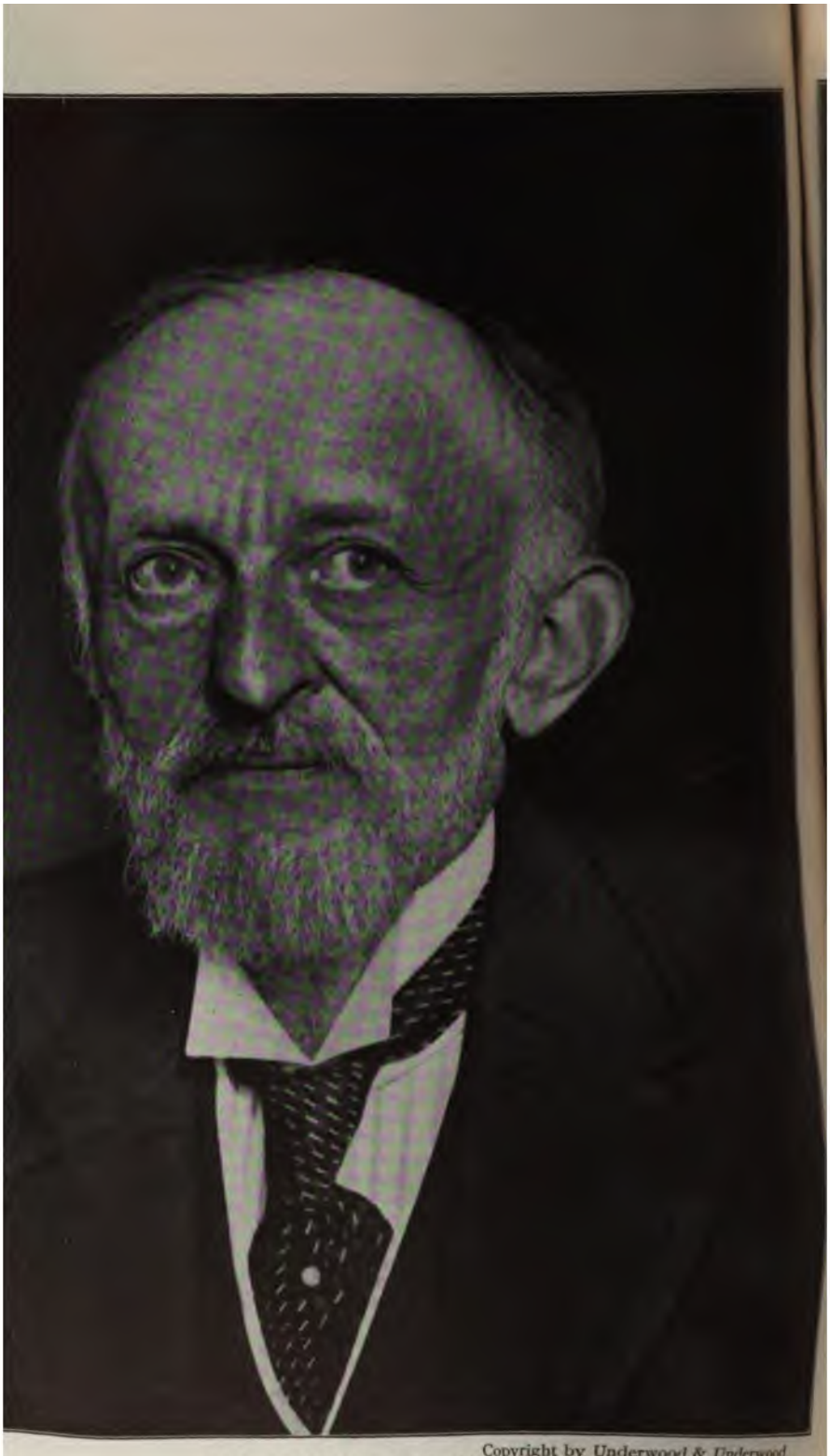

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MR. OSCAR S. STRAUS

EW CHAIRMAN OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION OF THE *FIRST DISTRICT* OF
, WHOSE APPOINTMENT RESTORES A FAST-WANING PUBLIC *CONFIDENCE IN THIS*
G BODY

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MR. H. SNOWDEN MARSHALL

FEDERAL DISTRICT ATTORNEY FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, TO WHOSE EFFORTS IS LARGELY DUE THE RECENT INDICTMENT OF MEMBERS OF LABOR'S NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL FOR A CONSPIRACY TO RESTRAIN TRADE IN WAR MUNITIONS

MR. CHARLES A. STONE

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION, WHICH WAS RECENTLY FORMED TO PROMOTE UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES IN FOREIGN LANDS BY MEANS OF AMERICAN CAPITAL AND THEREBY TO CREATE A MARKET FOR AMERICAN GOODS

MR. J. G. WHITE

OF J. G. WHITE & COMPANY, OF NEW YORK, WHO HAS RECENTLY FORMED THE LATIN-ICAN PUBLIC WORKS CORPORATION TO DEVELOP CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN URCES BY MEANS OF AMERICAN CAPITAL AND LABOR

(See page 380)

MAJOR ROBERT R. MOTON

THE NEW PRINCIPAL OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, A FULL-BLOODED NEGRO, DESCENDA
OF AN AFRICAN WAR CHIEF, WHOSE ABILITIES AS AN ADMINISTRATOR AND AS A LEADER
HIS RACE WELL FIT HIM TO CARRY ON THE WORK OF THE LATE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE ENSE OF AMERICAN RIGHTS

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER'S 'Life and Letters of John Hay" is a passage which every thinking Ameri- night well read twice and ponder over. ns thus:

During the half-century following the War, American development refutes ommon saying that war is good for a le because, in calling out their courage requiring of them fortitude and self- fice not less than valor, it puts them to test of ultimate reality. In truth, ver, though there have been wars igh all the ages, none has ever yet l the most intimate social diseases, on the contrary, war causes these to ish and it raises up other evils . . . The two benefits which resulted from merican Civil War were the abolition avery and the preservation of the raphical union of the United States. ng the evils it bequeathed were sec- lism, a diminished respect of the n for the State, the commutation of otism into pensions, the preferment of ers to civil offices for which they were , the centralization of the national rnmental power, and the unbridling tional extravagance.

'erhaps we should count as a third it the swiftness with which, in 1865, Union and the Southern armies dis- d. Yesterday, a million soldiers hot battle; to-day, as if transformed by a cian's wand, a million farmers, clerks, hants, laborers, operatives—busy at their peaceful tasks. No military otism; no truculence of Pretorian ds; no Prussian war lord and his rlings compelling a nation to worship ch as the highest god. In the nob- qualities of a soldier, the Americans never been surpassed; and yet they ied in disbanding that they knew that , not war, is the normal state, the ciety. Small wonder at roused the admira-

ways the Civil War Democracy. It filled n President to *hog-*

reeve—with ex-soldiers. Five Presidents —Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, and McKinley—came into the White House, directly or indirectly, because of their military record. The corruption of an institution begins when those who pilot it are chosen for qualities contrary, if not foreign, to its purpose. So, too, the desperate need of money to finance the war led to the adoption of a high tariff, which stimulated unhealthy production: and, when the war was over, the beneficiaries of the tariff—like the fever-patient who, on his recovery, finds the morphine habit fixed upon him—demanded higher protection and still higher. The Republican Party, already ominously strong because of its prestige in the Civil War, made Protection the cornerstone of its creed; and it veiled the fact that it was the capitalists' party by claiming to protect American labor; yet it revealed its true spirit in encouraging unrestricted immigration, in order to supply capitalists with the cheapest labor.

"The captains of industry, the manufacturers and mine-owners and promoters, controlled the Government in so far as they caused it to fix the tariff rates they themselves dictated—a denial of that principle of equality which is the sheet anchor of Democracy. They were numbered by thousands, or at most by tens of thousands. The multitudes who beset the Government for favor and support through the pension system reached a million or more. Dignity, self-respect, honesty itself succumbed to the temptation of the pension-mongers. Frauds were so frequent that the Pension Bureau ceased to allow the rolls of its beneficiaries to be inspected—the most shameless official conniving at robbery this country has known.

"With the pensioners as with the capitalists the primal harm was not the shocking waste of public money but the debasement of civic ideas. The four thousand million dollars poured out to the veterans created a vast body of Americans who regarded the National Treasury as fair prey for every rapacity. The conception that each citizen should defend public money from theft or waste even more scrupulously than he would a private trust was dismissed as an

iridescent dream. Another stab to Democracy, which cannot function perfectly unless every member is honest."

This is a fair picture of how the Republican Party used its long and almost unbroken tenure of office. That tenure would have ended sooner except for two men. Mr. Bryan made the Democratic Party impossible. Mr. Roosevelt made the Republican Party possible. While he did not strike at the root of the evils, he hewed down a goodly lot of evil top growth. And he gave the United States a new place in international affairs.

After him the party slipped back to its corrupt ways—and went out of power. It is now facing another campaign. It has no platform on domestic issues, except the old platform of favoritism that makes a few rich at the expense of the many, and discrimination that leads to corruption. Mr. Roosevelt's heterogeneous collection of planks on social justice do not make a well-thought-out platform now any more than they did four years ago.

Whether the party can have a compelling platform on foreign affairs depends on the popular judgment of President Wilson's foreign policy.

II

Mr. Wilson's political career has been a succession of demonstrations that he meant what he said. His policies are announced so quietly and his patience in carrying them out is so great that, while the process is going on, many people lose faith in the ultimate outcome. Back in New Jersey few believed he would keep his word and eliminate "Jim" Smith. He did. As President, many doubted his ability to see the tariff bill through and then to keep Congress convened to get the currency bill passed and then to get the Clayton bill through. Everywhere along the line were doubts. They were ultimately dispelled. When the question of the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls came up there were more doubts. But the repeal went through. The President's prestige ebbed during all these doubting periods and rose in each instance as he succeeded.

Despite Mexico, when the *Lusitania* went down the people were with the President heart and soul. But his remark about a nation too proud to fight, notwithstanding that its application was disclaimed, started all the old doubts. The first *Lusitania* note nearly dispelled them. With the succeeding notes they grew again, and the dismissal of Dumba, Boy-Ed, and Von Papen, and even Germany's apology over the *Arabic* did not dispel them. As the interchange of notes ceased and the negotiations went on in secret, and the Austrian submarines took up the work that the Germans had abandoned, the fear grew that the President had not meant to use every means to enforce strict accountability. The prestige of the patient method would have received a great gain from Austria's disavowal of the *Ancona* tragedy, if the disavowal had not been accompanied by the sinking of the *Persia* and other ships.

How far the Presidents' prestige comes back upon the final settlement of the disputes with Germany and Austria is the measure of the Republican Party's opportunity to make a platform on the Defense of American Rights.

YUAN SHIH-KAI VS. JAPANESE CONTROL IN CHINA

THE significance of Yuan Shih-kai is not so much whether he be President or Emperor but whether he succeed or fail to hold power. It is not so much a question with China whether it is a democracy or an empire as whether it has a Chinese or a Japanese government.

Yuan Shih-kai is a belated apostle of preparedness in China. He has even recently proclaimed a policy of universal service. He realized long ago that China was a rich and defenseless prize which was saved from complete dismemberment only by the jealousy of the spoilers. He tried to create an army to defend his country but he was never able to prepare one in any sense adequate to the task.

Of late years, he has seen the jealousies of the spoilers patched up or rendered ineffective by war, and he now faces the possibility of the passing of China under Japanese suzerainty. The two policies of the territorial integrity of China and the Open Door, enunciated by the United

lepended on the acquiescence of the
We never intended to force their
nce. And they were never ob-
to any great extent. After the
apanese War, Russia and Japan
:o take Mongolia and Manchuria,
vely, which they have done. Eng-
; taken over the Chinese suzerainty
ibet. An even more serious men-
n this lopping-off process stares
1 the face. The twenty-one de-
vhich Japan made on China after
of Kiaochow, if granted, would
·actically given Japan suzerainty
hina. The Japanese tried their
orce these demands through before
d knew what they were doing. In
y were measurably near successful.
r, when the belated publication
most drastic demands did bring
from England and the United
they were withdrawn for the time
Yuan faces the possibility of their
rance at any moment when events
·e in the world would seem to guar-
ıat no help will come from outside
'ho cannot help himself.
ıeed of the Japanese for land for
ırplus population has been very
Korea and Manchuria should sat-
ıt need. But Korea and Man-
o not satisfy the equally great need
ıotected market. Japan is fast
g an industrial nation. Despite
cheap labor, the Japanese cannot
: very successfully with the Eng-
ermans, and Americans without
·tificial advantage. They cannot
ıuch longer to raise taxes from their
ople to give their industries the
advantage in subsidies. But if
:ould make preferential arrange-
ır its trade in all China, as it has in
ria, the burden of supporting Jap-
ıdustry could be taken off Japan
ed upon the broad shoulders of the
an. If Japan could become the
:tory for China, the builder of its
s, and the developer of its mines,
ould in truth become the England
ar East. It is a great vision for a
ıggling with poverty, especially
ı with the habit of success
up upon the kind of inter-
national relations which have existed in the Orient.

In the path of this vision stands the squat figure of Yuan Shih-kai, surrounded by impotence, all but bereft of foreign aid, and confronted with the task of maintaining the independence of his country.

AFTER THE WAR, WHAT—IN COMMERCE?

WHEN what Herr Ballin calls "the most cruel and most idiotic war the world has ever seen" is over, in what spirit will the nations of the world begin again to compete for the commerce of the world?

What Germany will do is, perhaps, the most interesting speculation.

Mr. David Jayne Hill, formerly our Ambassador to Germany, paints this picture of Germany's commercial condition before the war, in the *North American Review:*

It cannot be doubted that in Europe generally, and in France, Russia, and England in particular, serious apprehension of an ultimate Germanic dominance in the economic world has been felt; but for nearly a decade a still more serious foreboding of ultimate failure on the part of the Germans themselves has been entertained. The reasons were manifold. The increased standard and cost of living in Germany, produced by general industrial prosperity, was perceived to be more and more difficult to maintain. The revival of enterprise in England, which has recently resulted in a considerable superiority in the extension of trade, the growing competition of other nations, the unexpected obstacles to a long hoped for commercial expansion in the Near and the Far East, and the prospective ultimate exhaustion of the German mineral resources, together with certain political events, combined to create a feeling of depression in Germany. The wonderful march of the Empire toward industrial supremacy seemed in danger of being checked. But the dream of commercial conquest was too dear to be abandoned. The glory of it made every impediment to its realization seem an evidence of intentional hostility. Germany, it was believed, had been denied her rightful place in the sun. She conceived herself encircled by enemies bent on her destruction. She must, therefore, obtain new resources, beat down her rivals, enlarge her borders, open new paths to international prestige and new markets for her products. The industrial machine she had so

skillfully constructed must somehow be kept going, or ruin was believed to be in store. To what end had her great military power been created, if not to protect this economic mechanism? The existing conditions seemed to her to demand of the Empire a supreme struggle for existence. Was it not forced upon her by her rivals? That was undoubtedly the belief of the German people.

In the significant recent statement of Herr Ballin, he does not speak of any enlarged commercial opportunities coming to Germany from the war. But he does say that the men who construct peace out of the present conflict will "have to seek guarantees that an economic war shall not follow this bloody war. The men who negotiate peace for Germany will see to it that we do not become the step-children of our Dear Lord and Master."

This is a less dominating note than Germans were wont to strike before the war.

On the other hand, English commerce which had apprehensively watched the competition of Germany is now in a belligerent mood. The attitude seems to be that Germany need not think that she can start a war of blood to increase her dominion and trade and then, if it fail, have everything go on as before. "So far as commerce is concerned," says Mr. Walter Runciman, president of the British Board of Trade, "Germany is a beaten nation, and it is for us to keep her so." And the British announce that they will keep German commerce off the seas until German soldiers leave the lands they have conquerred and satisfactory terms of peace are signed.

In the meanwhile, Japan is doing her utmost to gain a dominant position in the trade of the Orient, and we are doing the same in South America.

There is not, in the policy of the United States Government, any attempt to force American goods upon our South American neighbors, or to get exclusive privileges for our commerce. Our aim is to gain trade and to hold it by serving our foreign customers better than any one else. And that is the only spirit of commercial rivalry that is fair to the consuming nations and to the producing competitors, and the only kind of commercial rivalry that does not

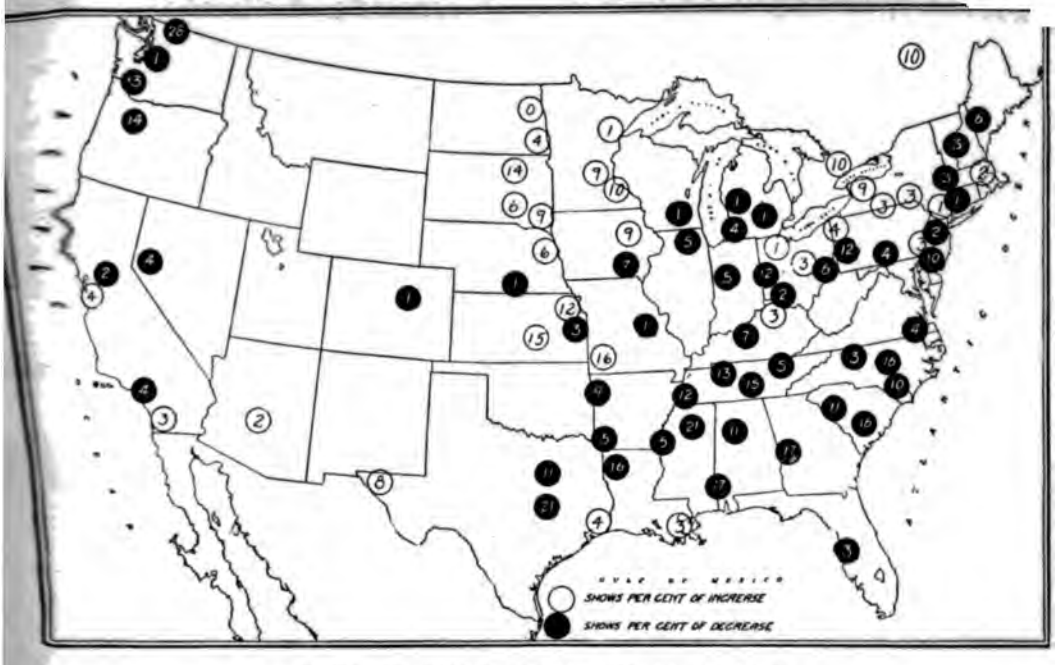
n t the germs of war.

If a nation cannot survive in commercial rivalry, it needs refo home, not a foreign war. Herr B right; the men who make peace sho that an economic war does not folk bloody war—that the old practice tending trade by exclusive privileg under the threats of battleships an onets shall cease. If this were achie measurably near achieved, one of th causes of future wars will be remov

BUSINESS GOOD AND GET BETTER

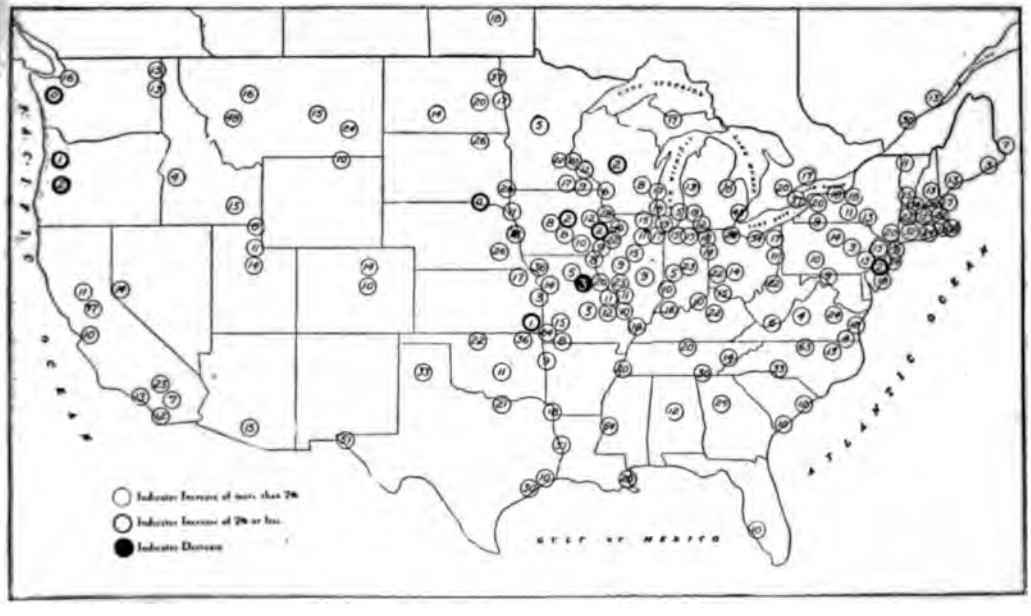
PEOPLE are buying more j more clothing, and more ware, and they are paying bills better than they did a yea These facts have been brought out investigation conducted by the tional Committee of the Ass Advertising Clubs of the World. investigation was made at first ha one thousand members of the Asso in practically all the cities in the States of 25,000 or more inhabitant a careful analysis of the 170,000 to five questions shows not only tha business is nearly 16 per cent. bette it was a year ago but that the countr the threshold of a big revival in b operations—a standard barometer eral business confidence.

Under the direction of Mr. Mac M of Minneapolis, a concerted perso quiry was made in the early d December among the leading g hardware dealers, clothiers, jewelers gists, and owners of department st all these cities. These men were as tell, in percentages, (1) how much (or less) goods they had sold in Nov 1915, than they had sold in Nov 1914; (2) how much more or less th spent for advertising; (3) how much or worse pay their collections we what lines of goods they had ad discontinued during the year; (5 much they had increased or decreas stocks of goods on their shelves. T the analysis showed these results sales were better than they were in all six branches of trade by an ave



BUSINESS WORSE IN 1914 THAN IN 1913

A comparison of the total retail sales of growers, druggists, hardware dealers, and department stores during November, 1914, with the retail sales during November, 1913, in about half of the American cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants, as revealed by a personal canvass by members of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World. The average decrease in all sales was 2½ per cent.



BUSINESS MUCH BETTER IN 1915 THAN IN EITHER 1914 OR 1913

A comparison of the total retail sales of the four businesses mentioned under the foregoing map, and of clothiers and je during November, 1915, with the total sales during November, 1914, in practically all the America of 25,000 or more inhabitants. The average increase in sales was almost 16 per cent. The numerals i circles indicate the percentage of increase

15.93 per cent.; that the jewelry business showed the greatest increase (19.3 per cent.), the clothing business the next greatest increase, and the hardware business the next; that merchants had made no great increase in stocks of goods on hand (only 6 per cent.) despite their larger sales; and that customers were paying their bills more promptly than they were a year earlier. The conclusions to be drawn from these figures are: that the public has more money to spend; that they feel confident enough of the future to spend it for jewelry and other luxuries and for housebuilding materials; and that merchants are learning to turn their stocks over more quickly, as is indicated by the greater sales without a corresponding increase in stocks.

These figures and conclusions are especially interesting when they are compared with the results of a similar investigation made just one year earlier. November, 1914, as compared with November, 1913, showed sales off by an average of 2.3 per cent. in grocery, drug, hardware, and department stores taken all together. Groceries alone showed an increase, and that amounted to only 2 per cent., which was exactly the increase in population during the intervening year and so represented no intrinsic gain. Groceries during this last year, however, showed increased sales of 8.8 per cent.

This report will have other virtues besides accelerating the confident upturn of business. For example, the data on collections should be permanently useful to business men. They show, for instance, that the normal average of collections during November on bills due October 31st is 50.7 per cent. for all six businesses. But whereas grocers alone collect 63 per cent. of such bills in November, jewelers collect only 43 per cent. In other words, these figures indicate that, on the average, grocers may normally expect to have 37 per cent. of their capital tied up all the time in the form of unpaid bills, whereas jewelers must expect to have 57 per cent. so tied up. And other business lessons, especially the virtues of advertising, may be read between the lines of the figures.

But of most immediate importance is the one big fact, brought out by this investigation, that is becoming evident in many other ways: Business is good and getting better.

THE FEARFUL MR. PERKINS

IN THE New York *Evening Post's* Financial Review of 1915 appeared an extremely significant summary of the world's financial affairs during the last five years and their effect on the United States. It is a plain exposition of the fact that, whether or not we have been isolated politically, we have been willy-nilly in the family of nations in finance. Theoretically, we have known this. Practically, most of us have ignored it.

In 1911, came the crisis over Morocco and a consequent violent financial disturbance in Europe. This led to the selling of American securities abroad. Our money market had to pay for these securities, which made money for industry scarce here, and conditions in Europe were unfavorable for our borrowing abroad.

In 1912, good crops in the United States brought on a trade revival which seemed to promise well. There was a rise in the stock market during the autumn which seemed little influenced by the Presidential campaign then in progress. But it was abruptly checked by the money stringency abroad, brought on by the fear that the Balkan War might lead to a general European conflict.

During 1913, Europe hoarded gold, so it seems now, in justifiable fear of war. Capital was so timid that many issues of securities failed. The tightness of the world's money markets was reflected in the United States and we suffered a great depression in the stock and bond markets. This meant, of course, that our industrial and transportation activities were retarded for lack of capital.

Then, in 1914, came the war. It was so great an event that it took our eyes off ourselves. For whatever happened we held the war in Europe responsible. Then little by little it began to dawn upon us that events in Europe had greatly influenced our economic situation in 19 1912, and 1913, ar fore. The t

ıforcement of the Sherman Law, the tion of the railroads, the Govern- and all its works—these things, it rs, could not be logically held en- accountable for the hesitancy of a ɛrity that looked with fear upon an aching war.

II

s is somewhat disturbing to the -pure protectionists. But even if they t unreservedly blame the reduction tariff for the lack of prosperity just the war, the seekers of protection ıite active in blaming the Underwood for the ruin which is to come upon nanufacturers when the stores of an goods shall be dumped upon us the war is over.

t were not that a thoroughgoing pro- nist has no shame but, on the con- a pride in his assumed inability to ɛte with any foreign manufacturer American market, it would seem ab- for us, who are daily gaining in ıl and new markets, to cry for help ɜt the nations in Europe who are day piling up death and taxes. But e this, Mr. George W. Perkins, a or in two companies whose products t need protection in any market in world, except where they are pro- , pleads for a higher tariff than ave now.

. Horace White says, "The talk about ɒe flooding our markets with her factured goods after the war is bosh." James J. Hill also seems to have a ıable confidence in the future:

> feature of the situation after the war, er, seems determined with reasonable ıty. There is, apparently, no economic ility of a flooding of our markets by the ɛts of Europe; no "dumping," as it is
>
> Every country in Europe is utilizing unit of its economic forces to supply its demand. It has to supplement their ɛt with imports in volume never before ed of. It has, no surplus of anything; g to store away and release later on. mic poverty will be added to the extreme ial strain following the close of the war. ns of workers have been killed, and other ı ncapacitated for productive activity.
>
> exports cannot continue in any such volume as at present, it seems certain that European industrial reconstruction will call upon us for assistance for some time to come, and European economic competition be correspondingly weakened.

It is a happy sign that some of our industrial leaders have more courage than Mr. Perkins and that there are philosophies of social justice that protect the American consumer as well as the American producer.

A PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

THERE is a new tone in the relations between Business and the National Government. It does not rest upon any passing mood. It is based on the fact that the Government, having largely ceased to give discriminating and improper aid to certain industries, is free to give proper encouragement to all. If the Government has no favorites among its industrial children it will not grow another family of spoiled children such as took the country ten years of agitation and legislation, wise and unwise, to bring into good behavior.

American industry being reasonably well-behaved at present, the Government can cease to act as a prosecuting attorney and can devote itself largely to the more congenial task of helping industry by every proper means.

II

One of the most helpful Government activities is the Federal Trade Commission's work in settling cases under the Clayton Law out of court, quickly and cheaply. For example, one manufacturing corporation used advertising to disparage the goods of a competitor in an improper way. A complaint was made to the Commission, which called the matter to the advertiser's attention. He immediately stopped the unfair advertising. The result was obtained quickly, without great expense, and without publicly charging the advertiser in court with all the crimes in the calendar for an unfair practice which may have originated in ignorance and which he was willing to stop.

The Government's endeavor to promote foreign trade is another indication of its desire to serve Business. The action of the Federal Reserve Board in making foreign bills of exchange acceptable as collateral with banks in the Federal reserve system will be a distinct help. The present efforts of the Department of State to get certain tariffs, port dues, and other restrictions against our commerce in South America removed will, if successful, be a valuable aid to business.

Secretary McAdoo's plans for a merchant marine are conceived in the same spirit. So is the President's recommendation of a commission to study the whole railroad problem, to see how we can so improve the system of regulation to which the Nation is committed, as to prevent such catastrophies like that of the New Haven without crippling the well-run roads to the detriment of the commerce of the country.

Every one of these governmental activities, and several others, are important in themselves, important as signs of a happy tendency, and important as part of a programme of national effectiveness. The President continually came back to this idea in his message to Congress on preparedness. The Federal Trade Commission is preparing a report on the industries of the United States, "their capacities, actual and potential, the degree of their integration, physical and financial," for the possible use of a Commission on Preparedness which it is reported the President will call.

This may well be the first act of a policy which could put us upon a new plane as an industrial nation.

It is the province of democracies to teach their people, not only in the public schools but in vocational schools, and after that in their daily lives. The Department of Agriculture has investigated and taught new methods of tillage, introduced new plants, explained farm book-keeping. It is willing to help the farmer with information on almost any subject.

The Government can do the same for industry. It can properly encourage the production of nitrates and potash just *as it does properly* encourage the duction of corn in the South. It can lect in museums and laboratories libraries all the facts of manufacture commerce as it collects the facts of agri ture now. It can enlarge the vision make over the opportunities for the ma facturer who is unable to investi industry all over the world or to m tain great laboratories to keep abr of the times.

One can get another indication of h valuable such a service would be by appreciation by the mining industry the Bureau of Mines, which, in a meas now renders such service.

Nor would a programme of natio effectiveness, of preparedness both peace and war, include any direct aid subsidy to any individual. Neither Department of Agriculture nor the Bur of Mines gives subsidies or grants pro tion. Their task is to show farmers mine owners how to be so efficient t they can protect themselves from competition.

The most serious obstacle ahead of effort by the Government to mobi and serve industry is the tendency of American manufacturer to want the di help of the Government by tariff or s sidy. The American manufacturer been encouraged in the past to demonstr his inferiority to foreign competitors to make the rest of the Nation pay him the demonstration. If, under cover the Government's efforts to help busin legitimately, a raid for favors and spe privileges succeeds, it will inevitably followed by the agitation and legislat against business of which we have ha plenty in the last twenty years.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND PA AMERICAN POLICY

THE Monroe Doctrine that European or Asiatic Power s acquire any further territory either American continent stands bed-rock of the foreign policy of the States.

The Pan-American doctrine th twenty-one republics on the two can continents are united in th

nocracy, in a desire to see each other
d, in an absence of territorial am-
and a desire for more cordial and
te mutual relations stands as a
part of the international policy of
ıited States.

; was the gist of Secretary Lan-
greeting to the delegates of the
merican Scientific Congress.

th of the Rio Grande popular opin-
:s always credited us with a steady
in the Monroe Doctrine. In vary-
grees it has suspected us of wanting
: it as a pretext to acquire more
ıry. We have talked and written
ıt end to disabuse the minds of our
ıors of this idea. Finally, they
:onvinced by our refusal to take the
:nt excuse afforded us to annex
o. With that forbearance attached
the Monroe Doctrine has no sting,
ıe doctrine of Pan-America has sin-
and force.

delegates from South and Central
ca met Secretary Lansing half way
statement that the Americas were
l for progress and would, if occasion
be united politically for defense.

Chilean Ambassador, Señor Eduardo
ż-Mujica, said that the Pan-Ameri-
ɔlicy, "supported by all the republics
continents as a common force and
on defense, has become a solid tie
on, a guarantee, a bulwark for our
:racies."

: delegates from the Argentine, from
a, from Costa Rica, and elsewhere
in similar vein.

are these mere words of pleas-
Pan-Americanism is no longer
y a matter of words. It is a fact.
American republics are one family
l closer to each other than to any
ıs elsewhere.

although the recognition of this
/ tie is an epoch-making achieve-
it is not an announcement of a
:rn Hemisphere millennium. The
/ is not altogether happy nor alto-
: well. Mexico is still disordered.
re acting as nurse and doctor to
agua. Middle-aged men well re-
ıer when the nitrate beds of Chile
ged to Peru, and the war in which
they changed hands. Colombia is still angry over the Canal.

But the foundation of a policy upon which these troubles can and should be worked out satisfactorily has been laid. Secretary Lansing has proposed to erect on that foundation an agreement among the American republics to submit all boundary questions to arbitration and to prohibit the export of munitions of war to revolutionists. These proposals are aimed directly at the root of most of the trouble in South and Central America, for most of the disturbances there have arisen over boundary disputes or from revolutions armed and equipped from outside sources. Very closely related to these proposals of Secretary Lansing's is the extension of the Monroe Doctrine announced by President Wilson in his speech at Mobile in 1913, in which he made it clear that in his conception it was as much against the Monroe Doctrine for foreign companies to come into control of an American republic by concessions or loans as it was for a foreign government to acquire territory by force.

This interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine with Secretary Lansing's two concrete details of the Pan-American policy would seem to remove most of the obvious causes of trouble upon the two continents and form a basis for peaceful and prosperous development. By no means one of the least important steps in international relations in the fateful year 1915 was the real adoption of the Pan-American idea in both North America and South America.

CONSCRIPTION FIRST OR LAST

NOT long after the Great War began Lord Kitchener announced that he expected it to last at least three years. To meet this three-year war England called for volunteers although the governments of both her enemies and her allies and some of her colonies through their compulsory service had their hands on all the available men, classified by ages so that they could be made into homogeneous troops, ready to be trained or sent to the firing line.

For eighteen months now England has stuck to voluntary enlistments and by tremendous efforts sent across the seas the largest army that was ever so transported. As an example of what can be done under the voluntary system it is truly a remarkable achievement. But it falls short in numbers and effectiveness of what England could have done with less effort had she adopted universal service at the first moment she became convinced that it was a war to tax all the country's resources.

The chief reason, almost the only reason, against adopting the principle of universal service was that it was against Anglo-Saxon tradition. For a year and a half England has let this tradition keep her from doing her best. It is merely speculative to try to analyze what this tradition has cost, but it is far more than the tradition was ever worth even if it were permanently maintained. And from the first it has been reasonably certain that conscripton must come before the war was over, if England was to do her utmost in bringing about a decision.

One day about a month ago, when the headlines in our papers were full of the conscription discussion in England, the New York *Evening Sun* printed the following in its serial publication of the President's "History of the American People":

> Almost every white man of fighting age, and many who were too young or too old for the field, came first or last into the [Confederate] ranks, and the war seemed to be using the whole capacity of a proud and capable race.
>
> Hundreds of thousands volunteered; the rest were drawn in by conscription. Where it was necessary to use the entire fighting population it was impossible to rely on voluntary service, and the South, with its scant numbers for the field, resorted to conscription sooner than the North.
>
> It was absolutely necessary, of course, to leave some men at home to do the indispensable work of peace by which homes and armies alike were to be supported; but men enough even for that were not left at last, so inexorably had a drastic conscription swept the country of every possible soldier.
>
> So early as April, 1862, the Confederate Congress had made all between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five subject to military service; in September of the same year it extended the obligation to men of forty-five; and before the end of the war it had called upon boys of sixteen and old men of sixty.

No nation can put forth its full strength without universal service.

There are many people in this country who believe that universal service in peace times is necessary for the proper defense of the country. The majority do not, but it does seem the part of wisdom to provide in our defense programme for the instant application of the principle of universal service in time of war. The experience of our own Civil War and England's present experience make it plain enough that it is wiser to face the situation first rather than last and much more effective and cheaper in human life.

THE MONEY OF THE MAILED FIST

THERE is nothing new in character in the Federal Grand Jury's recent indictment of members of Labor's National Peace Council. We have known for some time that agents of the German and Austrian governments were spending money here in a propaganda to coerce the Government of the United States, and we have known that there were conspiracies to restrain trade here by strikes and lockouts for Germany's benefit.

The indictment, however, does recall to mind that the same governments which sink our citizens at sea send agents into our country with the express purpose of breaking our laws, destroying our property, and corrupting our citizens, for it is hard to believe that a German captain should have come here in war time without the knowledge of his Government.

It is humiliating that one of the eight men who are indicted for a conspiracy hatched with German gold should be a member of Congress and that another should be an ex-member of that body, and that another has been attorney-general of the state of Ohio.

On the other hand, there is a bright side to the situation in the patriotism of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, to whose efforts were due not only the large degree of failure of the strike plans of the conspiracy but also much of the information which led to the indictment.

ANTI-LOCKSTEP SCHOOLS

R. FREDERIC L. BURK, president of the State Normal School, San Francisco, has recently issued nphlet on the "Results, Methods, and of Operating Schools by Individual uction." Under the ingenious title \ Suit in Equity" he first presents a brief in the case of Everychild, a r, vs. Lockstep Schooling: "The ess of schools is to shape themselves ie pupils. Each child is a special ion, and, strictly speaking, education ot be the same for any two pupils. it is the business of schools to saw, ine, and to compress pupils into fixed l molds is the smug impertinence of ncient, persistent, and preposterous itry. Until this pedantry is up- d, trunk and branch, schools must o fulfil their purpose.

here are no misfit children. There isfit schools, misfit texts and studies, t dogmas and traditions of pedants pedantry. There are misfit homes, t occupations and diversions. In there are all kinds and conditions isfit clothing for children, but in the e of things there can be no misfit ren."

e bulletin then tabulates exhaustively lata on two years' experience with a m of individual instruction in the ntary department (first to eighth s) of the San Francisco State Normal l. The essence of this system is that s are promoted by subjects and not rades (a child may be in the second in arithmetic and in the fifth grade ading, for example), and that the standard in each subject is set at ate of the slowest pupil exercising nable diligence.

e experience in this experimental l indicates that, broadly speaking, is no such thing as a stupid child— , of course, of practical idiocy. The lled stupid child is simply the child gets stuck fast on a, to him, knotty in a certain subject, off which only nal instruction can lift him. Once that snag, he is likely to progress in particular branch of study with more than average rapidity. Under the present "lockstep" system, however, he is held back in all subjects, is required to go over the whole year's work with no more help than before on his special difficulty, becomes discouraged and listless, and often drops out of school entirely. By the individual system these snags are cleared as fast as they arise, the pupil is encouraged by his unhindered progress in other studies, and according to reasonable estimates is likely to finish the whole eight grades in all subjects in seven years. The brightest pupils probably can finish them in five.

Applied to all schools, Dr. Burk believes that the State would thus be saved the cost of repetition of grades—the average time to complete eight grades now is about ten years—and saved the expense of teaching pupils for eight years who could easily finish in five or six; and that these savings in time and money should reduce the size of classes sufficiently to make individual instruction feasible and to pay any small additional costs that are now unforeseen.

Doubtless further experience will alter some details of Dr. Burk's conclusions; but he is fundamentally right and his plan cries aloud for application.

THE BRITISH RETIREMENT FROM SUVLA BAY

IN THE January WORLD'S WORK it was intimated that, even if they wished to do so, the British troops on Gallipoli would have a difficult task in getting off the peninsula without great loss. The relative position of the Turkish and British forces made this statement axiomatic from a military point of view so long as each side showed a normal effectiveness in its operations. But as a matter of fact the British showed a more than normal ability in their retirement from the Suvla Bay position, and the Turks, in an unaccustomed manner, let slip a very good opportunity to strike their enemy a serious blow. The British retirement was done with such little loss that it is hard to realize the difficulty of the undertaking and the brilliance of its achievement.

AN INVESTMENT IN DRAINAGE BONDS

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on experiences from investments and lessons to be drawn therefrom*

AN INVESTOR living in one of the large Southwestern cities wrote to this department a short time ago to ask for assistance in connection with some contemplated changes in his holdings of bonds and stocks. He explained that what had particularly prompted him to write was some comment in a recent issue of the WORLD'S WORK about a certain issue of drainage district bonds which had defaulted payment on their interest and principal and that had been finally repudiated because of a legal technicality.

He said in his letter that for about ten years he had kept a considerable part of his money engaged at between 5½ and 6 per cent. in this class of securities. It had been customary for him to buy his bonds entirely on the recommendation of an old established banking house, and his experience had been uniformly satisfactory. In fact, this part of his investment holdings had been so completely free from trouble that never before had it occurred to him that defective drainage issues ever found their way to market.

To the best of his recollection, the investor said, this was the first time that drainage bonds had ever been referred to in the discussions appearing in these pages. And the question had immediately arisen in his mind whether there was any special significance in the fact that such an occasion should have been taken to emphasize the dangerous side of that kind of investment. In any event, it had caused him some misgiving. Therefore, he had concluded it would be good judgment to investigate the record of the bonds, as a class, and to learn, if possible, a few rules by which he might himself appraise their investment characteristics and values.

It is timely to answer in the form of an article the specific questions which this investor asked about drainage bonds, because it has not been so very long since they made their début in the general investment market.

Such bonds are by no means an untried form of investment. Many millions of dollars' worth have been issued and sold during the last fifteen years. But they have almost invariably been reserved by the bankers for home consumption among investors possessed of first-hand knowledge of the remarkable results which it has been found possible to achieve in reclaiming land by artificial drainage.

This long practice of treating drainage issues for the most part as local specialties is the principal reason why they have heretofore failed to get wider public notice. Nor is it because this local familiarity has bred contempt for them that these bonds have now begun to bid strongly for investment capital outside the immediate territory of their origin. Rather is it because their general record has been such as to encourage their use on a more extensive scale, and, therefore, to call for the development of a broader and more satisfactory market for them.

But such situations always carry their caution. Because drainage has worked miracles on much of the Western land where it has been scientifically applied, there may conceivably be many ingenious promoters who will eventually try to make it work fables. And it is not improbable that some of the less conservative banking houses will be tempted by over-enthusiasm to trade on the growing popularity of the drainage bond by offering a class of issues that will not stand the test of time.

A brief description of the machinery provided by one of the typically good state drainage laws for preparing issues of such bonds for the market will suggest most of the safeguards which experience has shown to be effective in this field of finance. It

ll to take the case of drainage nds, because the majority are of rather than of the class issued g political sub-divisions, such as es.

ners of land in a given section, he curse of too much water keeps , upon deciding to coöperate to rovements, must first petition a mpetent jurisdiction for authority e a drainage district. The court time for the hearing of evidence pon the question whether the ted improvements will be a efit; and in case of an affirmative it issues a decree creating the Provision is then made for an itive body which, as a rule, as a board of directors, elects points an attorney, and employs to make the necessary surveys. definite plan of improvement has ired, it must be submitted to the ch then instructs its own experts e the district and report on the and probable cost of the plan, the probable benefits to accrue execution. That report being cond hearing is appointed for dence bearing upon the question he benefits have been equitably ed among the individual land Again, in the case of affirmative a court judgment is rendered, for the levy of taxes, not in pro- the value of the land, but in to the particular benefits as timated for each separate parcel. suming, of course, that, in the the court officers, the benefits will estimated cost of the improve- herwise, it becomes obvious that t is fundamentally unwise and dings are dismissed.

cials of the district are now ready the preparation of the issue of lefray the cost of improvement. w carefully prescribes how each s proceeding must be taken. It provides, of course, that the all pledge itself to pay principal st of the bonds by making such as are necessary. It has been l by the courts as providing, at least by implication, that if for any reason the taxes are improperly levied, or perchance misappropriated, taxes in excess of the benefits must be levied. It limits the total issue of bonds to 90 per cent. of the total tax levy. It provides for serial maturities in substantial amounts within the reasonable life of the improvement, and requires that the annual taxes shall exceed these requirements by at least 10 per cent. It anticipates the likelihood that district officials, as a rule, will lack proficiency in administrative matters, and accordingly provides that the levy and collection of taxes shall be handled by regular state or county officials. Finally, it commits the district officials to the proper repairing and up-keep of the drainage improvement.

But painstaking compliance with all these provisions of the law will not necessarily insure the favorable reception of an issue of drainage bonds at the hands of the experienced and discriminating banker. One who is widely known as an expert on such issues described recently a few of the more exacting tests to which his offerings are subjected before they are passed finally into the channels of investment.

He said that the aggregate value of the land in the district, carefully appraised at the time the bonds were issued, was one of the most important things to which consideration should be given. His rule in this connection was that when the proportion between such value and the debt to be assumed became less than three to one, the bonds approached the speculative stage.

He emphasized that the land in the district, or a large part of it at least, should be owned by those who expected to develop it. If colonization was necessary, he said, the bonds were not of the best class, so that the conservative investor would do well to avoid issues payable by taxation on corporate property. He declared that accurate account should be taken in every case of the total indebtedness of the community for all purposes, at the time the drainage bonds were offered, and suggested that it was a good rule to refuse issues where there were indications of such indebtedness being burdensome. And he made a strong point of the necessity of

having practical assurance that the prospective benefits would prove to be in excess of the cost of carrying out the improvement contemplated.

These, of course, are merely suggestions of the kind of legal safeguard and the kind of banking scrutiny that have combined to make the safe drainage district bond. they will perhaps serve a useful purpc pointing the way to more adequate st ards of discrimination for investors may be expected in the future to meet this class of bonds more frequently they have in the past.

YUAN SHIH-KAI AND THE THRONE OF CHINA

BY

FREDERICK MOORE

(FOR FIVE YEARS ASSOCIATED PRESS CORRESPONDENT IN PEKING)

THE central figure around which events are stirring in the Far East—stirring heavily although obscured by the war in Europe—is that breaker of precedents, Yuan Shih-kai. Yuan is not a scholar though the Chinese revere learning; he is bold though his race is timid; he is loyal where the average man serves only for compensation; he is young for a land where old age is venerated; and though he has never been further abroad than Japan he thinks on lines even beyond the mental processes of the average foreign-educated student who now wishes to slay him with a dynamite bomb.

No man of Western traditions can approve of Yuan Shih-kai's methods, but none can fail to admire his common sense and his understanding that heads that wag in his way must be lopped off. Yuan has to his debit numerous heads.

It has been my lot in Peking to watch his minions lopping them off for the last five years, and the records have it that this method was his when other men of less than twenty-five were withering their bodies and crowding their minds with Chinese classics—a bottomless pit, the blight of China!

When but little more than twenty years of age, because he was a man of action, this founder of the newest Chinese dynasty had come to the notice of that veteran intriguer, Li Hung-chang, then the controlling member of the Manchu Go ment; nor had his present Majesty attr recognition either by political influ or by learning, the usual means. father was only a provincial magist and he, Yuan, had twice endeavore cram his mind with the poetry of the and failed to pass the examinations w would have obtained for him recomme tion for office. Being without a Hs degree, doors to the learned halls of Pe were closed to him, but the back-gate open, an entrance that was relegate that contemptible but sore-needed elem the soldier.

There are, or were at that time, degrees in the social scale of China: scholar, the farmer, the artisan, the tr man, and the man who for money sle fellow-man. Yuan has made the so honored; he wears a soldier's unif Having failed to be of the first class of he became of the last. He joined the a as a clerk, not quite a soldier but n theless of that looting rabble of cut-thr

China's hopeless army, carrying sp swords, bows and arrows, stink-pots, terrible looking devices for scaring of enemy, and putting more faith in an these than in the muzzle-loading bought from Europe, was on its co way toward Korea, where the Ja were then intriguing for what the now achieved. Korea at that tir nominally a dependency of arro

China, and Li Hung-chang was
oring to continue the Chinese
ation. In his efforts he got little
om either the scholars or the soldiers,
scholars could only quote from the
nd the soldiers knew not how to kill
ally. Yuan seemed to be the most
it man among them: instead of
g the past he looked to the future;
ught for himself and did not search
d for phrases from Confucius that
fit the occasion. Besides (if early
rs are correct, and their accounts
m to Yuan's later character), he was
ss in hunting down and exterminhe enemies of his task, and he did
ruple at tricky devices. Was he a
or did he seek his own interests?
ever was the case he obtained recog-
and at the age of twenty-six at-
to an office which a front door
it would have been proud to reach at
riod of his decrepancy. He became
e Resident at Seoul, the Korean
, a position of importance only
, at the time, to that which Li
hang occupied.

Japanese beat Li Hung-chang and
ht-hand man. Li is now dead and
the way, and for political purposes
en, but Yuan is alive and has no
on of seeing China herself go the
Korea. And disinterested foreign-
ee with remarkable unanimity that
is the one Chinaman who can save
untry. Sun Yat-sen has proved
f an impracticable visionary, and
er man has come to the foreground.
ing in Yuan, the foreign bankers
interests are heavy in China have
ted him at times illegally, lent him
in the name of China and without
semblance of legal approval the
al President of the so-styled Repub-
uld have had.

I am getting ahead of my story.
hina-Japanese War, in which the
rabble of the Manchus fled from
, caused Yuan to return to China,
he soon became viceroy of the
olitan province of Chihli. The war
ught him the value of modern guns
estern proficiency, and, with the con-
f the Throne, he began to organize
a so-called model army. He, almost alone of his people, seemed to have learned a lesson from China's ignominious defeat. For, in a few years the masses were attempting to drive out all foreigners, Europeans and Americans as well as Japanese, with their feeble ineffectives who had so hopelessly gone to slaughter before their island neighbors; and government officials, like the people, believed themselves capable of recovering that measure of China's sovereignty and independence which the nations of the West were transgressing.

When the Boxers came, however, with tacit if not more tangible authority from the Empress Dowager, they found short shrift in Yuan's province. His model army, obedient to his orders, slew the Boxers and not the "foreign devils." Throughout the whole fanatical, though not unprovoked, rising not a foreigner lost his life in the province which Yuan controlled.

What is known as Yuan's notorious treason is the tragic and conspicuous act of his career. He was in Peking and Jung Lu had become viceroy of Chihli and had control of the only force of any power in the country. The Emperor, Kwang Hsu, summoned Yuan, whom he trusted, and commanded him in secret to proceed to Tientsin, the seat of the viceroyalty, assassinate or cause Jung Lu to be slain, and return immediately to the capital with enough troops to capture or destroy those loyal to the Empress Dowager and to surround and make her a prisoner. Yuan proceeded to Tientsin, informed Jung Lu of the Emperor's instructions, and sent back Jung Lu to make a prisoner of the Emperor instead of his rival foster-mother.

In 1908, when the imperial prisoner, with significant coincidence, died within twenty-four hours after the Empress Dowager, Prince Chun, the Regent who came to power, dismissed Yuan Shih-kai. The Regent did not state openly, as was the case, that Yuan was dismissed because of his disloyalty to the preceding Emperor, but, with Oriental politeness, he gave the distinguished Mandarin of the Yellow Jacket leave of absence in order that he might recover good health.

Yuan remained in seclusion till the re-

publican rebellion of October, 1911, compelled the Manchus to recall him—the one strong man of China. Despair had entered the soul of the timid Regent.

Not till Yuan had obtained his terms did he agree to return to power—and that was his price: power and authority. By telegraph he summoned his trusted followers. His strongest man, Chao Ping chun, went to Peking to take charge of the police there, while Yuan himself went south to take command of the army facing the rebels. He got into touch with the leader of the republican forces and seems to have come to terms in the usual Chinese way with General Li Yuan Hung, who subsequently became Vice-President.

When the Capital was safe for his return Yuan came to Peking in great state, and almost his first act was to dictate the abdication of the Prince Regent. Prince Chun retired from the Forbidden City, leaving his ten-year-old son, the Emperor, to the mercy of Yuan. Whether Yuan had intended from the beginning to sell out the Manchus is a disputed point; he is certainly equal to such duplicity. Gradually it became evident to the Empress Dowager, who was left in charge, that she must sign whatever document Yuan wished; and within a few months, after obtaining a pledge of liberal annual stipends and the continuance of the Emperor's title, that miserable lady subscribed the Emperor's seal to an edict declaring that his Majesty was incapable of government and that he surrendered the affairs of state to the people and delegated authority to Yuan Shih-kai. The document is famous for its peculiar wording purporting to come from the little Emperor himself.

Yuan held the military power and could always defeat the rebels, as he actually did with quick vigor a year later. That party, which set up Sun Yat-sen as President at Nanking, knew the comparative power of the North and came to terms with the man who commanded in Peking. Sun was made to retire in order to unite the country under Yuan, and the latter was elected President by the self-appointed body which styled itself a Parliament at Nanking.

Yuan was willing to give all the Southern leaders offices if they would re from interference in the Government, he placed Sun Yat-sen at the head scheme for throwing a network of railr over China and thereby to enlighten as as to develop the country. The sa attached to the office was $15,000 mon But Sun, distrusting Yuan before a was out, began to spend the money in trigue and soon brought about the so-c second revolution, the slogan of which "Punish Yuan!"

In just three months the rebel fo were at the mercy of those which Y had withheld from attacking app imately the same enemies under Manchus. Sun Yat-sen, from the di fied office of first President of the Rep lic, was now again a fugitive from his tive land with all but a price upon his h He took refuge in Japan and here, th seems to be no doubt, began to intri with certain Japanese, probably not g ernment officials but men in close to with the statesmen. He could still back to China if he would consent to d a good monthly allowance and spend time only in amusing himself, as the V President does; but Sun prefers to without affluence according to his id

Now General Li, the former V President, is also a patriot. The rel knowing his power and wish for a lib form of government, had sought his sistance in the revolution against Yu But Li looked upon the Japanese China's greatest enemy and argued tha divide the country with revolution wa be dangerous. His life became una the rebels considering that those who not with them were against them; finally Li, in order to avoid probable sassination, took his departure from chang (where he had remained in comm of troops for the first two years of Republic), and went to Peking to e the Forbidden City and occupy the pa in which Kuang Hsu had been imprisa by the Empress Dowager. There Li and probably still is doubly a prisa Yuan would not permit him to take leave, nor would his life be safe from rebels were he outside the palace wall

Though Yuan succeeded in repres

volution against himself he did not ently intimidate the Parliament had come to Peking. A very inde- nt body it was, designed by the 'uan elements to curb and control surper, and even without the rebel behind it, after the latter had been sed and scattered, this Parliament sought to give liberal government country that did not understand it vored to handicap Yuan with laws own devising. It was then that, e parliamentary laws and protests members of the Parliament delivered to the bankers, the Quintuple Group the sum of about $125,000,000 to Shih-kai.

n endeavored to persuade the Con- ion Drafting Committee of Parlia- to pass laws giving him adequate s for governing, but that body would no suggestion from him nor from the ican legal adviser, Professor F. J. now, whom they regarded as a Yuan They went ahead with their own and by their Draft Constitution t to make the President a figure-head a government that was responsible rliament alone.

h a Parliament largely composed of inexperienced men, many with rn education, Yuan professes to be- —I think honestly—that such a nment was not practicable. He, too, former but no believer that a democ- ike America can be made of Old China drafting of an untried list of statutes podged from all the most liberal coun- f the world. Indeed, China had no cter in all her alphabet of 40,000 that express such words as "republic" constitution," or such an expression understand by "liberty, equality, raternity." She had no machinery oting and, as a whole, no knowledge spect for such new-fangled things. 'arliament itself had not been elected, as chosen by little cliques of men.

is curious that while Yuan breaks ws he strives at all times to surround tions with the semblance of legality. g been elected "Provisional Presi- ' he required a more substantial ate. This he obtained from the recalcitrant Parliament by surrounding that body with soldiers and police and permitting none to leave the building even for food until the election was accomplished. Then, within a few days, he chose to dissolve the Parliament, it being a hindrance to administration, and this he accomplished legally by dissolving the Kwo Ming Tong, the political party of the rebels, which was in the majority. After the dissolution of the rebellious organization the Parliament was without a quorum.

I do not think Yuan Shih-kai is personally ambitious. I have watched him closely since the day he arrived in Peking at the summons of the Prince Regent. He does not exact personal deference as certain European monarchs are wont to do. There is no "side" about Yuan—a statement which can be made of few of the Western-educated students who oppose him. It is my judgment that he is a patriot persuaded by the men about him that the welfare of the country requires a permanent executive and that there is no other man to take the throne.

The new Emperor is not as old a man as he looks; he is but fifty-seven. Asthma and a burden of flesh have physically degenerated him. He is a short, unusually broad, large headed man, with thin white hair and mustaches. He has a genial smile and manner and never looks disturbed. The attack of an assassin would not startle him. He has fatalism in his character. He will do the best he can according to his lights, take precautions and also chances; and if the regicide gets him, he will smile and take leave of his friends and family philosophically.

His family is large according to Western ideas. His sons are said to number nearly a score and his daughters about that number; and he has also many grandchildren. Following Chinese tradition the whole family live together in the same compound. Fortunately the Winter Palace, which he has made his home, is an extensive enclosure covering several square miles, with beautiful lakes and parks, and many palace residences. It is only a step from the Forbidden City proper, where the boy Emperor of the Manchus is still permitted to maintain his Court and his imperial guard.

SHALL WE HAVE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT?

III. THE PORK IN PUBLIC BUILDINGS

OUR RIDICULOUS SYSTEM (DISCARDED BY ENGLAND TWO HUNDRED YEARS AG OF ALLOWING CONGRESS TO WASTE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF THE PUBLI MONEY ON UNNECESSARY FEDERAL COURT HOUSES AND POST OFFICES PRIMARILY THAT INDIVIDUAL CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS MAY INSURE THEIR REËLECTION

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

THE new Sixty-Fourth Congress, like all its predecessors, must face a national issue of transcendent importance. I do not refer to "preparedness," to our foreign relations, to Mexico, Germany, or even to the tariff or trust questions. The average American may regard all these as great national matters; the gentlemen from Wyoming, Alabama, Kentucky, and Ohio, however, have one problem of more pressing and immediate interest. As Congress gets down to business, these statesmen do not ask, "Shall we build battle cruisers or submarines?" "Shall we intervene in Mexico?" or "Shall we extend the exemption limit on the income tax?" No; their legislative heart-searchings take this tangible form: "Shall we have a public building bill this year?" Let the *Lusitania* and the shipping bill go hang; the really absorbing question is whether Sundance, a town in Wyoming of less than 500 people, shall have a $50,000 post office building and court house. Foreign relations, new taxation schemes, the Army and Navy—are all well enough in their place; what really thrills, however, is the necessity of so "putting money into circulation" in the districts that the reëlection of particular statesmen shall be assured.

"Shall we have a public buildings bill this year?" Every Congress asks itself this question. Every one that has the courage—and Congress is usually courageous on these points—answers it in the affirmative. The Federal Government now spending about $20,000,000 a year public works of an architectural charac Next to pensions and rivers and harb public buildings make up our great "pork barrel." Moreover, the vice i rapidly growing one. In 1906, the Fed Government possessed 503 public bu ings: it now has 967. That is, we h built almost as many post offices and co houses in the last nine years as in the p ceding 130 years. The 1913 bill auth ized the construction of 303 federal bu ings—almost as many, in one bill, as had built in the first century and a quar of our national existence.

In no other civilized country does legislative branch ask this question, "Sh we have a public buildings bill this yea Our Congress asks it because we have centralized system of responsible gove ment. We have no budget syste something which every other reput autocracy, and limited monarchy in world has found indispensable to conduct of public business. Engla France, Brazil, Venezuela—these nati and dozens of others, have no pork bar —no river and harbor bills, no pu buildings bill. They do have post offi court houses, and great public wo they do not obtain them, however, a the American fashion. They really p vide these necessities where the conduc the public business demands them; they not erect them as campaign funds to

certain obsequious and needy law-
ers to the capitol.

ie American Government, for example,
tains a "monumental" court house
exarkana, Tex. We built this five
ago at a cost of $110,000. It is a
house only; a separate building—
of "monumental" character—does
ce as a post office. This Texarkana
house contains elaborate court rooms,
bing chamber for the judge, witness
s, grand jury rooms, district attor-
office, and other expensive accommo-
ns. It is open for business *three or days every year!* On these occasions
udge solemnly enters his robing room,
on his gown, hears court—and gets
f town as quickly as he can. All the
f the year the building stands silent,
stic, vacant, unused.

anwhile, in New York City, where
ederal Courts are constantly sitting
are overburdened with business, the
ral Government leases court room
in the twenty-seventh story of the
lworth Building. Probably Texarkana
s it is entitled to a court house in
rence to New York. A most unfor-
te feeling exists in these small towns
st the large cities. I mention these
rations not to champion the city
st the smaller communities. Unfor-
tely, the Federal Courts do an
nous business in New York City and
little in Texarkana. The point at
is that we should put these buildings
e the public necessities demand.

one hand Texarkana, with an elabor-
ourt house used three or four days in
ear; on the other, the busy court in
York City, forced to hold its sessions
commercial skyscraper: here we have
beginning and the end of the great
rican pork barrel system of legislation.
ress, in the last public buildings bill,
ut an appropriation to purchase a
house site in New York City, but
ed on appropriations for post office
at a Paintsville, in Kentucky, with a
lation of 942 souls, and Newcastle,
yoming, which has a population of
Chicago, which has postal receipts
3,000,000 a year, could not get money
gh to buy a site for a sadly needed post office, but Vernal, Utah, which contains 836 people and has annual postal receipts of $6,060, obtained an appropriation for both a site and a building.

ENGLAND'S ANCIENT PORK BARREL

Only a detailed examination of the way a nation with a budget authorizes a public building, and a corresponding description of American methods, will make the situation clear. Here, for example, is England, the country that has developed the budget to the greatest precision. Like the United States, England has a Post Office Department; like the United States, it is constantly putting up post office buildings. Here, again, is an English town, small or large, that has apparently outgrown its post office facilities, or that, for various reasons, worthy or unworthy, desires a new post office building. The pork barrel tendency is a fundamental human trait; it affects the people of all lands; every town in England, we may rest assured, wants its post office and wants as fine and expensive a structure as it can get. Like most American localities to-day, our English ancestors —of the time of Queen Elizabeth or James the First—preferred to defray the cost of improvements out of the central purse, instead of taxing themselves; their representative in Parliament, therefore, would introduce bills, just as Senator Smoot or Senator Sutherland to-day introduce bills in Congress for post offices. Two hundred years ago, that is, England had its pork barrel. About 1713, however, English statesmen realized that Parliament was bridging creeks and building roads for communities that should properly stand the expense themselves. Our pork barrel has only recently become a national issue; pork barrelism, however, became a national issue in England two centuries ago. Parliament solved its problem with little difficulty. It did not have to spend several years amending a Constitution; it simply adopted a new rule of business. This rule provides that "The House will receive no petition for any sum relating to the public service, or proceed upon any line for a grant upon the public revenues, unless recommended by the Crown." That looks at first a little monarchical, perhaps even

autocratic; it apparently says that Parliament shall vote no money unless the King requests the grant. But the "Crown," in the English Parliamentary system, really means the Cabinet, and back of the Cabinet the prevailing Parliamentary majority—the gentlemen whom the freemen of England have chosen as their rulers. If we wish the same idea expressed in modern language, we can take the following provision regulating appropriations from the Act of 1867, establishing the Dominion of Canada—essentially the Canadian Constitution: "It shall not be lawful for the House of Commons to adopt or pass any vote, resolution or address, or bill, for the appropriation of any part of the public service, or of any tax or imports for any purpose, that has not been first recommended to that House by a message of the Governor-General in the session in which such vote, resolution, address, or bill is proposed." The Governor-General, again, is merely the automatic spokesman of the Parliamentary majority.

An English town that wants a post office does not compel its representative to introduce a bill in Parliament. A representative who did such an unheard-of thing would promptly be declared out of order. The local postmaster simply appeals to the "lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury." These officials refer the application to the "office of works," whose officials carefully determine the case. Not politics, but public necessity, decides the matter. If they find that the building is required and that the condition of the public revenue justifies the expenditure, the item is included in the annual estimates for the Civil Service. The "administration" asks Parliament to grant this appropriation. Parliament, that is, finally controls the matter. Members can ask all kinds of questions and investigate to their heart's content; if the project seems unadvised, they can refuse to grant the money. They can even reduce the item; they cannot, however, increase it or propose an entirely new appropriation for a building in some other town. Parliament's business is that of investigation, criticism, of granting or refusing to grant the money—the one thing it cannot do is to initiate. If we had such a system in the United States, this is would happen: the village of Hodge in Kentucky, ambitious for a post would present its case to Postm General Burleson. Mr. Burleson a expert assistants would decide the c its merits. If the post office busin Hodgensville justified the expen Mr. Burleson would include a $ item for the purpose in his annua mates. Congress would then contr situation. It could vote Hodgensvi post office or decline to do so. It reduce the appropriation to $30,00 it could not increase it and it cou decide to build instead or in additio offices at Newcastle, in Wyomi Chapel Hill, in North Carolina towns, which, although they hav about 1,000 population, were "tak of" in the latest omnibus public bu bill. It could not appropriate for latter places unless the Post Office D ment presented estimates for them.

PORK THAT "SMELLS TO HEAVE

Now, for contrast, let us transpla selves to the Capitol of Washing midnight of March 3-4, 1913. Th take notice, is a momentous one. Taft has only a few more hours of life; Mr. Wilson, with the huzzas of ington already sounding in his e awaiting the hour of his inaugu The historic nature of the occasion oc the Senators' minds and fills their spe "Mr. President," says Senator Th "I indulge the hope that the time ha —not that it is coming, but that th has come—when different method prevail and a different system of legi will obtain. The light will break East to-morrow morning and the old will be changed." The Senator i cussing the public buildings bill, the lawmakers are frantically r through in the final minutes—in th get the signature of President Taft will have only for a few hours mo power to sign bills. That this is th odious bill of its kind ever passed American Congress, everybody k "This measure," says Senator Ke the boldest and most audacious raid

reasury that has been attempted
years. The pork in this barrel
quality that it smells to Heaven.
ppose this bill if it affected every
county in my state." And Sen-
goes on to explain that members
ouse had come to him and said:
I give you a public building in
rict if you will vote for the bill."
sure under discussion carries ap-
ons of $45,000,000—the largest
istory of public building pork
Its course has followed the usual
ntary routine at Washington.
s in the bill started, not in the
s of the Government's service,
the ambitions and cupidities of
calities. These towns for years
nessed marble court houses and
e buildings arise in little communi-
ely buildings so out of keeping
ir surroundings that they made
e landscape look shabby. They
s some one has remarked, "like
studs in dirty shirt fronts."
in Kentucky, Fallon, in Nevada,
, in Georgia, and Chamberlain,
Dakota—to mention only a few
microscopic communities—have
led to regard a marble monument
ral right. The prospective Gov-
building has become a political
e Congressman has probably
ted on his promise to secure it;
me to Washington, not primarily
idea of legislating on national
, but of securing "recognition"
community. His first states-
t has been to put in a bill making
appropriation. Has his town
post office or a court house? Of
t. The Government for years has
ndant quarters for $200 or $300
s it is now doing in thousands of
es—and it can continue to do so
ly. When the lawmaker comes
reëlection his constituents will
hat have you done for us?" and
nt to this great marble building.
Congressman will be secure for
years more.

hat this 1913 bill was surrep-
ded through both Houses
n unclean *thing*. All pork barrel bills—pensions, rivers and harbors, public buildings—are now enacted in omnibus form. Congress, that is, does not pass on each pension bill, each river improvement, each public building by itself. The Committee on Public Buildings receives about 5,000 bills a session. It decides how many each Congressman and Senator is to have. The favored bills—usually between three and four hundred—are then converted into one great omnibus measure. The omnibus bill contains many needed buildings; with them, however, there are scores that are simply criminal waste. Congress has to accept or reject the bill as a whole. Nearly every Congressman has his favorite item, but he cannot get it passed without voting for all the others. In order that he may go back and face his people, he votes for about 300 post offices—good, bad, and indifferent—in order that he may land his own particular prize. As one Congressman said of the 1913 bill, "it ties together everybody with an item in it." "I understand," said another, "that it has been so scientifically prepared that it cannot be defeated." What the speaker meant was that the items had been so wisely distributed that everybody was bound to vote for the whole bill. In 1913 a certain hardy Representative introduced an amendment that would have stricken out 150 post offices. "Don't you know," a wise statesman asked him, "that there are already 150 votes against your amendment?"

Congressman John L. Burnett, of Alabama, introduced this House bill, carrying $25,000,000, on a Saturday morning; the succeeding Monday it passed with a rush. He attempted to suspend the rules and pass it without a debate; in fact, the lower House had only forty minutes to discuss the measure. Congressmen, had they the inclination, had no opportunity to scrutinize it. However, this made little difference, for public buildings bills are introduced not to be debated but to be passed. The few remarks made showed that public necessities did not determine the issue. "I believe in putting money into circulation, instead of hoarding it up in the Treasury," said Representative Austin, of Tennessee. "At the same time

these buildings give employment to thousands of American workingmen." "We wish to make these appropriations," said Mr. Burnett, "in order that the people in the small cities may see something of where their money goes. If you want to economize why don't you stop building battleships?"

MONUMENTS OF EXTRAVAGANCE

Other remarks indicated that Congress, in spending these millions, was not really building post offices and court houses at all; it was really erecting shrines. "This is the greatest Government on earth today," said Representative Clark, of Florida, chairman of the House Committee on Public Buildings, who had charge of the bill. "This Republic should not occupy the position of tenant anywhere within the confines of its great domain. These buildings inculcate a spirit of patriotic pride which is not measurable in dollars and cents. We can unite the affections of the people all over this glorious land in a closer bond of union by rearing in their midst an edifice for the transaction of the public business which, while being useful, will at the same time remind them of the glory, the majesty, and the power of this great Republic."

Similarly, Senator George Sutherland, of Utah, who, under the Republican régime, headed the Senate Committee on Public Buildings, also believes that money squandered on architecture is a sure inspiration to patriotism. In defending the right of Jasper, a town in Alabama with a population of 2,509 and postal receipts of $9,303, to a post office costing $107,000, Senator Sutherland said: "I think it is a little bit important to the Federal Government in a town like this, where it is holding its courts, to be represented by a building, with a flag flying at the top of it." Probably Mr. Sutherland was not so interested in having the flag flying at Jasper as he was in planting the same emblem over marble buildings in Richfield, Nephi, Vernal, Spanish Fork, and Eureka, all sage-brush towns in Utah which were "recognized" in the pending measure.

And so we find the United States Senate, "*the greatest* deliberative body in the world," using the midnight hour of a ing session to rush through an omn building bill in time to receive the si ture of a retiring President. One ch this dignified assembly has made. A measure came from the House, it ca appropriations of $25,000,000; Sena however, have added so many item their own that the finished structur sails the taxpayers to the extent $45,000,000. Most of the items m represent "honest graft"; there a few, however, especially appropriat for large departmental buildings in W ington and a $3,000,000 appropriatio a court house site in New York City, the service really needs. But the H "conferees" absolutely refused to a the latter item. Congressman Burnet Alabama, one of the "conferees," already secured a $188,000 building fo own town of Gadsden—a town wi population of 10,000—and had even cured an extra appropriation for m decorations in the court house—a where justice will be administered per three days in the year. But Mr. Bu vetoed the appropriation for a court h in New York City, where, as already the Government has to rent space skyscraper. Senator Warren, of Wyo another "conferee," indorses this attit Wyoming, he informs his brother Sena is entitled to four new buildings and in towns of 700 or 1,000 people, alth New York City gets nothing: "Wyomi Senator Warren informs the Senate, "i acreage, several times as large as York." And so, although Senator O man denounces the whole measure "public plunder bill," the Senate pass

For the final act of this drama the s changes to the White House. The P dent now becomes a part of this ge log-rolling scheme. As his signatu necessary to make the bill a law Mr. in accordance with American legisl methods, is entitled to a "slice of p Indeed, his power is greater than th any Senator or Congressman—as gre that of both Houses combined. Mr. nett and Senator Sutherland accept situation. This is pure Congress logic. Mr. Taft in a few hours will

te House and become a professor
, in New Haven, Conn. New
the President's future home, de-
new post office and court house;
to be entirely fair, it sadly needs
previous Congress has set aside
for this enterprise—a sum large
to supply all this city's legitimate
ents. I tell the rest of the story in
sman Burnett's words, from the
ional Record: "President Taft
to us," said Mr. Burnett in a
o Congress, "that he would stand
l of a certain size and that he was
d in a building he would very
e to have us make an appropria-
which, as I recollect, we had al-
reed upon, which building was in a
re he was expecting to be professor
lege." To which Mr. Austin, of
ee, another member of the com-
added: "I said, 'Let us offer
ething and get him interested in
et as large a bill as we can.'" So
Haven appropriation is increased
00,000 to $1,200,000.

is the American system of appro-
; a more detailed glance at this
bill, "the crime of 1913," as it
called, shows the kind of public
ment it gives us. This measure
ts up the standard that should
he construction of public buildings.
des that, in future, no town that
have postal receipts of $10,000 a
ll have a public building. While it
makes this provision for future
Congress of 1913 blithely ignores
standard sixty-two times. That
ugh this act declares that a post
a town that has less than $10,000
l receipts is a waste of public
his same act provides for buildings
s in sixty-two towns that do not
is requirement. The Congress of
k all precautions that future bodies
not violate this stipulation—and
s on and violates it itself. Ken-
btained seventeen buildings or
towns only two of which have this
of postal receipts. Georgia ob-
n sites in towns not one of which
10,000 a year. Marianna, in Flor-
a $70,000 post office and court
house, although the court holds session there only two days a year; Anderson, in South Carolina, gets a $70,000 court house, although court is not held there at all! Indeed, Congress, over-enthusiastic in the cause of justice, has provided for court houses in fourteen towns where court has

. 12 (Pub. res.)

United States post office at Altus, Oklahoma, $82,500.
United States post office and courthouse at Woodward, Oklahoma, $110,000.
United States post office and other Government offices at Shawnee, Oklahoma, $125,000
United States post office at Durant, Oklahoma, $80,000.
United States post office at Chandler, Oklahoma, $55,000
United States post office at Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, $80,000.
United States post office at Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, $100,000.
United States post office and other Government offices at State College, Pennsylvania, $75,000
United States post office at Pittston, Pennsylvania, $100,000
United States post office at Lewistown, Pennsylvania, $75,000
United States post office at Indiana, Pennsylvania, $90,000
United States post office at Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, $80,000.
United States post office at Berwick, Pennsylvania, $80,000
United States post office at Franklin, Pennsylvania, $100,000
United States post office at Tamaqua, Pennsylvania, $75,000.
United States post office at Donora, Pennsylvania, $75,000
United States post office at Olyphant, Pennsylvania, $65,000
United States post office at Monessen, Pennsylvania, $90,000
United States post office at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, $80,000
United States post office at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, $75,000.
United States post office at Sayre, Pennsylvania, $80,000.
United States post office and customhouse at Beaufort, South Carolina, $50,000
United States post office at Clinton, South Carolina, $55,000.
United States post office at Lancaster, South Carolina, $50,000.
United States post office at Bellefourche, South Dakota, $75,000.
United States post office and land office at Chamberlain, South Dakota, $60,000.
United States post office at Franklin, Tennessee, $55,000.
United States post office at Tullahoma, Tennessee, $50,000.
United States post office at Athens, Tennessee, $50,000.
United States post office at Denton, Texas, $75,000.
United States post office at Gallatin, Tennessee, $50,000.
United States post office at Pittsburg, Texas, $55,000.
United States post office at Gilmer, Texas, $55,000.
United States post office at Mount Pleasant, Texas, $55,000.
United States post office at Honey Grove, Texas, $50,000.
United States post office at Orange, Texas, $60,000.
United States post office at Commerce, Texas, $50,000.
United States post office at Vernon, Texas, $50,000.
United States post office at Cameron, Texas, $55,000.
United States post office at Comanche, Texas, $50,000.
United States post office at Eureka, Utah, $50,000.
United States post office and other Government offices at Vernal, Utah, $50,000.
United States post office and other Government offices at Spanish Fork, Utah, $50,000.
United States post office at Saint Johnsbury, Vermont, $100,000.
United States post office at Farmville, Virginia, $60,000.

A PAGE FROM "THE CRIME OF 1913"
As the Public Buildings Bill for that year has been called

not been held in recent years. Pikeville, Ky., is not legally entitled to have court sessions, but that did not prevent Congress from appropriating money to purchase a court house site there! There are 508 cities in the United States that do a greater business than $10,000 a year that do not have post office buildings at all. These places have to worry along as best they can in rented buildings. When there are so many towns that, according to the edict of Congress, are entitled to have post offices, but which have to go without, why should Congress provide for sixty-two

buildings in places that annually fall below the required mark?

All these buildings in little towns involve an annual loss. Here, for example, is a town with a population of 1,000, in which we put up a $50,000 building. At 4 per cent. that involves a fixed charge of $2,000 a year. Janitor, light, heating, and other incidentals will cost, say, $1,500 more. The total fixed charges, making no allowance for depreciation, will, therefore, be $3,500 a year. In such a town the Government readily rents space at about $300 a year—an amount that includes light, heat, and janitor service. We have, therefore, exchanged a fixed charge of $300 a year for one of $3,500 and have not improved the service. A post office expert who has analyzed the 303 buildings and sites provided for in the bill of 1913 finds that 250 of them constitute an absolute waste of the public funds. Most people are familiar with these little towns. The post office is usually found on one side of the central store; the service given is all that the place requires. In many places the post office has no difficulty in renting quarters at a purely nominal sum. Most wide-awake business firms would regard this as an advantage; not so the Congress of the United States. Apparently it takes particular pleasure in raising Uncle Sam's rent. There is, for example, a small town in Oklahoma known as Chickasha. Our rented post office there costs the American people just one dollar a year. But Congress has authorized the erection of a building here for $150,000! In this case we exchange a fixed charge of $1 for one of about $10,000. We similarly pay one dollar a year for a post office in Kalispell, Mont., but our lawmakers have authorized here a $115,000 marble building. Congress is not only lavish, but foresighted. Not finding sufficient justification for its building enterprises in the present, it is making preparation for the future. It has calculated that Park City, in Utah, will have four postal employees hard at work in the post office ten years hence—how many it has at present is not stated. With wonderful forehandedness the Government is now erecting a $23,000 building for their *prospective comfort*. Ten years hence, our legislative prophets figure, the office at Jackson, Ky., will need for six employees. A $90,000 for their occupancy is under con

Gorgeous as these buildings localities that possess them are tirely uncomplaining. They h dark corridors, oak paneling, chandeliers, and sometimes mura tions. Not infrequently, howe custodians call upon Washington These harassed gentlemen send the Treasury Department aski fences be built around their bui keep the cattle out.

ENVOYS FROM THE "BOOSTER"

The Congressman's activities end when he gets an authorization, only begin. He simply transfers from the capitol to the Treasury Dep ment, which has charge of the construct Congress "authorizes" buildings w cost is not to exceed a stipulated amo the Treasury Department decides much it is to spend. Until recently Secretary has almost invariably spent full authorization; Mr. Bryon R. New however, the present Assistant Sec who has this work immediately in has introduced a new idea. This tionary "bureaucrat" regards it duty to purchase sites at market p erect buildings as inexpensively as This businesslike policy is not with the lawmakers. The pos system really makes Congress Senators commercial attachés fr districts—envoys from the local "B clubs. If Congress authorizes th ury Department to construct a "not to exceed" $100,000, these C men regard it as their first duty to the full amount is expended. Th oak, bronze fittings, and mural p that so frequently embellish these tures are the consequence. In one ern city, the bronze chandeliers were plated—merely that the full authoriza could be used up. And so the supervi architect's office and Treasury Departm entertain a constant procession of Re sentatives and Senators. The purch of the site is an all-important point. T

MR. BYRON R. NEWTON

stant Secretary of the Treasury, who is doing nt work in curbing extravagance in the uction of federal buildings. He angers Con- en by spending much less than the "authori- " permit

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CONGRESSMAN KENT

The Progressive member of the House from California. In the 1913 Public Buildings Bill he secured a $75,000 building for Willow, a town in California with a population of 1,139 people

quently selected on political grounds ıost invariably so in small places.

"There are two factions down there," one Senator frankly says; "one has the

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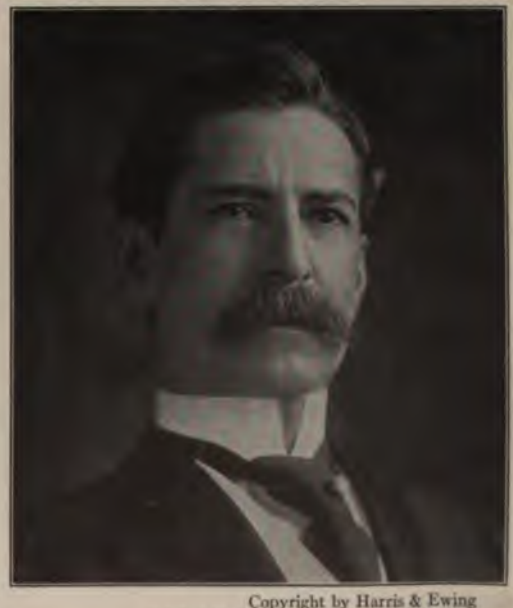
SENATOR SUTHERLAND

ltah, who had charge of the 1913 Public Build- ll in the Senate. In its waste of the public this was one of the worst bills ever put h Congress. Vernal, a town in Senator land's state, with a population of 836, got)00 post office



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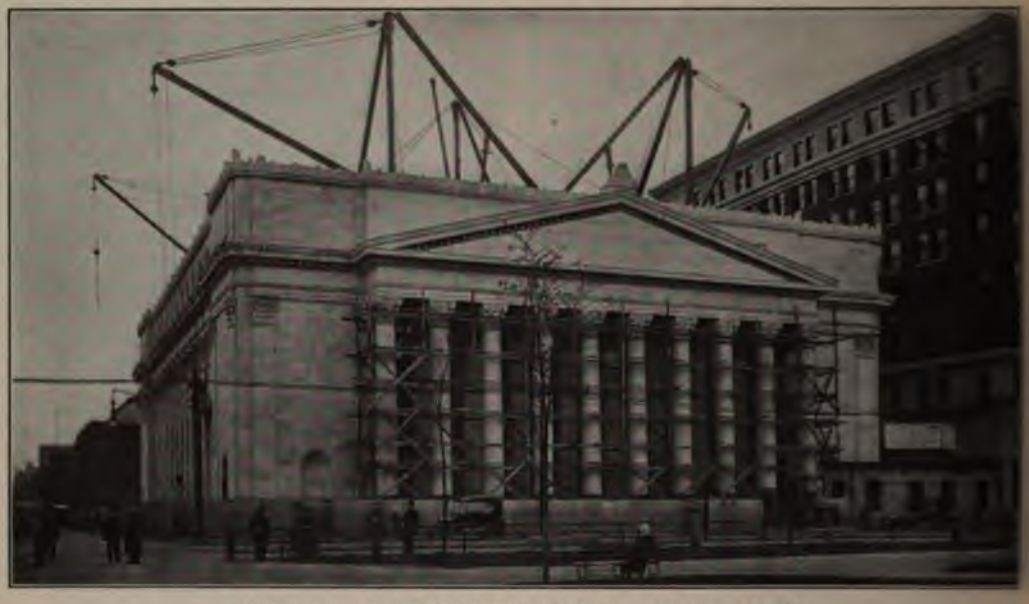
SENATOR SWANSON

Of Virginia, a state that has twenty-six federal building projects under way. In most of these places the Government now rents quarters for from $300 to $400 a year. Towns with a population of 1,000 and two or three postal employees are to have buildings costing from $50,000 to $75,000



FEDERAL EXTRAVAGANCE IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.

New Haven needed a post office, but it is doubtful whether it needs this $1,200,000 Greek temple built of pink marble

postmaster—I want the other to have this site. It will make better feeling all around."

"I was elected on that site," another Congressman pleads. "Won't you help me out by buying it?"

"It's a very close county," says another; "the welfare of the party demands that our new post office be put on that corner."

What the pleaders mean is that certain "influential" people, or factions, control

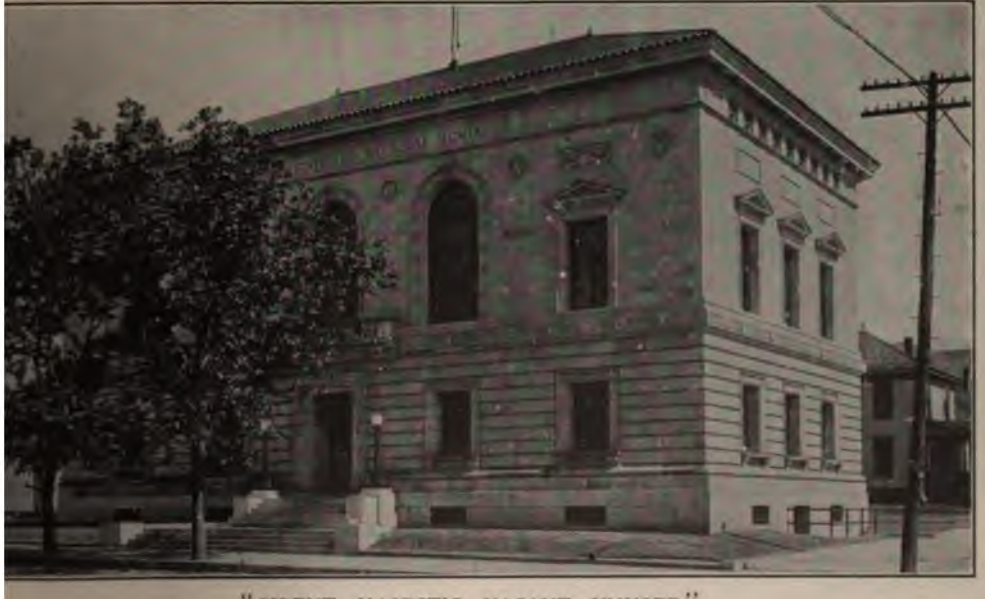
BIG STONE GAP'S "SLICE OF PORK"

The population of this little town in Virginia is 2,590, but its court house and post office cost $100,000. Senator Kern characterized the Public Buildings Bill of 1913 as "the boldest and most audacious raid on the Public Treasury that has been attempted in recent years"

SEATTLE'S POST OFFICE SITE

naccessible plot under seven feet of tide water. Congressman Humphrey persuaded the Government to buy it for $169,000

icular locations, and must be permitted nake a nice profit. As a consequence Government is often swindled. Asnt Secretary Newton used this very word in publicly discussing the site hased for a federal building in Seattle. On the recommendation of Congressman Will E. Humphrey, of Washington, Mr. Newton's predecessor purchased, for $169,000, a plot on the Seattle Boulevard. When Mr. Newton made preparations to put up the building, he discovered that the



"SILENT, MAJESTIC, VACANT, UNUSED"

This $110,000 court house at Texarkana, Tex., is used for only a few days in the year. The rest of the it is closed. Meanwhile, in New York City, the Federal Government rents space for a court house commercial office building

site was covered with seven feet of tide water. "The only present result," said Mr. Newton, in an interview in the Seattle *Star*, "is that Seattle gets no post office, for this site is rejected. The $300,000 appropriation for that purpose will be kept in hand until a dry land site in a proper locality is acquired." Secretary of the Treasury Leslie M. Shaw, just before he retired from office, purchased, for nearly $1,000,000, an absurd site for a post office in Pittsburg. Congress recently authorized its sale for $750,000—with no possibility of takers. Evidently several hundred thousand dollars has been sacrificed here on the altar of politics.

Most intelligent Congressmen, although they profit from the present system, acknowledge that it is wrong and would like to see a change. "I know this is the spoils system," one Western Senator recently said. "I know it is wrong and

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CONGRESSMAN CLARK

Of Florida, chairman of the House Committee on Public Buildings. "These buildings," he says, "inculcate a spirit of patriotic pride which is not measurable in dollars and cents." They will remind the people "of the glory, the majesty, and the power *of this great Republic*"

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CONGRESSMAN HUMPHREY

Of Washington. On the recommendation of M Humphrey the Government bought the site for i Seattle post office, but later discarded it beca it was seven feet under tide water

wicked. But, so long as it lasts I am d termined that my state shall be treate just like the rest." President Taft, a though he did not hesitate to use his influ ence to get pink marble for the New Have post office, has vigorously denounced th system of legislation. President Wilso has informed the party leaders that he opposed to a public buildings bill this ye —the likelihood is that, if one is passe it will be vetoed. His old town of Princ ton, though perhaps as distinguished place as Vernal, Utah, and Basin, Wyo and although it does a much greater post business, has no post office building. It doubtful if a "monumental" structure this university town would seduce th President. Probably not even pink marb would persuade him.

There is, of course, only one effectu cure for this abuse. The central fau of our financial system is that members Congress have the right to introduce bil

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CONGRESSMAN LANGLEY

esentative of the pork barrel system from y. His state secured seventeen sites for in the last Public Buildings Bill. Of these, ifteen are a waste of public money

riating money. The lawmakers of er civilized country have this right. usiness of Congress is to grant money s—but only on the request of the istrative departments. These de- nts alone know what the public ties require. That is largely what ve them for. The Post Office De- nt knows whether Vernal, Utah, a post office; the Treasury Depart- knows whether Pensacola needs a ustom house; the Department of knows whether Texarkana needs a ouse. These departments are con- doing business in these districts; realize whether the requirements d new facilities. But our present makes Vernal and Texarkana the of whether they need these build- As the towns are ambitious for fine ires built with federal money, of they decide that they do need them. buildings cost them nothing—why shouldn't they like them? And so they make miserable the lives of their Congressmen until they are "recognized." In some cases the Congressman is primarily to blame. He comes to Washington perhaps as the result of a political accident; he likes the job, which, judged from the standpoint of many rural communities, pays a fabulous salary—$7,500 a year; and he wants to keep his job. His mediocre talents have not made him a resounding figure; he must do something that will impress his constituents. Before his home people have time to rub their eyes, an ornate marble post office rises in their town. Can they fail to reëlect one who has done so much for them? That is, the Federal Treasury is called upon to ensure this Congressman's reëlection. Congressmen themselves realize the essential dishonesty of the proceedings. "I voted for this bill when it went through the House the other

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CONGRESSMAN BURNETT

Of Alabama, who champions the present method of appropriating for public buildings, "in order that the people in the small cities may see something of where their money goes. If you want to economize, why don't you stop building battleships?" He introduced the 1913 Public Buildings Bill in the House

THE POST OFFICE AT GAINESVILLE, FLA.

Which has cost the Government $150,000. The population of the town is only 6,000. Hundreds of important places have no post office buildings at all

day," said Congressman Gardner, discussing the 1913 measure, "and I am afraid that my motive was that it carried an appropriation for Newburyport, Massachusetts. But I refuse to stay bought longer!" This reminds one of the fa

THE FEDERAL COURT HOUSE AT HARRISON, ARK.

Harrison has a population of only 1,602, but the Government has built there this $100,000 building. is held in it only nine days of the year

"PORK" FOR GADSDEN, ALA.

Representative Burnett has secured four appropriations for this federal building in his home town, the total being $188,000. One of these provides for mural decorations in the part used for court chambers

remark made by Congressman Hughes, of New Jersey—now Senator—when the pension bill, carrying an increased appropriation of $50,000,000, passed the House in 1911. This was another "pork barrel." "I think my services to the Government

THE FEDERAL BUILDING AT EVANSTON, WYO.

Said to be the greatest single case of extravagance in public buildings ever erected by the Government. It cost $185,000 and is located in a town of 2,500 people. Court is held here two days in the year

SENATOR FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS

Who secured an appropriation for a $55,000 post office at Fallon, a town in Nevada with a population of 741

SENATOR FRANCIS E. WARREN

A member of the Senate Committee on Public Buildings, and a particularly successful cultivator of "pork"

are valuable," said Mr. Hughes, giving his reasons for voting against this political measure, "but I don't think it is worth while for Uncle Sam to spend $50,000,000 to reëlect me to Congress."

Unfortunately, too many Congressmen entertain other ideas on this matter. They constantly abuse the power they have of initiating money bills. The one solution is to take this power from them, at least in the matter of appropriations for local purposes and public works. Instead, we should establish the budget system. This would not actually curtail the scope of Congress. That body would still retain control of the purse. It would vote money only in obedience to a request from the administrative branch; but it could grant or refuse this request as conditions justified. Its business would be that of criticism, of investigation, and of veto. This would greatly enhance the character of both chambers. It would weed out those members whose reëlection depends chiefly on their ability to get local appropriations —certainly they would be no loss to the Nation. The more serious members—and there are plenty of them—who are really interested in the Nation's business and would like to spend their time in it, are now tormented constantly by the importunity of their constituents. The budget system would relieve them of this. They would, therefore, have all their time for serious work. Thus the Nation would not only save millions of wasted money, but would get a higher type of lawmakers. And the patriotism of localities would find more worthy outlets than campaigns to secure a lot of useless and expensive architecture.

R NEW GOLD GOES ADVENTURING

LD PLAN OF A GREAT GROUP OF AMERICAN BANKERS, MANUFACTURERS, ENGINEERS TO FINANCE FOREIGN DEVELOPMENTS WITH SOME OF THE RPLUS WEALTH THAT HAS SUDDENLY FLOODED THIS COUNTRY—THE DRAMATIC PROOF THAT THE UNITED STATES IS AT LAST A CREDITOR NATION—OUR FIRST BIG EXPERIMENT IN A NEW KIND OF FOREIGN TRADE THAT IS MORE THAN THE SELLING OF GOODS

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

ENDING your customers the money with which to buy goods from you does not sound like a profitable way of doing business, but substantat paradox is the basis of much of 's success in foreign trade. And ıg to be the basis of whatever sucy be achieved by the most ambithe more recent efforts of American men to carry American merchanond the fifteen-mile limit at sea where the curve of the earth has hitherto set our mercantile horizon.

To make a success of it—even to make it worth while to try it—presupposes that you have some spare cash that is looking for work, and that your neighbors have all the money they need and hence are not trying to borrow yours. England early fulfilled these conditions. It is a little country, a populous country, and a thrifty country. It long ago had all the railroads and gas plants and tramways it needed:

AN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT IN TRINIDAD

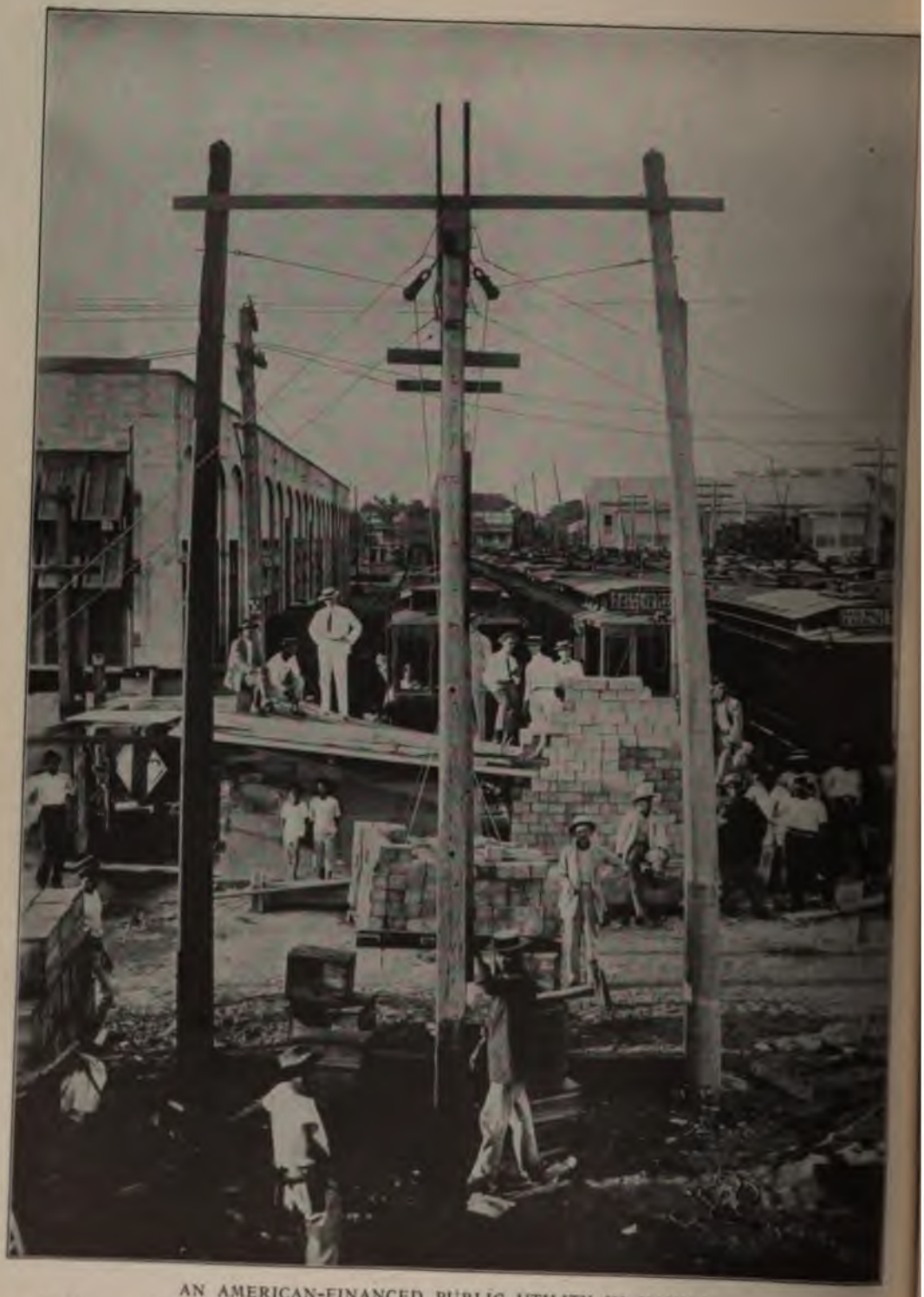
perations of the Barber Asphalt Company, of Philadelphia, have carried American machinery factures to the northeast coast of South America, much as the development of natural resources by pital has made a market for British goods in nearly every land on the globe

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF EASTERN EN

Three great Eastern concerns—Stone & Webster, of Boston, J. G. White & Co., and Ford
(or all four together) of the larger number of the hydro-electric power plants and interurban troll
by the firm of Stone & Webster, whose president, Mr. Charles A. Stone, is president of the new
York. Mr. Stone will study similar opportunities for American capital in all parts of the world, there

AND EASTERN CAPITAL IN THE FAR WEST

, of New York—have either done the engineering work, the financing, the building, or the managing
estern and Southern states. The works in the Puget Sound region, illustrated above, were constructed
national Corporation recently organized by Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, of the National City Bank of New
aly employment for the present surplus of American gold but also new markets for American manufactures



AN AMERICAN-FINANCED PUBLIC UTILITY IN MANILA

Car barns and yards of the street railway system, financed with American money and built of American materials by J. G. White & Co., of New York. These and other American investments in the Philippines have helped build up a mutually profitable trade between the Islands and the United States

AMERICAN MANAGEMENT IN NICARAGUA

ther channel of American trade is created by the presence of American engineers who operate ilities in foreign lands as this railroad from Corinto to Granada is operated by J. G. White & Co., York

BRITISH CAPITAL IN THE ARGENTINE

draulic station of the Light & Power Company of Córdoba, Argentine Republic. It is estimated that *more than 13 billion dollars* of British capital are invested in foreign lands

THE ROSARIO MINES IN HONDURAS

In 1914, these gold and silver mines earned about 12 per cent. on an investment of about 2 million dollars of American capital; and in the thirty-four years they have been worked they have used many hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of American goods and machinery

AN AMERICAN POWER PLANT AT TOCOPILLA, CHILE

It uses California oil as fuel to develop power which is transmitted to the copper mines and reduction works of the American-owned Chile Exploration Company at Chuquicamata, eighty-six miles away—buildings, boilers, turbines, poles, and wire all being purchased in the United States

AMERICAN CONSTRUCTION AT AN AMERICAN MINE IN CHILE

Part of the leaching plant of the Chile Exploration Company at Chuquicamata. American materials are being used in the construction and equipment of the railroads, bridges, electrolytic tanks, warehouses, machine shop, carpenter shop, living quarters, and other buildings of this big property

A BRITISH INVESTMENT IN MEXICAN OIL

One of the properties of the Pearson Syndicate, which is one of the models from which Americans have learned that the financing of undeveloped resources in foreign lands helps to build a mutually profitable trade between the debtor and the creditor nation

A PERUVIAN RAILROAD FINANCED WITH BRITISH MONEY

The terminus, at Mollendo, of the Southern Railroad of Peru, one of the properties of the British-owned Peruvian Corporation which has made a big market for British railroad equipment and incidentally for *many other British manufactures*

: mines worked and mills built that mand required. What, then, was an ihman to do if he had a few thousand ls to spare—especially if he wanted than 3½ per cent. and safety?
did not have to seek the answer: it to him in the mails from overseas homesick younger sons in the Pun- n the Australian bush, or in the in Andes, "by the campfire, on a t upside down," wrote back of daz- pportunities for gain that lay before —virgin timberlands, the unexhausted of great mines, vast beds of fertile e for the depleted fields of Europe— iting for the Midas-touch of capital rn their idle wealth into golden ns of profit for an industrious people. the sons wrote the fathers believed: h companies were organized to build ids, dig mines, sink oil wells, develop powers in these distant lands. the trails the explorers had blazed the engineers; after them came the rs. All were English. And when uilt, they turned back home for their ials—English rails, English locomo- English cars, English pumps, Eng- rills, saws, dredges—English every- They created out of nothing a t for the wares of London, for the acturers of Leeds and Birmingham. more natural, once Birmingham, and London grasped this fact, than hey should invest of their profits in f these foreign promotions, to create markets for goods on which more could be made? They did exactly nd the product was that colonial and that colossal foreign trade on Germany gazed with greedy eyes ars ago. India, Australia, South Canada—these are fruits of that rcial policy, hardy young offshoots old stock, nourished in their growth ith gold and repaying the debt in a hat is as natural a benefit to Britain shade of a tree's leaves is a benefit roots from which the leaves draw p that feeds them.

United States, meanwhile, had been d to itself. Its England was New nd and New York. They were its little isles of manufacture, thrift, and surplus earnings. The prairies, deserts, mountains, and Far Western valleys were its South Africa, its Canada, its India. Its younger sons went overland instead of overseas. They, too, wrote back of dazzling opportunities for gain—in Michigan, Colorado, Montana, California. Their fathers also believed, and out of their faith sprang the Calumet & Hecla copper mines, the Pacific railroads, the agricultural development of the West, and all the other splendid expressions of the American spirit that so magically transformed the wilderness. This task was nearly done, but we were still absorbed in its final details, when suddenly the deafening uproar of the European war made us look anxiously about us to see where we stood in a world full of turmoil. As we looked over the garden wall of the Atlantic we saw Europe's fruitful industry abandoned, and Europe asking us to sell her everything she needed—not only weapons and ammunition but foodstuffs, clothing, machinery, all the products of our shops and farms. She, in return, had nothing to sell: her men were too busy fighting to create stuff to give us in exchange. Hence she offered pay in gold or in the return of the ownership of some of our own properties which she had acquired by the purchase of American stocks and bonds.

A NATION WITH TOO MUCH GOLD

Almost before we knew it, then, we had "money to burn"—literally tons of gold lying idle in the vaults of banks, to say nothing of millions upon millions of dollars' worth of our own securities, their owners all eager for a chance to put them to work earning interest. The recent enactment of the Federal Reserve Act only made our sudden riches more embarrassing, for that Act had so changed our system of banking that every $18 of gold in the banks created $82 worth of lendable credit, whereas formerly, of every $100, $25 had to sit in the vaults while only $75 went out to work in the form of loans. In other words, we not only had enormously more gold, but every dollar of it went a good deal further than ever before in financing new enterprises. That is the situation to-day.

Such a situation cannot last. Inter-

national trade is just that—a trade: I give you something I have that you want in exchange for something you have that I want. If your workshop burns up and everything you have is destroyed, we cannot trade any longer because you have nothing to barter; and I lose you as a customer. Rather than do that, I lend you money with which to rebuild your shop, so that you may make more goods to trade for my goods.

That is exactly what we shall ultimately have to do for Europe—lend back much of the money we have got from her, so that she may go into business again and resume a normal trade with us. We have already done this on a small scale; but until peace permits Europe's men to return to industry Europe will not need all the money that we have to spare.

But China needs it, South America needs it, India and South Africa need it. They used to get their money from England or France or Belgium: now those countries are spending it on war instead. The undeveloped countries of the world have therefore turned to us for the capital that Europe cannot now supply. Here opens for the United States an opportunity to carry its enterprise abroad—an opportunity that is also a duty.

A READY PATH TO FOREIGN TRADE

Fortunately, we have already in existence the machinery to do this. The engineering and financing organizations that answered the call of the West for water power and traction systems need only a slight adjustment to new conditions to be ready to go outside the United States into the byways of the world upon the same errand of development. What the great firms of Stone & Webster, of Boston, and J. G. White & Company and Ford, Bacon & Davis, of New York, have been doing for years in the West and South are exactly the things that we shall now have to do in Asia and South America. To understand what Mr. Vanderlip's new American International Corporation will do abroad it is necessary only to understand what has happened dozens of times in the experience of these companies at home. To make this clearer, let us imagine a series of events that are purely fictitious yet that exactly illustrate the methods of these companies:

Suppose that you are a citizen of a small but rapidly growing town in central California. You would call your town a city, but it has no electric lights or trolleys. Both are needed. You know that in the mountains forty miles away a fair-sized stream flows steeply from an upland meadow through a narrow gorge. You get the idea that this gorge could be dammed and electric power developed from the pent-up waters. That power could light your town and run your trolleys. You preëmpt this water and get options on the land for a reservoir. Then you carry your dream to your local banker.

He throws up his hands. "Heavens! man, that will take millions of dollars!" Then he remembers that he has heard of big Eastern firms that handle this kind of work. He writes to his bank in New York, and they refer him to J. G. White & Company. That company writes back for all the details you may have; you send them all the facts you can think of. Now begins an office examination of the project in J. G. White & Company's New York office. Young engineers get out Government maps and reports and study them. They find that your town has 10,000 population; that it is the centre of a profitable fruit and dairy industry; two steam railroads run through it and provide an outlet for its products; the outlook is good that it will grow and prosper. Next they study the contour maps of the mountains where your water claim is situated. From them the project of a dam seems feasible. Government reports of the run-off of the tributary watershed indicate that there will always be water enough to keep your proposed reservoir full. Altogether the proposition seems worth further study. An engineer is sent to make an investigation on the ground.

A BUSINESS SURVEY

He meets you and goes with you for an automobile ride through the town and its surrounding country. He makes notes on the condition of ranch houses that he passes; the number of new houses that are

g up; the appearance of the orchards the cattle. He calls on the bankers learns the number of depositors they : and how much money is in the banks. ets from the postmaster the amount of and money orders he handles. He ; with merchants about their business. itations men at important street cor- and gets a record of the number of le who pass them during the day. n he leaves town he probably knows : about it than any one man in it—not guesswork, but by accurate figures ten down in a book. And he makes a ar survey of your power-site and of country over which the transmission must pass. He returns to New York advises a more detailed survey. This ad survey leaves nothing to chance: it rs everything that could affect the ibility of success or failure in the rtaking.

the final report is favorable, your s and the other necessary rights are ired by mutual agreement. J. G. te & Company organize a corporation ake your dream come true. Now they : find the millions to do it with. The tors have been doing this work for s. They know and are trusted by of great fortune who are willing to st money on their judgment. If four ons are needed, the directors them- s may take a few hundred thousand rs apiece of the bonds of the new cor- tion, and their friends take the rest. / get these bonds at, say, $80 cash for a l worth $100. Possibly, in addition, get a share of common stock for every bonds, as a bonus. By this means, ale of $5,000,000 worth of bonds, par e, and $2,500,000 worth of stock, par e, yields the $4,000,000 of cash that is ed to build your system.

INANCIERS, ENGINEERS, BUILDERS

far, you have dealt with the New t company simply as specialists in the ncing of public utility properties of y description. Now you begin to deal the same people in a new guise: leal with them as highly efficient neers and contractors engaged in the n and construction of hydro-electric, steam railroad, and electric properties; and electric light and power stations, and gas plants. In other words, they are not only experts in deciding on the value of dreams, and financiers in touch with large bodies of capital; they are also equipped actually to build the thing they have financed. And so, in a few months, thousands of workmen and engineers are swarming over your mountain site, across your fertile valley, through your busy streets, and soon your power house and transmission line and trolleys are a reality, and your town becomes the city you had imagined it. Then, most likely, you will find the same people established in your city in still another guise: for the same company's men act as operators and managers of public service properties and industrial corporations. It thus gives you the benefit of a third experienced and efficient service which it is organized and equipped to render.

ENTER, THE BOND MERCHANT

Meantime, the Eastern capitalists, who have rendered your community a most useful service by giving it the means to a larger growth, are getting their return. Your system is a financial success: the bonds they bought at $80 on the hundred are now worth $95 on the hundred. The capitalists may then dispose of them at a profit. They take them, we will say, to bond merchants—N. W. Halsey & Company, Spencer Trask & Company, or other concerns of that kind in New York, to whom they sell them for, not $95, but, say, $90. This leaves these bond merchants a margin of $5 on each bond for their selling expense and profits. They, in turn, sell them retail to the public, so that ultimately the indebtedness of your company is owned by a merchant in St. Louis, a school teacher in Boston, a doctor in Denver, and thousands of other small investors all over the country. The stock may be disposed of by similar methods. By this circuitous path you have drawn upon the savings of the whole nation to make life in your town more convenient and more prosperous. And the transaction has been profitable for everybody concerned.

One more point should be considered in

this picture. When the J. G. White Engineering Corporation came to build your system, it had to bring from the East much of its materials—its generators, switchboards, wire, trolley cars, rails, and other things—because only in the East are they manufactured. What more natural, when the financiers were looking for the capital, than that they should say to the manufacturers of these things: "We are about to create a market for your goods; share with us in financing the project that will benefit you?" And what simpler way could the manufacturers find of making a new market for their goods than by investing money they can borrow at 6 per cent. in an enterprise to which they can sell goods at a profit of 10 per cent?

Now this picture is an exact illustration of the way American engineers, American capitalists, and American manufacturers purpose to create a new market for American goods abroad. Instead of a 4-million-dollar trolley system in central California, substitute a 50-million-dollar steam railroad in China, a 10-million-dollar copper mine development in Chile, or a 2-million-dollar industrial plant in South Africa, and you have a precise picture of the use to which our surplus millions are to be put and an explanation of why it will profit American capitalists, American manufacturers, American investors, and American workmen.

THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL

This is what was meant by lending your customers the money with which to buy goods from you, and this is the means by which a large share of the foreign trade of Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium has been built up. In this way British capital built the South African railroads, creating a market for British-made rails and cars and locomotives. In this way French capital built the Suez Canal, creating a market for French dredges, scrapers, and tools. And so on, through practically the whole list of developed resources in Asia, Africa, and the Americas —even in the United States, for much of our own development was financed in this way, and paid an earned tribute to the owners of foreign capital.

The newest and the biggest organiza to send American capital into foreign l in this fashion is the American In national Corporation, recently organ by Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, presiden the National City Bank of New Y The foregoing explanation should m plain why Mr. Vanderlip happens to chairman of the board of this corpora —he is the head of one of the biggest fi cial concerns in the United States an leading member of the group of g capitalists who are always seeking fields of profitable investment for t money. It explains also why Mr. Cha A. Stone is president of the company has for the last twenty-five years b president of the firm of Stone & Webs of Boston, which has been doing with N England capital the kind of engineer financial, and construction work that G. White & Company have done with N York capital. It explains why many of foremost manufacturers of the Uni States are big stockholders in the compa —their products will be used in one or other of the developments that the n corporation will undertake, and it is g business for them to help finance th undertakings.

A WIDE FIELD FOR AMERICAN CAPITA

The field that lies before this corporat is not limited to the kind of enterprise t has been described above, though that probably be its chief form of endeav Any kind of business into which money be profitably invested is legitimat within its scope. It is a great mechan of finance by which surplus Ameri capital may safely be put to work in parts of the world by means of expert vestigation of big business opportuni and of sufficiently close American su vision or management to make sure t the investment does not depreciate value. Thus the corporation may outright existing public utilities or ind trial plants, in India or Brazil, whose o ers may no longer care or be able to c tinue them. Or it may merely sup capital and an improved management half-developed or run-down mines in Transvaal or Peru. Already it has

ed the purchase of the Pacific Mail ship Company's fleet of seven ves- ying from San Francisco to the West of Central America—an investment if not profitable in itself, will aid in g profits by facilitating the shipment ds and supplies for ventures in that ly partly developed storehouse of ltural and mineral wealth.

MR. VANDERLIP'S CAREER

chain of events by which Mr. Van- and Mr. Stone have been thrown er in this outward-bound excursion erican capital is characteristic of the this country. Mr. Vanderlip is a of Illinois, which is part of that e Western empire in the development ch New England capital played a uous rôle. He began his career as spaper reporter, became a student ness, financial editor of the Chicago e, attracted the attention of Mr. J. Gage, who took him to Washing- act as his Assistant Secretary of the ry, and graduated from that post he vice-presidency and later the ncy of the National City Bank of ork. During his newspaper days, anderlip was especially interested ign trade, and in 1902, after a studi- p abroad, he wrote and published in r's *Magazine* a series of articles he American Commercial Invasion ope" that attracted national at- to the already great achievement of an business men in other lands, and immense possibilities that were yet eveloped.

American trade which Mr. Vander- nd so large abroad needs to be uished in kind from that which his an International Corporation is ndertaking to create. The com- engaged in it were chiefly great an corporations like the Standard mpany, the Singer Sewing Machine ny, the International Harvester ny, and the United States Steel ation. They were concerns which, chieving an enormous success at had turned to foreign fields to find a for their surplus product, or a which might be active when the home market was dull. Abroad, they were simply alien merchants selling an alien product in competition with the native product. They conferred no benefit upon the countries in which they sold their goods beyond the benefit of supplying a good product at a competitive price. In a sense, their status was that of an itinerant peddler who comes to town, sells good tin pots and pans, and leaves with a lot of good local silver in his pocket. That kind of trade, worthy and necessary as it is—and in the long run it will probably always be by far the larger share of all international trade—does not so quickly build up such strong ties of mutual interest between nations as the kind which is now being undertaken. This new kind of trade creates a situation comparable to that which is created when the younger son of a New England merchant decides to live in Los Angeles, brings his inherited money with him, buys a lot in a business block and a lot in the residence section, builds a store and a house, employs local salespeople, and makes a specialty of New England wares. In other words, he puts money into the city as well as takes it out, and by becoming a part of the life of the community creates permanent local ties that make him much more useful to his father's concern in New England.

Mr. Vanderlip plainly discerned this distinction. He saw how much of England's trade rested upon England's investments in foreign lands. When he returned to America the time was not ripe for us to follow England's example: neither was Mr. Vanderlip in a position to lead American capitalists into this field. The next few years, however, put him in a place of first influence with those capitalists, and when the time did come at last, he had clearly in mind the vision of the path in which to lead them.

THE STORY OF CHARLES A. STONE

Meanwhile, Mr. Stone's career had flowed in channels equally American and as singularly adapted to fit him for his present opportunity. He was born in Newton, Mass., in 1867, and graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1888, in the same class with Edwin S. Webster. The two at once

formed a partnership and started business as consulting electrical engineers in two rooms on Post Office Square, in Boston. They did anything that came to hand to do—laying out electrical wiring, designing small generating plants, etc. They invented and put on the market an improved kind of wire for fuses. From this rather local and restricted field their activities soon spread to other parts of New England and embraced work on a more ambitious scale. It was not long before they ventured into a bit of pioneering. The use of alternating current in the transmission of electrical power was then in its experimental stage: Stone & Webster achieved some of the more striking of the early successes with it in some of their installations.

In the early '90's, when "hard times" sent many electrical enterprises into receiverships, the owners of the securities were often puzzled to know what to do with these properties when they were thus thrown on their hands. They knew nothing about the technical problems involved in their operation and management. Both Mr. Stone and Mr. Webster were well known to many of these financiers in Boston, and these men naturally turned to them for expert advice concerning the value of such properties and for expert plans for putting them on a paying basis. Out of this situation, Stone & Webster gradually developed an organization equipped to investigate, construct, and operate public utility properties of all kinds. They acquired a financial interest in many of the concerns they helped to reorganize. Besides making over old properties, they originated new projects, financed them, constructed them, and operated them, usually retaining at least a partial proprietary interest in them. Nearly all the electrical power development, electric lighting systems, and interurban trolleys of the Puget Sound region —about Seattle, Tacoma, Everett, and Bellingham—are products of the Stone & Webster organization. As contractors they installed the power plant and transmission lines of the great Mississippi River hydro-electric development at Keokuk, Ia., which lights St. Louis, 140 miles away. Their enterprises are scattered all through I England, through the South (Savan Jacksonville, Tampa, Key West, B Rouge), the Southwest (Galveston, H ton, Ft. Worth, Dallas, El Paso), and West (Reno, Carson, Nevada City, Puget Sound). When the European broke out they had financed sixty-e companies whose aggregate capital 186 million dollars.

It is his twenty-five years of experi in this work of technical investigation specialized finance that Mr. Stone br to the direction of the foreign activiti the American International Corporat He has at his hand exactly the kind of ganization that is competent, thro long practice, to appraise accurately technical and financial worth of an vestment enterprise.

FACILITIES FOR ASIATIC FINANCE

Thus Mr. Vanderlip has supplied vision of foreign opportunity and the cess to capitalists in New York: Mr. S has supplied the organization for accu investigation of properties and the ac to capitalists in New England. Added these resources of the new company the centres of information about projects that now exist in the branche the National City Bank recently es lished in South America under the di supervision of Mr. W. S. Kies, and r recently of the branches in Asia acqui by the purchase of the Internati Banking Corporation, of New York, w has long been established in China, Ja and India. And for the negotiation business in Asia, in the complex tangl Chinese business and politics and the rents of international intrigue that e around the new throne of Emperor Y Shih Kai, the corporation has the intim knowledge of Mr. Willard D. Straight vice-president, whose experience as Un States Consul-General for Manchuria as representative of the House of Mor in the "six-power loan" of three years have given him an exceptional opportu to learn how affairs—especially finan affairs—are managed in the Far East.

One link in this chain of American eign promotion remains to be forged:

t binds the 50-million-dollar rail- China and the 2-million-dollar in- plant in South Africa to the small n investors. What will the mer- ı St. Louis, the school teacher in the doctor in Denver, say when : asked to buy a bond of a railroad unpronounceable name in China ıre of stock in a fertilizer factory :nbosch, Cape Colony? There is ɔt about what they would have ɐe years ago: politely, precisely, or y they would have told the sales- ıt they had better use for their ıt home where they could watch it, t he had better run along and not alm off his foreign gold bricks on To-day, they may see things dif- . If the railroad with the unpro- ble name in China is managed by rican corporation allied with the ɔank in the country, they may feel buying its bonds, with interest in good American gold coin in New If the fertilizer factory at Stellen- owned and operated by an Amer- poration with 50 million dollars of and if the interest they are asked ; not merely a share of stock in the · factory, but is practically a prom- ote (called a debenture bond) of ıerican corporation, they may not king some of their surplus cash in t.

word "may" is the crux of the of the ultimate success of the n International Corporation, and :ver other big concerns may enter ign field in competition with it. ns as a race are conservative in matters, and they have been a eping people. They have not the seven seas so long as their cousins. Foreign lands and un- ceable names make them a bit ıs of everything connected with And, of course, not every excursion British or French trading or devel- companies has been a success. ımericans have heard, however vaguely in detail, of the South Sea bubble and of the fate of the East India Company; and our achievements at Panama have recalled vividly to their memories the history of Ferdinand de Lesseps, who, after his brilliant success with the Suez Canal, carried with him to spectacular disaster, in the French Panama Canal Company, the savings of thousands of the small investors of France. Quite naturally, and quite properly, the small investors of America are going to look twice before they follow financial leadership, however sound, into a novel path of investment, however good. How fast and how far they will follow will depend upon the genius and integrity of their leaders.

The European war has done much to alter the state of mind of Americans toward things foreign. Names like Przemysl and Kraguievatz and Sidd-el-Bahr are as alien and unreal as Stellenbosch and Han-Yang and Rio Grande do Sul: yet the war news has made these first three words familiar in appearance and vivid in their reality as the names of actual places. And when British ships have seized American cotton, and when the price of mules in Missouri has soared with the demand for draft animals in France, even the most rural American has acquired a living sense of the actuality and importance of foreign trade. And again, with as much easy money as is now in circulation in this country, the speculative instinct asserts itself. It breeds the willingness to take a "sporting chance" with money in a small way that is characteristic of the Englishman as an investor in foreign enterprise.

In any event, the United States is now committed to at least one big effort to employ American capital abroad. We shall hereafter probably look as much outward upon the world as inward upon ourselves. We have at last become a "creditor," or "lending," nation. And our immediate problem of a too-heavy supply of gold is being solved by sending it forth on what our commercial ancestors called an "adventure," abroad.

ASSASSINATION AND INTERVENTIC IN HAITI

WHY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT LANDED MARINES ON THE ISLAND WHY IT KEEPS THEM THERE—HOW OUR BENEVOLENT BAYONETS SET UP GOOD ORDER IN PLACE OF ANARCHY IN THE NEGRO OLIGARCHY FALSELY CALLED A REPUBLIC—THE STORY OF RESPONSIBLE EYE WITNESSES

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

MR. R. B. DAVIS, Jr., American Chargé D'Affaires at Port au Prince, was wakened out of a sound sleep by the rattle of musketry early in the morning of July 27th last. Late in the afternoon of the 16th of September, with a new Haitian Minister of Foreign Affairs, he signed the treaty which needs only the ratification of the United States Senate to make a healthy, self-supporting community out of what had been for three years a kind of bankrupt purgatory. In between those dates lies the whole story of American intervention in Haiti: the urgent necessity for it, the way it was done, and the result of it.

When Davis awoke daylight was just reaching over the mountains. Eleven months in Haiti had accustomed the American Chargé to the noises of endemic revolution. But this was a new noise: no halting stammer of shots but a continuous rattle; machine guns were in it, and a great squandering of ammunition in many magazine rifles. Something like a battle was going on down in the shadowy city. Davis looked at his watch. It was a quarter-past four. He remembers the time because that was for him the beginning of an uninterrupted period of fifty-two hours of waking nightmare.

Pretty soon Mr. Williams, director of the Franco-American Bank, came running down from the Hotel Montaigne. By this time the day was clear and bright over the red roofs and the green trees of the town and the blue water of the bay.

Williams and Davis got into a b and drove downtown, Davis bound the Legation and Williams for the b and both of them to find out what the was all about.

As they drove close by the French gation and the President's "Palace" Americans could see that a tramway motive and tender had been capsize an impromptu breastworks just in f of it, and they could make out a quiet forms lying near the tracks. firing continued with gusts of recu spirit down in the city as the neutral b held on for the American Legation. were lying in the gutters, shooting ar the corner, and firing from wind soldiers and citizens—in Haiti a c generally the only distinction—armed old Mausers, machetes, and heavy wal sticks, and all of them talking and y at once, were running wild through streets and in and out of the ho Haitians speak either French or C according to their station in life, and hard enough to understand anything say in cold sobriety. Drunk with bloo revolution and Haitian rum, they s like a pack of dogs barking. As I said, "It looked like the whole place gone crazy with the heat."

At the Legation the facts were obt which proved the seriousness of the s tion, and Davis immediately cabled t Department of State at Washington.

Guillaume Sam, who had become P dent of Haiti in March, 1915, had bee four months maintaining his position

ısing difficulty. The revolutionary of Dr. Ronsalvo Bobo was smould- with revolt in the south of the is- in the north, with Bobo himself, a reckle-faced, red-headed mulatto, at ead of a ragged army, they had broken ıto open brigandage. The Legations rt au Prince—all except the American ion, which would not receive them— full of political refugees, actually ers of the Bobo faction or sympathiz- ith the preceding administration of mar Théodore, whom Guillaume had starved out of Haiti into exile ıraçao.

addition to these interned patriots 'residential faction, becoming more hensive and panicky as the revolu- lowly spread, had arrested 175 polit- ıspects, all of whom, boys and men, als, doctors, merchants, lawyers, were d together in the city jail. For unfortunates there were no rocking , no gardens, for many of them no They were jammed by fives or tens lose cells or barricaded in a corral. of them were actually seen fighting stalk of sugar cane which had been d and thrown away by one of their s. Among these prisoners were Zamor, an ex-President of the blic, two ex-Cabinet Ministers, and ıree young sons of General Polynice, f the best known and respected citi- f the capital.

vas the interned group which organ- the outbreak, and—their numbers d by half a disloyal "regiment" that een broken up by Guillaume—fought ttle of July 27th. One of them, Delva me, managed to send about the city tters and plans of the conspirators ans of which the plot was hatched rms and ammunition were assembled. oise that awoke Davis and Williams a mile away up the hill was the pt made by these revolutionists to he Palace from the Champs de Mars. 'alace guard, about 200 strong, had honeycombed with sedition. These rs got control of the machine guns ırned them on the rest of the guard e same time the rush was made. of the guard were killed along the tramway and inside the Palace gates, the rest dispersing in every direction after a running fight. Enough of them, however, found refuge with the President in the Palace, which they barricaded and held all through the early morning against a continuous fire. The attempt to rush the Palace failed but the revolution was now on in full blast and it spread in a fitful way all over the city. Net result up to this point, about 64 dead Haitians, a Palace full of bullet holes, and a completely terror-stricken President.

Right here is the key to the atrocities which followed. During the night of the 26th, being warned of the brewing out-break, Guillaume Sam sent a letter to General Oscar, the officer in charge of the huddled prisoners in the city prison. This letter has been seen and authenticated. It runs something like this:

If in the morning I am unable to hold the Palace, do at once that which you have promised me you would do.

The first attack on the Palace was abandoned before eight o'clock on the morning of the 27th. About nine, the President with his wife and four children and a few others of his party made a break from the Palace across about thirty yards of garden and scaled the wall over into what they hoped would be sanctuary in the French Legation. Their escape was not made without notice. Several shots were fired; one man was killed in the Palace garden, and the President got a Mauser bullet through his leg.

"BALKAN ATROCITIES"

About eleven o'clock a man came running wildly into the American Legation babbling an almost incoherent narrative. Oscar had murdered all the citizens in the prison—he had run to the Dominican Legation—Oscar was several unmentionable kinds of thing—but he was dead—dead in the street—tried to hide in the Dominican Legation—and the President had been driven out of the Palace and escaped . . . this was the way the Creole-French ran, as nearly as Davis could understand him. Davis understood enough to go at once to the Dominican Legation. There, in the street sure enough, lay

what was left of General Oscar. It was not pleasant to look at. He had carried out what he had promised the President to do. With five of his jailers he had gone into the prison and with their own hands they had deliberately butchered 168 of the 175 defenseless prisoners there. Six managed to escape in the mêlée and one, shamming death, lived to tell the story of the horror which had gone on over his body.

When Oscar had finished his job he had run to the Dominican Legation. But out of the crowd which surged around the shambles of the prison came old General Polynice, father of the three boys who lay sacrificed inside. He jumped on his horse and rode to the Dominican Legation, dismounted, and ran straight inside. He is a slight man, gray-haired, sixty years old. He went right up to Oscar, smashed him over the head with his walking stick, and dragged him out into the street, where he emptied his revolver into him. Then he rode away. The crowd did the rest.

THE CALL FOR ADMIRAL CAPERTON

From this sight Davis ran on down the street to the prison, finding himself in the midst of a rabble streaming from all parts of the city and converging toward the prison. What he saw there cannot well be described. They lay like old shoes piled in heaps, scattered in every kind of distorted attitude, ghastly, sickening. Oscar and his fellow fiends had worked their way from cell to cell cutting, stabbing as they went, ahead of them the frantic cries of the unfortunates who heard their butchers coming, behind them a sodden silence.

Quickly the relatives and friends of the slaughtered political prisoners, many of them representative people of Port au Prince, arrived on the scene to search for their friends, their fathers, brothers, husbands, sons. Charles Zamor ran out from nine months' hiding in the French Legation to recognize his brother, the ex-President, by the clothes the dead man wore. And as fast as they found something which could be identified as their own there would go up from the stricken ones sounds indescribable, demoniacal. One by one the corpses were lifted out to be carried away on stretchers, shutters, planks, on anything available. And so the funeral processions trailed away to different parts of the city, each with its group of frantic mourners.

With these images blasting his eyesight and these sounds in his ears, Davis made his way back to the Legation and telegraphed to Admiral Caperton on board the *Washington* at Cape Haitien to come at once to Port au Prince. It was then about half-past one o'clock, and Davis reflected that even if the *Washington* left the Cape at once it would take her eighteen hours under forced draught to get clear around the west coast into the harbor.

THE SIEGE OF THE FRENCH LEGATION

After sending his dispatch Davis drove back up the hill to his house. There seemed to be an odd lull in the firing, but from all parts of the city came the howling and yelling of the mourners, more like the howling of animals, dogs or wolves, than of men. Late in the afternoon a note written on the stationery of the French Minister came up from Mr. Kohan, the British Chargé. The President, he wrote, had taken refuge at the French Legation, where he himself then was. Both he and the French Minister wanted the American Chargé to join them there so that they might act together in meeting the difficulties and dangers of the situation.

Davis at once complied with this request. He spent that afternoon and all that night in the French Legation. The Legation building is large, surrounded by verandas, two stories high. It held all that night of the 27th a curious assemblage of sleepless human beings. On the top floor ranged President Guillaume, with his family and the other refugees who had escaped with him from the Palace. All together there were about a dozen of them. On the floor below camped the diplomatic corps; that is, all that was functioning of the diplomatic corps. Dr. Perl, the German Minister, was presumably up in his house near the Cercle Bellevue on the hill. He never showed up once during the revolutionary proceedings and bore no part in them. The Dominican Minister might just as well have been in Santo Domingo. As for the other consulates and consular agencies, they seemed to have had their hands full

ıg out of the way, although each one
em was harboring some refugees.
: French Minister, M. Girard, had
to Port au Prince from Egypt
ike both Kohan and Davis, had had
ıan a year's service in his new post.
ter Girard had a wife and two pretty
ters, Christine and Alice. Made-
lle Alice Girard in her white dress
: the trouble began was the most
ul dancer at the Cercle Bellevue
ınd on the quarterdecks of the war-
when they held receptions at their
rages in the harbor. She and her
shine like stars in the night of all
laitian madness and deviltry.
en Charles Zamor had looked upon
ıt was left of his brother on the red
of the prison he came back to
French Legation, livid with quiet
:tiveness. He is the most feared of
ıitians because he is himself fearless,
ıis man, with a machete in his hand,
d into the French Legation to kill
.ume Sam. But Alice Girard, eigh-
years old, standing on the stairs,
ed him; did not stop him negatively
ew at him with vehement reproaches,
ding him of the months her family
heltered him from probable death at
ınds of the man whom now he would
ıd of his ingratitude in thus seeking
late every right of their hospitality.
ıved the President that time. Zamor
lly threw away his machete and
d out of the house, not to return,
ıgh he was of course active in what
ıuently took place.
the French Minister and his family
he British and American Chargés
ed out the tense hours until day-
on the 28th. Hourly they expected
: attacked. None of them then
whether the sanctuary they were
; to the President and his followers
not, in the growing frenzy of the
involve them also in the retribution
they knew the mob must eventu-
eek. The Negroes on the top floor
terror-stricken. From time to time
begged not to be abandoned. The
lent became abject. He was a big
six feet or more in height, stooping
lers, a low Congo type in appearance,
with receding forehead and coarse features. When he had to pass in front of a window he dropped on all fours below the sill, dragging his wounded leg after him. From time to time, as false alarms would come, the little group on the lower floor would brace themselves for the ordeal. Both Kohan and Davis were unarmed and there was no possible means of defending the gardens or the house from attack even by a half dozen men. Their only defense lay in the protection afforded by the French flag and the traditionally inviolable premises of a foreign legation.

The long night wore itself out at last and the worn-out watchers began to take heart again. About nine o'clock Davis left the French Legation to go to his own office for dispatches. No attack on the President having been made during the night, they all concluded that it might be postponed until the following night and that in the meantime the *Washington* might arrive in time to save them all. At the Legation he found Admiral Caperton's brief dispatch advising him of his immediate departure from the Cape. He went back to his house to get cleaned up and change his clothes. Looking seaward as he climbed the hill he saw the welcome smoke of a steamer which had cleared the western Cape of Mont Rouis and was standing in between Gonaive and the mainland twenty miles away. That, he thought, meant relief, and considered the situation saved.

THE ATTACK ON THE FRENCH LEGATION

It must have been about an hour later that he heard a yell so appalling as to discount all the other sounds of the menagerie in which he had been living. That outcry could mean only one thing—the mob had rushed the French Legation. As he ran down into the town he noticed that the ship coming in was a white one and reflected with dismay that she could not therefore be the *Washington*. The smoke lay out thick and black behind her and she was carrying such a bone in her teeth that, bow on, she did look white. But it was the *Washington*, and she dropped anchor a mile off shore, just about an hour too late; about an hour after Guillaume Sam, President of Haiti, horribly died.

As Davis swung into the Chemin des Dalles, which runs behind the French Legation, he found the street jammed with a mob. In front of the Legation gate surged a mass of clamoring people exactly as a pack of hounds hang over the carcass after a kill has been made. There was something on the ground there and whatever it was they tied a rope to it and dragged it off up the street.

A very sick white man made his way down the alley and through the side door into the Legation. The rug in the drawing room was dragged off on one side, with chairs and tables upset on it, and the statue of Joan of Arc had fallen from its pedestal near the door and lay shattered across the threshold. A trail of blood lay along the floor and the veranda and down the steps toward the back gate. The Girards and Kohan were standing in the open doorway when Davis came into the room, and no one was saying anything. There was no hysteria, no explanations.

That smoke which Davis had seen from the hill had also been marked from other parts of the city. Knowing that they had only two hours at most, those who had sworn the President's death must have then decided upon their action. A great crowd had gathered for the funeral of the three sons of General Polynice off in the eastern part of the city. From the funeral they came straight to the Legation. The character of this crowd was typically Haitian. They gathered in front of the Legation on the Champs de Mars and in the Chemin des Dalles in the rear. Ten times more ominous than the outcries of the day before was their silence now. A kind of hum ran among them but no more. That mob was made up of Haitians of every description, from Senators to conscripts; women and children herded with them. From among them a small party of about sixty men detached themselves, slipped around through the alley and over the wall, in the direction in which Davis afterward came, and almost without warning were suddenly in the house. Most of these men wore top hats and frock coats. They carried gloves and wore the kind of patent leather shoes that are made in France and worn in Haiti. They informed the Girards and Kohan that they had c for the President and that they did propose to leave the premises with him. They went quietly about t work, made no unnecessary disturba offered no indignity or incivility to Europeans at any stage of the proceedi

THE DEATH OF GUILLAUME SAM

On the floor above meantime the Pr dent had hidden in the Minister's b room and some one had pushed a mahogany bed across the door leading i it so as entirely to conceal the door. this reason the human bloodhounds mi him for nearly a half hour of fruit searching. But a doctor that morn had dressed the President's wound w iodoform. Some one more keen-scen than the others smelled it, the bed w pulled away, the door wrenched open, Guillaume Sam dragged into the room.

They started to kill him then and th but whether because of the impropri of murdering a President on French pr ises or to satisfy the brutal instincts of mob, his captors desisted. They t dragged him downstairs, through the dr ing room and down the veranda st creating on the way the havoc descril When the mob, surging around the fr and the gate, saw Guillaume coming t toward them they sent up that never be-forgotten yell which Davis heard ha mile away in his house up on the hill. others who heard it close at hand— young girls and their mother, Kohan the French Minister—say they are less likely to forget it.

The gate into the street was locl After fumbling with it for a moment top-hatted gentry desisted. Four or of them picked up the President and th him bodily over the pickets into the cro It is doubtful if he ever struck the gro alive. When the *Washington's* ank chains rattled out through their hawse p portions of the President were still b dragged through different parts of the c The course of these triumphal progre could be followed from the ship by regular chanting and yelling which w with them.

When Davis got back to his own L

ıs he made his way there on foot four times insulted and threatened ɔund three officers of the U. S. S. *ıgton* sitting there waiting for him. vere tanned and fresh and clean. in ıniforms. To the worn out, nerve-, haggard Chargé d'Affaires they he finest looking set of men he had ɔen. The situation was briefly ex- l and then Davis, with Kohan and ench Minister, drove down to the ncrete pier and from there, in the *ıgton's* steam launch, went aboard.

ɔNVINCING UNITED STATES MARINE

ɔ on board, they were received by al Caperton, to whom they gave, s an eye witness, a brief account of ings of the last forty-eight hours. stories concluded, the Admiral left or a few moments while he called a ɔnce of his staff in an adjoining All three of the diplomatic repre- ves had advised a landing in force ans of restoring order and protecting es and property of foreigners. Ad- Caperton, after his staff conference, ıced that he would land marines and that afternoon. Then with E. L. Captain of the *Washington*, the aded diplomats went ashore again launch. By this time all the water- was alive with crowds running up own and gesticulating, and the ıable routes of the President's re- could still be traced by ear back in e and down in the grass market, the st parts of the Gomorrah which ı Prince was that day.

ɔ ashore, the four men got back into riages they had left at the pier head thout molestation drove up to the Desalines, where the revolutionary ttee had its temporary headquarters. were five or six of these self- uted arbiters, Delva among them, ing on horses in front of the palace, ıtre of a seething crowd of jabbering and mulattoes.

French Minister, by this time al- ı complete wreck, had pushed his ırough the crowd, making a path ɔ his house and his wife and daugh- Kohan, Davis, and Captain Beach alighted and, one after another, in a mixture of French and English, addressed the revolutionary committee as they sat there on their horses. Around the group, twenty-five deep, all eyes and teeth and smouldering excitement, pressed Africa rampant.

The three hot, tired white men on foot announced to the committee on horseback that marines and sailors from the United States cruiser were about to be sent ashore under cover of the ship's guns to protect foreign lives and property in Port au Prince. With shrugs of their shoulders and a minimum of expressed assent the revolutionary committee concurred with the action of the diplomatic corps. They could not well have done anything else.

In the meantime the *Washington* had tripped her anchor and stood closer in shore, not straight in front of the town but about three miles off to the eastward on the curving harbor line, off a small suburban extension of Port au Prince called Bizoton. Here, late in the afternoon, two companies of marines and a battalion of bluejackets were put ashore, about 500 men all together, and marched back along shore the three miles into the city. There were no bands of music, no bugles or drums, no demonstration of any kind. The marines came first in their khaki and campaign hats, after them the sailors in white service uniforms, all with bayonets fixed, and they seeped into Port au Prince about as quietly as the shadows stole that evening over the port. Davis, steaming in his Legation, ciphering and deciphering dispatches and arranging the disposition of the troops with Captain Beach, doesn't know how or when they took possession. They were just there. And instead of 500 there seemed to the Haitians to be about 5,000 of them, for the simple reason that each detachment was strung out in column of fours and marched quietly around and around through different streets, as the army in a melodrama marches around behind the scenes and across the stage again. Fifty of them were put in the French Legation garden, detachments were stationed at the "American Hotel," in the market, at the bank, and at various other strategic points, and every street was patrolled.

Headquarters was established at the American Legation, with Captain Beach, as Admiral Caperton's representative, in command ashore. The situation being entirely a military one and the city under martial law, the diplomatic corps naturally handed over all local jurisdiction to the United States Navy. At a quarter before nine A. M. Guillaume Sam had been President of Haiti: at a quarter before nine P. M. Admiral Caperton was King of Haiti.

That is the story of how we went into Haiti. We are still there and by treaty we shall remain there for at least ten years. The bluejackets have gone back on board their ships. The marines—there are 1,756 of them, with twelve three-inch field pieces and fifteen or twenty machine guns—are now persuading Haiti to behave.

Detachments of marines are stationed in every port city where there is a customs house, from Jacmel in the south to Port de Paix on the northern coast. Other detachments have pitched their tents in the chief towns of the interior. The trails across the island are safely patrolled, to the complete discomfiture of Santo Domingoan smugglers. It would be too much to say that for the first time in a hundred years good order now prevails in Haiti. But it is not too much to say that for the first time in a hundred years nothing else but good order *can* prevail there.

During August there were a few outbreaks. Sniping went on at Port au Prince and Cape Haitien while the rabble was being disarmed, and at Gonaives and one or two other places attempts were made at combined attacks on the local marine guard. But the Haitians had never before experienced anything like the authoritative way organized and well-armed modern troops can deal with riot demonstrations. The lessons they learned in August were overwhelmingly impressive. As a result of these lessons the men who formerly made up the vagabond revolutionary armies are going back to their towns and farms.

Through the latter part of August and in the first two weeks of September, with the marine army of occupation in complete control of a tranquilized republic, Mr. Davis negotiated with President D'Artigneuve and his Minister of Foreign Af the Haitian treaty which is now awa ratification by the United States Sena

Robert Beale Davis, Jr., comes f Petersburg, Va., and is twenty-eight y old. Into his first year of service he crowded more experience and respons ity than come to the entire course of m a diplomatic career. His name, with of Louis Borno, the Haitian For Minister, as accredited plenipotentia of their respective governments, is sig to the treaty which was ratified by Haitian Senate on November 11th.

There are several reasons why this do ment, signed by a Virginia boy, may come a landmark in our Mon Doctrinized Pan-American foreign affa An agreement somewhat similar in ch acter is now in force in Santo Domingo.

In the first place, it contemplates only the collection by the United State the customs revenues, which represent per cent. of the entire national revenue also expressly provides for the budget disposition of these revenues so that th may be applied to the public welfare rat than, as in the past, diminished by co tenanced smuggling or diverted to wha called in Haiti "gratification" (Uni States, "graft").

A brand new clause in Haiti is the ganization provided for in this treaty of efficient constabulary composed of nat Haitians but recruited and officered Americans. In the entire history of t Negro republic there has never been adequate police power under the protect of which even a sincere movement reform, like that which was begun un President Leconte in 1912, could have h a chance to get started.

Finally, this is not to be a mere sup ficial dip in and dip out of our black bro ers' chaotic affairs. Our Governm means business this time. Section 16, last of the treaty, provides that the ag ment shall remain in force a minimum ten years "to be counted from the day exchange of ratification and further another term of ten years if for specific r sons presented by either of the high c tracting parties the purpose of this tre has not been fully accomplished."

IN SEARCH OF A CANDIDATE

ES OF THE SUPREME COURT—A LIST OF SENATORS AND THE IRREPRESSIBLE COLONEL

NY one who discusses the national situation with representatives of the Republican Old Guard obtains at least one definite impression: the Presidential cam- of 1916 is already fought, the ɔlican candidate has been elected s quietly awaiting inauguration. :ars, these "standpat" philosophers ınmistakably indicate Republican s. Who is the winning Republi- ndidate? Anybody! What will be revailing issue? Any issue at all! ıriff, Mexico, neutrality, the lowered can prestige—any one of these, or them combined, we are told, will carry the most mediocre Republi- victory. President Wilson's prestige dually declining. It is already so ıat an election, held to-day, would ıly mean defeat; it will have reached ın abysmal depth next fall that the crats might just as well not enter mpaign.

: people who talk this way are mostly ners: they represent the breed of ɔlican politician that controlled the convention in Chicago. They see ud upon the political horizon—such ; as shadowed their enthusiasm a r two ago have all disappeared. The nost discouraging facts were Mr. n's great popularity and the Roose- ɛfection. But the Republican leaders e that the situation is improving in espects.

ıs they think they see new indications day that Mr. Roosevelt is losing st in the third party, while recent ɔns—especially that in Massachu- —show that the voters have even lder enthusiasm for the party of l justice.". Republican optimists ad- ıat Mr. Wilson gained great prestige first two years of his administration. erformed a miracle in making the dant Democratic Party an effective legislative machine. He proved himself "greater than his party"; his programme —the tariff, the new currency law, the income tax, the trade commission bill—unwise and disastrous as certain aspects may have been, at least demonstrated great capacity for leadership. The impression thus became general that Woodrow Wilson was a statesman. Even his Mexican policy, bungling as it now appears —according to these critics—possessed that touch of idealism still popular in this country. Then came the event which has since determined so much of our national policy: the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The first *Lusitania* note made the President a heroic figure. It marked the highest point of his prestige and fame.

But events since then, Mr. Wilson's Republican critics interpret thus: The successive "notes" have seriously jarred American susceptibility. We demanded reparation and disavowal of the *Lusitania* crime; the President, brave as were his words, got no immediate results. Americans have gradually learned that the Nation, once respected and perhaps even feared, has lost all international standing. "Why shouldn't it?" these critics ask. The Mexicans have outraged all our national rights, and have gone unpunished. The Germans destroy our lives, blow up our factories, place bombs on vessels sailing from our ports—all with practical impunity. England destroys our commerce, France takes Germans off our ships on the high seas—and only another "firm note" issues from the White House. Germany's constant violations of diplomatic privilege have produced only tardy reactions in Mr. Wilson's mind. More and more, Republicans declare, is this "lowered prestige" idea sinking into the American consciousness. More and more does the word "Mexico" loom conspicuous in the public mind. There, we are told, the whole mischief began. Europeans have

flouted our rights because Mr. Wilson failed to protect Americans in Mexico.

These standpatters also see before them a reunited party. Progressivism, as a party, is practically dead; the recent elections showed that. Apart from Mr. Roosevelt, the party never had the slightest vitality; and Mr. Roosevelt shows every symptom of rejoining the fold. The occasional "semi-official" newspaper statements put forth in the name of Roosevelt —that he will accept any candidate except Taft, that he will gladly support Mr. Hughes, or Mr. Weeks, or Mr. Knox, or Mr. Hadley, that his really favorite candidate is so-and-so—make no great impression. What really encourages the manipulators of three years ago are Mr. Roosevelt's magazine articles and speeches. These show, they believe, that the Roosevelt attitude has entirely changed. He is thinking no more of social justice, of regulating the trusts, or even of decapitating the "bosses." His one supreme ambition is the political destruction of Woodrow Wilson. The President has taken Mr. Taft's place as the pet abomination of Oyster Bay. The mood apparently increases in virulence; each succeeding magazine contains an assault more bitter than the preceding. In this, the politicians believe, Mr. Roosevelt is not seeking political advantage; they give him full credence for complete sincerity. In Mr. Roosevelt's mind—overheated, it may be—Mr. Wilson has made America the scorn of the world; should the American people indorse his Administration by a reëlection, they would make themselves partners in the general infamy. Our supreme duty, therefore, is to destroy the whole Administration and make a new national start, with "American dignity and prestige" as our motto. All Mr. Roosevelt's energies from now on will, therefore, centralize on defeating Mr. Wilson. This one thought occupies all his waking hours. But only a united Republican Party can accomplish this. One thing will make Wilson's election certain, and that is a split in the Republican Party. Mr. Roosevelt elected Mr. Wilson once by causing such a split; is it likely, under present conditions, that he will do so again?

And so the old machine Republi hug to their bosoms these onslaughts the President. Mr. Roosevelt is enga in a game that really stirs up all ardor in his soul—a campaign against idealist, a peace man, a "mollycodd His articles on preparedness and the Wi Administration are probably the grea influences now shaping American poli

Thus the statesmen of 1912 see a united party and the rise of a powe anti-Wilson sentiment. Yet, when comes to discussing candidates, their id rather belie their prophecies of vict Approach any one of these elder statesm and the result is invariably the sa Who is the man, you ask, to win this f ordained victory? There are several m or less active candidates who repre their particular brand of Republicani There are Messrs. Fairbanks, We Sherman, Penrose, possibly even T Success being so certain, is not the nomi tion of one of these "safe" men cle "indicated"? The old machinists, h ever, who nominated Mr. Taft by m strength in 1912, suggest none of th Taftlike names now.

JUSTICE HUGHES

"It looks to me," they practically say, "very much like Hughes."

Justice Hughes, despite his adam refusal and his general attitude of p gressivism, is clearly the present "favo son" of Republican standpatism. Possi Mr. Roosevelt's supposed inclination ward Mr. Hughes has persuaded the ot party leaders that here is the man u whom they can unite. There is no name at present that so completely sp harmony as Hughes. If the situat remains indefinitely as it is to-day, and Hughes says nothing more about matter, the Republicans may creat stampede in his direction. Probably no ing could be more distasteful to Hughes than any public discussion of Presidential availability. Even a ma zine reference to the subject will probe be extremely distasteful. Nothing could more impossible than to prevent such discussion. The attitude of the Rep lican leaders, backed up by the demand

ınk and file, is making such a con-
tion inevitable. Though there are
' of candidates, there are only three
ghes, Root, and Roosevelt—that
other than a local strength. Only
three have developed other than a
sional, worked-up following. From
rts of the country come reports of a
ıneous movement for the present
e. Not the politician, not the news-
editor, but the farmer, the workman,
ıerchant are putting forth this cry.
; as Mr. Hughes is in the East, his
th increases as one goes West. His
speech-making tour in the Taft
ıign has left an impression of his
:ter and mental force that apparently
leepens with time. "I made eight
ıes on a recent lecture tour in the
e and Far West," one Republican
essman told me. "One fact made
:icular impression. I could mention
names of public men and get only a
ıctory response. I never mentioned
ame of Hughes without getting a
ıneous roar of applause. These Wes-
s believe in him—they want him."

GHES AND THE SUPREME COURT

most pressing political question
ıfloat is this: Will Justice Hughes
the nomination? He discounten-
all discussion of his name; he per-
rily restrained a few absurd
ıiasts in Nebraska who attempted
ce his name on the primary ballot.
ttitude is well understood. Suppose,
moment, however, that the Repub-
convention next June finds itself
ıcked over the rival claims of a
colorless candidates. The situation
es no chance of agreement. Out-
Roosevelt—perhaps installed in the
tine room—ready to bolt once more
ıorganize his third party. A repeti-
f the campaign of 1912, with the
ıty of Wilson's success, again con-
the tired, hot, disappointed party
s. Then some one mentions the
word, "Hughes"; a word that spells
reunion, party harmony, not im-
ıly party success. The champions
ıooms now find an excuse for burying
ır differences and getting to work
for a hearty old-fashioned campaign. Can any one doubt what the response would be? The delegates would break out into one roar for Hughes and the nomination might even go to him without a dissenting vote. Under these conditions could he refuse? Could any man refuse?

Most newspaper readers now understand that Mr. Hughes believes that he has a great duty to perform to the Supreme Court, and that is to safeguard it, in so far as his influence can, from the taint of politics. Once or twice in American history Supreme Court judges have been receptive Presidential candidates. Clearly, political activity or receptivity ill becomes the Supreme Court bench. In maintaining this position Mr. Hughes has in mind the future of that bench. He is thinking not of his present fortunes, or the fortunes of his party, but of the future of his country. What effect would his nomination, even more his election, have upon the character of his present office? Would it not establish a dangerous precedent? Would not political managers in the future turn to this place for their candidates; would not justices have the White House constantly in mind? The precedent once established, the descent in general character would be insidious but certain. Only occasionally has politics influenced Supreme Court decisions; with Presidential candidates on the bench, however, such considerations would inevitably play a part. This means utter destruction for this branch of the Government. Some people have denounced Mr. Hughes's attitude as pedantic, almost priggish. After all, they say, the Presidency is a greater office than a justiceship of the Supreme Court; evidently Mr. Hughes regards it as inferior. But this contention entirely misses the essential point. Our system makes the Supreme Court bench our great umpire; and the first essential of an umpire is that he be impartial—that he decide questions in the clear, cold light of justice. He cannot perform this function if personal ambitions lead him to one side or the other. The use of the Supreme Court as a nesting place for Presidential ambitions would detract from its usefulness as an interpreter of the

Constitution. The black robe and the Presidential aspirant are incompatible.

Mr. Hughes has maintained this attitude from the first. I can personally testify to that. I well remember a meeting with Mr. Hughes a few days after President Taft, in 1910, had appointed him to the bench. That was a critical moment in Mr. Hughes's career. He was waging the greatest fight of his governorship with the Barnes machine at Albany. For four years the people of New York had looked upon Governor Hughes as their greatest asset in the fight for political decency. His acceptance of the Supreme Court justiceship disappointed many, to whom the act seemed almost like a desertion. But Governor Hughes had his own point of view. He had served two terms as governor, at great personal sacrifice; and he had definitely decided to return to private life when Mr. Taft's offer came to him. It opened up the chances of public service along lines for which Mr. Hughes's training especially fitted him and which were extremely congenial. It also removed him definitely as a Presidential candidate.

"Don't be too sure of that," I interjected, when Governor Hughes had reached this point in his explanation.

He wheeled around like a flash. "You mustn't say that," he said. I quickly perceived that my remark had not been a happy one. There was an energy and finality in the Governor's statement that definitely removed him from my mind as a Presidential possibility. I have had no reason to change it since.

A "STAMPEDE" THAT FAILED

Mr. Roosevelt's present enthusiasm for Justice Hughes makes no great impression. Had it not been for the Colonel, Mr. Hughes would now be President of the United States. Governor Hughes was an acknowledged candidate in 1908, and had the New York delegation, but Mr. Roosevelt insisted on Taft. Had Hughes been nominated then, he would have been elected, and unquestionably reëlected in 1912. Nor do those who know Mr. Hughes think much of the "stampede" theory. He is the last man in the world to be "stampeded" into anything. In fact, politicians have tried to "stampede" Mr. Hughes before, and with indifferent success. In the fall of 1905 Mr. Hughes was engaged in a great public work, also of an essentially judicial character—the life insurance investigation. Probably the historian, in tracing the causes of the improvement that has taken place in American politics in the last ten years, will find the most important of them in this proceeding. One result of Mr. Hughes's sudden fame was to place him among the political "availables." He had hardly begun when a Republican convention assembled to nominate a candidate for mayor of New York. The politicians picked out Mr. Hughes, partly, it is generally suspected, because the campaign would close his career as investigator and forestall certain facts which he afterward disclosed concerning Republican politics in New York. The parallel to the present situation is almost exact. He was engaged in a great work of the utmost importance to the public interest; and he refused to be beckoned away by any temptation of political place. He said "No" and he meant "No." But the politicians did not believe him. Like their successors in the national party to-day they fell back on the "stampede" theory. Once let the convention nominate him, they said, and how can he refuse? Well, they tried it. The convention met, and, with loud huzzas, nominated Mr. Charles E. Hughes for mayor. When the "notification committee" proceeded to his house and solemnly presented the nomination, Mr. Hughes met them courteously and declined in a few well chosen words.

The crestfallen Republicans reassembled and chose another candidate. The "stampede" theory failed in 1905; may it not fail again in 1915? He has made one Republican convention go back and nominate another man; he is entirely capable of making another do so.

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF ELIHU ROOT

Outside Justice Hughes and Mr. Roosevelt, Elihu Root is the only name that arouses national interest. On his inherent merits, Mr. Root has many qualifications

two pressing problems facing the
n now are military preparedness and
n policy. Mr. Root seems uniquely
ied to handle both these issues. He
resided over the two federal depart-
s that are concerned with them—he
een Secretary of War and of State,
he served with great distinction in
places. Such army as the United
s has at present it owes almost en-
to Mr. Root. As Secretary of War
erited the rabble organization with
we bungled through the Spanish
When he entered upon his duties,
Army's authorized strength was
). Mr. Root, after a character-
ly protracted struggle with Congress,
eded in increasing this to 100,000,
e also obtained the reforms that laid
sis of the present organization. Lord
ne, once War Minister of Great Bri-
has publicly testified that he gained
reatest inspiration and information
Elihu Root's reports as Secretary of
Certainly a President with this
round could render great services to
ilitary progress in the next four years.
Root also knows the State Depart-
as do few other living Americans.
one of the few Secretaries of State
ave had in fifty years whom the
ean diplomats have really feared;
is shrewdness, his smoothness, his
ete devotion to his country's interest
had the most wholesome respect.
quently Mr. Root enjoys great
ge in Europe; and his election as
lent would lift the United States in
ean eyes. In the present movement
an-Americanism we must not over-
he fact that it was Mr. Root's famous
o South America that laid the basis
ter relations with our neighbors.

MR. ROOT UNAVAILABLE

l, politically, Mr. Root is probably
st unavailable man before the public.
ld-timers like him; many thinking
, who forgive certain things in his
because they believe in his innate
tism and have the greatest respect
s talents, would gladly vote for him.
would Mr. Roosevelt support him?
indeed, the ex-President said that
he would crawl all the way from the White House to the Capitol, if such an obeisant act would make Elihu Root President. "He is the greatest man who has appeared on either side of the Atlantic in my time," was another tribute. Things have changed, however. When Mr. Root presided over the convention of 1912 he became the great architect of the greatest crime of the ages. If, as seems likely, the present tendency is to forgive and forget, the strangest beginning would be Mr. Root's nomination. For this would arouse all the old animosities. Mr. Roosevelt is not the only one who feels this way, for that 1912 convention was an odious performance in the sight of all men. Most Americans want to forget it. The voters, by giving Mr. Taft the votes of only Utah and Vermont, rendered an effectual judgment of Mr. Root's handiwork. Despite all this, and despite Mr. Root's record as Thomas F. Ryan's attorney and as Tweed's legal defender—to mention only two high lights that would figure, justly or unjustly, in any Root Presidential campaign—the old bosses who still control the Republican machinery have been assiduously grooming Mr. Root as their candidate. They had all their plans laid for a delegate-hunting campaign to begin on January 1st. But one cold, blanketing fact has disarranged all their calculations. Mr. Root's political unhappiness consists in that he makes so excellent a presiding officer. As already said, his chairmanlike ability at the national convention of 1912 put the first cog in his Presidential aspirations. Last summer he presided again, this time over the New York Constitutional Convention. This time he did a highly creditable piece of work. The constitution adopted by that convention, in the judgment of most observers, represents about the finest one ever turned out in this country. Yet the freemen of New York rejected it by a vote of nearly half a million. Why this amazing hostility? There can be but one explanation: that they regarded it as Root's constitution. They could not believe that a document which this skilful constitution lawyer had had a hand in drawing did not contain pitfalls. The public judgment was cruel,

it would be easy to show that it was unjust —for Mr. Root, despite his reputation, has stood for many liberal things, such as direct primaries and the income tax, while his terrific fight against Lorimer and against the attempts of Big Business to retain that corrupt politician in the Senate showed that he was no passive instrument of the "interests." In Mr. Hughes's struggle with Mr. Barnes and the other New York "bosses," Root also placed himself upon the Governor's side. But it didn't matter —he had been Tweed's lawyer and the legal light who made possible the deals of the Metropolitan Street Railway; that ended the matter. The rejection of the New York constitution has probably ended the Root Presidential boom.

Of the big figures, therefore, Mr. Roosevelt is the one remaining choice. Perhaps he, more than any other candidate, would harmonize the two wings of the party. The veterans of 1912 detest him; they say that no circumstances can possibly make him the candidate. All political theorizing, however, cannot get away from the fact that Roosevelt carried all the non-Wilson states four years ago except Utah and Vermont. He is one of the greatest vote-getters who has ever appeared in American politics, and, after all is said, vote-getting is a desirable qualification for a Presidential candidate. His nomination would displease many people—mostly the judicial, sober living, logical, respectable kind, who, after all, do not exist in sufficiently large numbers to determine an election. The politicians who hate Mr. Roosevelt are, when all is said, politicians, and politicians who are hungry for victory. Part of their trade is to forget inexpedient animosities; the acceptance of Mr. Roosevelt would, therefore, not seriously strain their principles.

"It will be Hughes or Roosevelt"—this is a common saying in Washington to-day.

THE REPUBLICAN "FAVORITE SONS"

Outside of these three men—Hughes, Root, and Roosevelt—there are a group of candidates of the kind who usually figure in the public prints in the preconvention months. Why there should be such things as "favorite sons" is not entirely clear. Benjamin Harrison was the last fav son who received a Presidential nom tion; that happened in 1888—tw eight years ago; each succeeding years, however, brings in a new Several of these are already shopw Charles W. Fairbanks, for example. O like William Alden Smith, of Mich and Boise Penrose, of Pennsylvania merely absurd. Senator Borah, of I belongs in a different class. He i different from most favorite sons th friends really regret that he seem danger of becoming one. He mak excellent speech, is personally attra has a record for honesty and progr ism. Mr. Borah, however, has no illu concerning his candidacy, and has hibited the use of his name on the pri ballots in certain states. He is st young man: his reputation is grow perhaps four or eight years from now ditions will be more favorable. M while, why should he permit himself t come shopworn? Senator Cum suffers somewhat because his name been so commonly associated with Presidency. He is one of the ori Republican insurgents; he voted for Ro velt in 1912, and inserted a plank in Iowa platform which practically decl that a Republican might vote for e Taft or Roosevelt and still remain "a lar." Possibly this may make Mr. C mins a "harmonizer" candidate; but not certain. The fact that he is not ticularly strong on the preparedness will not recommend him to the Roos wing. The same objection lies ag ex-Senator Burton. He has been a p man and a small-navy man, besides i generally regarded, in his own stat extremely conservative. His politica in Cleveland has represented antago to the Tom Johnson movement; significant that Mr. Burton did not to stand for the United States Senate on the popular vote. Nevertheless, h great ability and character. He has what few candidates have, a real —anti-pork barrelism. In other time successful fight against wasteful federa propriations would make platform ca for a Presidential campaign.

ere remains only one figure of con-
nce—that of Senator John W. Weeks.
, many say, is the real standpat candi-
The old campaigners may talk
ıes or Root or Burton; but they also
their eyes upon a trim, energetic,
groomed, businesslike person from
rn Massachusetts. Senator Weeks
ıe of the few candidates who has
r way a well organized campaign.
mpression prevails in certain quarters
the Nation has outgrown its spasm
ogressivism. It has been fed for ten
, these philosophers believe, on a diet
lroad regulation, tariff reform, "social
e," "popular" government, and the
and is now yearning for a return to the
, common sense of business men. It
ad about all it can stand of La Fol-
Wilson, and other "uplifters" in
parties; it would like to return to McKinley or Taft. The Nation is sick of "agitators"—it is looking for the "constructive" man. Mr. Weeks is apparently the candidate who best represents this school of thought. He has spent the larger part of his life as a banker and broker. His speeches, usually made before bankers' and traffic men's associations, contain suggestions for curbing the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, condemning the Wilson trust bill and Trade Commission, advocating ship subsidies, the protective tariff, and the like. Mr. Weeks is sincere in all this and would not conduct a Presidential campaign on any other basis. But little in it awakens any loud popular echo. One can imagine what would happen to this unimaginative mind if it once attempted to measure wits with the keen and subtle intellect now stationed in the White House.

CORPORATION SCHOOLS

NINETY-THREE BIG AMERICAN CORPORATIONS ARE MEETING THE NEED FOR BETTER MECHANICS, BETTER CLERKS, AND BETTER SALESMEN—BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AND THE JOB, AND TRAINING WORKERS FOR PROMOTION

THE National Association of Corporation Schools is an organization at present comprising ninety-three American corporations that employ than one million people and that use al in excess of 3 billion dollars. Their bership signifies that each of these rations wants more education for or all of its employees, and wants lly enough to pay the bills to get it.
t why should the Atchison, Topeka, nte Fé Railway care whether John , engine wiper in a roundhouse at inta, Colo., knows the multiplication ; or why should the New York Edison pany, which supplies practically all lectric light and power for New York worry because Willie Brown, office thinks that the Suez Canal is in the rn part of New York State? And yet asons why they care are at the root of two great economic problems of modern times, and the correction of the mental deficiencies of John Jones and Willie Brown is full of million-dollar potentialities for the future of American industry in general and the Santa Fé Railway and the New York Edison Company in particular.

The Santa Fé Railway cares because John Jones is a specimen of the kind of half-baked mechanic that modern industrialism has been turning out since the decline of the apprentice system. In the "good old days," that really did have their good points besides being old, a lad who wanted to learn a trade was apprenticed to a journeyman, and after six or seven years of precept and example and experience he knew as much as his master and was graduated as an all-round workman, skilled with his hands, familiar with his tools, and proud of his craft. But along came the inventions of specialized machinery in the

latter half of the last century. These machines subdivided the labor of nearly every trade. An extreme case is that of the cobbler. An old-time cobbler made the whole shoe, from cutting out the leather to stitching the sole. To-day eighty-five different processes are employed in the making of one shoe, and the man who runs any one of these machines need not know anything about old-fashioned cobbling. Apparently, so far as the shoe manufacturer was concerned, it became a matter of indifference whether the man ever knew anything more than how to work the levers on that one machine.

But this was only seemingly true. For, pretty soon, the manufacturers needed men for higher kinds of work—men who were mentally quick on their feet and who knew something about the mechanics of the machines they were handling. They needed foremen, superintendents, and fresh blood for the higher executive positions in their companies. Normally, they would look for likely men in the ranks to fill these positions. But when they looked in the ranks they found dead-alive men who had become part of their specialized machines, who had no technical knowledge. All right, they said, we'll get the leaders from the technical schools. But the boys from the technical schools did not know their particular business—its methods, its spirit, or its men. Something had to be done. They did the wise thing: they elected to supply so much as was needed of trade education and common school education to their own employees.

MULTIPLICATION AND PROMOTION

Thus the Santa Fé Railway wants John Jones not merely to be an engine wiper but it wants him to be ready to step into an engineer's shoes or become competent to be a good repair shop mechanic, or, if he has it in him, to qualify for Mr. Ripley's job as president. Now if John Jones were going to wipe engines for the rest of his life, the multiplication table might well remain a mystery to him forever. But if he is some day to write time tables for passenger trains on the La Junta division he has got to be able to multiply the number of miles between Las Animas and La Junta by the average running time of each train and get the right answer. Hence the thirty-six railroad shop schools for apprentices scattered all over the route of the Santa Fé, from Sacramento, Calif., to Corwith, Ill. Of course, the instruction that John Jones gets is more closely connected with his immediate prospects for promotion than has just been indicated above, but the underlying idea is that he must go up or out, and the railroad infinitely prefers that he shall go up, at its expense.

Now why should the New York Edison Company be troubled that Willie Brown thinks the Suez Canal is in western New York? The illustration is not fanciful, for in an examination of its employees made by that company the examiners were astonished to learn from the papers that the three principal cities of New York, besides New York City, were Philadelphia, Jersey City, and Washington; that both the Panama Canal and the Suez Canal were in New York; that the Yosemite Valley and Yellowstone Park were near Buffalo; and that the largest crop grown in New York was rice. What troubled the officers of the concern as they studied these revelations was that they could imagine what these employees were telling its customers about electricity and about the New York Edison Company. That company is a regulated monopoly, a public service corporation which, like all public service corporations, is confronted daily by the spectre of public ownership and that can hope to escape it only by proving its capacity to render the highest possible service and by constantly pleasing its patrons. If Willie Brown, office boy, thought a watt of electricity was electricity generated by steam because he had sometime heard of James Watt, or if he confused the president of the company, Mr. Nicholas F. Brady, with a worthy gentleman who stages musical comedies and mob dramas but whose sole interest in the New York Edison Company is the cost of spotlights, he was not likely to help the company serve its patrons as they should be served or reassure them concerning the fitness of its management for its peculiar task.

Hence the New York Edison Company took Willie Brown in hand, him and all the

r employees, to help them, each in
· degree, to know what they needed to
v for their own advancement and for
good of the company. Fifteen courses
udy are given by competent instructors
he company's buildings and most of
ı on the company's time. They range
ı grammar, American history, geogra-
and arithmetic to laboratory demon-
:ions of the principles of electricity and
ıe operation of direct-current and alter-
ıg-current machinery. They include
ıns in physiology and hygiene, courteous
eanor toward the public, office practice
business policy of the New York Edison
ıpany, advertising and salesmanship,
ɔgraphy, book-keeping, correct meth-
for telephone operators, and many
r subjects—some of them simply broad-
g the mental outlook of the employees,
: of them directly related to their
ent job and to the job just ahead of
ı. Attendance on the appropriate
ses is usually compulsory where they
given on company time and optional
re they are given in the evenings; but
rest and rating in the courses are
ng the first things considered when
notions are to be made. And the
:fits to the employees are otherwise so
ous that there is no lack of applications
:he optional courses.

he officers of the New York Edison
ıpany know that this system of educa-
has paid. It has paid because it has
ıly raised the level of performance of
r among its employees; because it has
ced the costly activities of the "hire-
fire" department by so training the
ıle for their work that they can stay
l; because it has attached to the com-
r the loyalty of its employees in a
: vital way than ever before.

THE "N. C. R." SCHOOLS

ɔrporation schools are a native Ameri-
product. The first one to be called
hat name and to embody the principles
ıe modern school was established about
ıty-five years ago by Mr. John H.
erson in the National Cash Register
ıpany. He early concluded that five
ents underlay business success: health,
:sty, ability, industry, and knowledge of the business. He decided that his salesmen needed more knowledge of the business and that instruction in the other four directions would add to their usefulness. So he organized them into a school, which he himself taught for some time. To-day the instruction in one or another of the National Cash Register Company's schools touches the life of the salesman at many points. New salesmen are tried out for several months, and if they like the work and seem likely to succeed in it they attend the training school at Dayton, O., all their expenses except traveling expenses being paid by the company. After five weeks of instruction they go back to their jobs with a new vision of their possibilities. Every two weeks they meet in classes with the district manager of their territory and discuss common problems and the company's policy. Once a year, the men who have done the best work gather from all parts of the country and hold a convention for mutual help and inspiration. The company also gives a post-graduate course in the factory to groups of selected salesmen.

COURSES FOR GIRLS

The three examples described above are broadly typical of the purposes of all the corporation schools: the Santa Fé Railway is trying to make better mechanics, the New York Edison Company is trying to make better office workers, and the National Cash Register Company is trying to make better salesmen. Each of them is also trying to do in part what the other two do. All of them are trying to bridge the gap between the public school and the job. All are trying to cut down the waste that comes from having to discharge employees and spend time and money breaking in new ones who may be no better.

This last item has been a source of enormous loss to American industry. The experience of the National Cloak & Suit Company is an illustration of the benefits of the corporation school in correcting this evil. When its officers realized the loss it was sustaining in this direction, it organized a school to achieve the following purposes:

(1) To instruct new employees.

(2) To help employees to a better knowledge of their work.

(3) To give them, if they are ambitious, an opportunity to learn more advanced work leading to better paying positions.

(4) To give them a review or training in such subjects as arithmetic, penmanship, etc.

(5) To enable any of them who are doing work not to their liking to learn other more congenial work.

Ten teachers, all normal school or college graduates, are now employed to instruct the employees. "The material for this instruction is contained in text books compiled by the teaching staff. These texts are printed loose-leaf manuals covering in detail the work of each department taught in the school. The instruction proceeds from the theoretical gradually into the practical so that by the time a student has completed a course she has been doing the actual work of a department and may at once fill a position. All courses are standardized on a basis of one hour a day, and vary in length from a week (5 hours) to three months (60 hours). Classes are held entirely during business hours and on the company's time; in other words, employees are paid to attend school. The number of persons in each class is limited in general to twenty or less, as experience has shown that operative processes cannot be taught with thoroughness to a greater number. The teaching staff includes twelve teachers and a principal. Department heads also give talks on special topics". The attendance at the school has varied from 450 to 750.

This school thus performs a threefold service: it keeps new employees from interrupting the work of old employees while they are learning their jobs; it keeps open the path of advancement for everybody; and it fits the employees into the kind of work they can do best, so that they stay with the company.

The variations in kinds of schools are as numerous as the kinds of corporations that have established them. Thus the Lakeside Press, of R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, of Chicago, employs thirty boys every July, taking only grammar school graduates directly from the public schools at the age of fourteen and, after six months' trial, indentures them for six and one half years as apprentices. The first two years the boys work half the time and go to public high school the rest. During the remaining four and one half years they are taught one of the printing trades and some of the purely cultural school subjects in the company's own school. The Burroughs Adding Machine Company has schools for all three of the principal types of workers —for its salesmen, its office workers, and its mechanics. The Packard Motor Car Company, by its school for apprentices, has cut down the turnover of its working force from 200 per cent. to less than 50 per cent. The idea has been applied successfully even to retail salesmanship, by the United Cigar Stores Company. This company has not only a school but a practice store in connection with it, where the students try their new knowledge on actual customers. All new salesmen must go through this training course, which covers fourteen days and includes lectures on tobacco from the seed to the cigar box, talks on pipes and their construction, the company's methods of buying and selling, the rules for the treatment of customers, and ideas for making the stores more serviceable and economical to their patrons.

Thus far, corporation schools are one of the most promising developments of American industry in the race for the industrial supremacy of the world. With continuation schools and vocational schools they are our preparation to meet the competition of countries like Sweden and Germany, where untrained labor is practically unknown. To be effective under such competition, we must get the utmost value out of the work of every person. In machinery and organization we are the peers of any people. It is in the men that we have lagged behind. Wasted by-products have been recovered and made useful. Wasted human talent is the next big field of study for American business men. They have recognized the opportunity and everywhere are giving thought not only to the deterioration of machines but to the deterioration of mentality, not only to the upbuilding of organizations but to the upbuilding of the human beings that make up the organizations. The age of machinery is giving way to a new age of man.

THE BALKAN CAULDRON

THE REJECTION OF GREECE'S OFFER TO ENTER THE WAR ON THE SIDE OF THE ENTENTE POWERS IN AUGUST, 1914—THE SECRET TREATY THAT BOUND RUMANIA TO GERMANY AND AUSTRIA — THE FAILURE OF "FRA ANGELICO" DIPLOMACY

BY

W. MORTON FULLERTON

(THE THIRD ARTICLE OF A SERIES ON THE FORCES BEHIND THE DIPLOMACY OF THE GREAT WAR)

Double, double toil and trouble;
Fire burn, and cauldron bubble.

SHAKESPEARE, in the Witches' scene in Macbeth, would seem to have had a clear prevision of certain of the melancholy and tragic efforts of the diplomacy of the three Allied Powers, England, France, and Russia, during 1914 and 1915 in the Balkans. Each was provided with a bulging sack of poisons, and Italy, who joined the band late, for excellent reasons of her own, alone carried a pouch containing a few counter-poisons. At all events, mumbling in discordant rhythm their futile charms, the Powers of the Quadruple Entente succeeded in stocking the always thick and slab gruel of the Balkan pot with such a hideous and heterogeneous variety of still more strange ingredients as made the mess, indeed, a veritable hell-broth. Never were nations in arms less assisted by their diplomats. During a heroic year of sublime sacrifice on the part of the men in the trenches, the governments of the Entente Powers were doing their stupidest utmost to aggravate the hesitations of the Balkan States as to their rôle in the Great War, and thereby to stultify the achievements of the Allied armies. It was another commonplace case under the law that "too many cooks spoil the broth."

I have analyzed the hesitations of Italy. It is pertinent, now, to deal with the hesitations of the Slav States, and of Rumania and Greece. The chief characteristic of those hesitations is that they were almost all created, as if wantonly, by the Powers of the Quadruple Entente.

Thus, take the confusion, the confounded confusion, the confusion worse confounded, of the whole Grecian chapter in the Balkan record during the Great War. When, at the end of August, 1914, the Germans were marching on Paris, and, in the doubtful fate of the French armies, the fate, as well, of a whole epoch of history hung in the balance, M. Venizelos, Prime Minister of Greece, secured the assent of King Constantine to his calling on the French Minister in Athens in order to inform him that Greece was ready to throw in her lot with France. This was on August 18th. A few days later, France —nay, Europe and the United States—was saved by the Battle of the Marne. England and France were conducting futile negotiations at the time with Turkey (against whom they were to declare war about eleven weeks later) and the Greek offer of armed intervention was rejected! M. Delcassé, it is to be noted, was not yet French Minister for Foreign Affairs. When, indeed, he became Minister on the 27th of August the advantages of Greek coöperation with the Allies had already been repudiated. Thus, a second blunder had been committed—the first being the dilly-dallying policy of the Entente Powers in dealing with the Young Turks. Moreover, it was well known in the Balkans that Russia, who was then making her steady drive toward the Carpathians, had secured the consent of the Allies to the eventual occupation of Constantinople. The news of this grave fact had rapidly made its way in the cafés of Sofia and Bukharest. Rumania, no less concerned with the prob-

lem of the freedom of the Dardanelles than Russia, had thus been alienated; yet every precaution should have been taken to humor Rumania, who had been for thirty years a sleeping partner to a secret military convention with the Central Powers!

Almost exactly a year later, on August 3, 1915, a Greek Deputy wrote to me as follows from Mitylene:

> We are gazing into the black depths of a blind alley, for now we are sure of the Bulgaro-Turco-German agreement. Will our people allow themselves to be betrayed much longer? Already I am wondering if there still be time to save even Hellenic honor. Here in Mitylene we have 100,000 refugees from Asia Minor, and they are more or less dying of hunger. The Turks, at German instigation, are exterminating our race in every conceivable fashion. Every day, there in the mountains across the water in Asia Minor, the villages are burning, and we watch the smoke of the fires settle slowly westward over Mitylene. Yet more than ever our Government is under the influence of the Germans, who are recommending us to pursue a policy of friendship with the Turks. Oh, my friend, if only I were a Robespierre, what a clean sweep would I make! What a clean sweep! . . .

On October 5th, French and British forces landed on Greek soil at Salonica at the invitation of the Greek Government. Greece had already mobilized on September 23d in response to Bulgarian mobilization. On the same date of October 5th M. Venizelos fell, while Bulgarian forces were massing on the Serbian frontier, and Austro-German troops were trying to cross the Danube in order to punish Serbia, pitilessly abandoned by Greece, notwithstanding the clear text of the treaty of defensive alliance linking the two Powers. The King of Greece had made of the Greek Constitution "a scrap of paper."

In July, 1914, the Balkan mountains had appeared to the British Foreign Minister so far away that he declared that the British people would never understand, and never be made to coöperate in, a war waged for the Serbs. A little more than a year later, French and British troops were fighting shoulder to shoulder, in order to recover for those very Serbs the storied hills and dales from which they had been driven by the Bulgars and the Austro-Germans. Once again the facts were bearing witness to the wisdom of the greater of the historians—to the perspicacity, for instance, of a Sorel—when they tirelessly reminded Europe of the haunting significance of the Eastern Question.

"WORKING FOR BALKAN AGREEMENT"

All the great statesmen have constantly kept in mind the excellent utterance of St. Paul: "Be not deceived: God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." History is a relentless commentary on this text. Armand du Plessis, Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, Prime Minister of the Council of State in the reign of Louis XIII, one of the makers, with Cæsar and Napoleon, of the France that is now fighting for its life and for its historic frontiers, left behind him a remarkable little book known as his *Testament Politique* crammed with wise counsel for the guidance of the Realm. In it Richelieu says, in a formula that every statesman would do well to inscribe over his door: *Ce qui est libre en son commencement devient quelquefois nécessaire dans la suite:* "You are free to choose at the start, but, the choice once made, there is no more choosing." Out of the depths of their exceptional experience of men and things, Richelieu and St. Paul bring forth to the light the same verity of common sense: the statesman who starts wrong must bear the consequences.

The maxim of Richelieu finds grandiose illustration in the complicated affair of the negotiations of the Entente Powers with the Balkan States. "You are free to choose at the start, but, the choice once made, there is no more choosing." It was a superstition of the ancient world that a false step on leaving one's home was an omen of ill luck. The diplomacy of the Western Powers, in its dealings with the Balkan States, started wrong. It stumbled at the threshold of action. Its failures were the logical consequence of the first misstep. What the Powers in question tried to do was exactly the contrary of what they should have done. France made her choice in coöperation with England and Russia. That choice was in favor of a policy which Sir Edward Grey

described quite simply thus: "We and Allies concentrated on working for an agreement." "Working for Balkan ement!" Choices, as Richelieu re- ls us, are matters of extreme gravity: e choice once made, there is no more sing." But this particular choice, ugh of a specious seduction for the ly civilized, generous, and senti- tal members of the Triple Entente, exceptionally big with complications.

RUMANIA'S SECRET TREATY

hen the Great War broke out it was, loubt, a natural first impulse at St. rsburg, in London, and in Paris to to restore the Balkan Union. Restor- ı of the Balkan Union seemed the nat- means to what appeared to the Powers ıe Entente the most natural of ends, ely: the participation of the Slav s, and of Greece and even of Ru- ia, on the side of the great liberal na- who were fighting for the freedom of les, and apparently for the principle tionalities. Did not Bulgaria owe its existence to Russia? Was not the se, "Bulgarian atrocities," still one of atch-words of the romantic liberalism ıgland? Would not Serbia have long vanished from the map but for the ant vigilance of Russia, France, and and, and even of Italy, as to the in- ing policies of Vienna and Budapest? not the very charter of Hellenic ties the generous gift of England, ce, and Russia? When had the woes ete ever awakened an echo in Berlin, when had they failed to evoke the e sympathy of Paris or of London? had given back to Greece the divine n Islands? Moreover, in 1898, when Turkish forces still held all the defiles hessaly after the brief campaign of who found for Greece the 4 million ds sterling required to reclaim the salian lands? Who, but England, ce, and Russia—and in face, too, of refusal of Germany to participate. as to Rumania, could there be any t as to the sympathies of this Latin y, exiled among boors? Indeed, even e Great Britain had declared war on ıany, and on the very day when Germany declared war on France, August 3, 1914, M. Bratiano, the Rumanian Prime Minister, convened at Sinaia a Crown Council. He submitted to the members of the Council a secret treaty, unknown to some of them, that had bound Rumania to Germany and Austria for thirty-three years! By seventeen votes to one the Council decided that no such unconstitutional pact could oblige Rumania to coöperate with the Central Powers in their aggressive war; that the Rumanian alliance with Austria and Germany was a dead letter. If the world had known of the existence of this secret treaty the declaration of Rumanian neutrality, parallel with that of Italy, would thus have been interpreted as still another proof of the insolence of the Germanic Powers in pretending that they had taken up arms in self-defense. Moreover, Rumanian declaration of neutrality had the most far-reaching consequences. Did it not, indeed, decide for one entire year the destiny of the Balkans? It rendered possible the magnificent victory of the Serbs over the Austrians; and Rumanian intervention in Bessarabia, or Bukowina, during the methodical Russian retreat from Galicia, would have perhaps made that retreat a disaster.

Thus, why was it unnatural to suppose that the populations of the whole Balkan region, from the Danube to Piræus, from Varna to Monastir, would leap to their feet acclaiming the champions of liberty, joining their arms with those of the Paladins who had rushed to the rescue of Belgium, crushed under an assault as brutal as any bashi-bazouk had ever inflicted on the mountaineers and peasants of the Rhodope and the Balkan highlands? And to all these powerful impulses of sentiment were there not to be added reasons of self-interest, no less cogent, that were bound to rally the Balkan States to the cause of the Allies? Did not the liquidation of Islamism, so actively precipitated by the burst of Slav nationalism in the two Balkan wars, imply a corollary equally advantageous for the Balkan Powers and for the Powers of the Entente, namely: the consolidation of the Slav States of the Balkans, what Sir Edward

Grey called "concentration on working for Balkan agreement," in order to create an impregnable Pan-Slav world as a counterpoise to the growing might of the German Empire in regions remote from the zones of attraction of England and France? Thus, when sentiment and reason were, to all appearances, so admirably blended, why should any vulgar arts of persuasion —bribery and bluff, false news and rumor, intimidation—be necessary to win the sympathy of the Balkan States?

It was with such plausible arguments as these that Sir Edward Grey and M. Sazonoff and the President of the French Republic set forth on the Sisyphean task that must now be analyzed and, finally joined by M. Delcassé, advanced hand in hand, the blind leading the blind, up to the disaster marked on October 4, 1915, by a Russian ultimatum to Bulgaria, when it was at last perceived that Ferdinand of Bulgaria meant slyly to seize the event of the Great War in order to tear up the Treaty of Bukharest and to recover the Macedonian lands that he had lost in the Inter-Balkan War.

THE FAILURE OF IDEALISTIC DIPLOMACY

When, therefore, after the first weeks of the Great War the Triple Entente had become the facile dupe of the Young Turks, England and her allies "concentrated on working for Balkan agreement." The reader has seen in what a happy and generally complacent mood this "concentration" took place: sentiment and self-interest would appear to have combined in the minds of the several Foreign Ministers to make the success of this manœuvre seem certain and even easy. Full of a lofty enthusiasm in the incomparable beauty of the responsibility suddenly thrust upon them, by the barbaric aggression of Germany, to defend the most sacred ideals of Humanity, the Powers in question were in reality so blinded by the fierce white light of their glorious mission as to fail to see even the most tangible and patent facts encompassing them.

Instead of making obvious facts the elements of the problem of diplomatic action in the Balkans, the Allies of the Quadruple Entente, provisionally rejecting those facts, sought to square the circle. With a doctrinaire optimism they undertook to restore the Balkan Confederation by a method which, annihilating the Treaty of Bukharest, would have established Bulgarian lordship in the peninsula and created rancor among Bulgaria's neighbors. Yet, even with regard to the best way of accomplishing these mad ends, the Allies were not as one: the British way was not the Russian way, the French way was not exactly that of either of her allies, the "sacred egoism" and the clear intelligence of the Italian way were distinctly at cross-purposes with the way of all of Italy's partners; and the only real harmony in the views of England, France, Russia, and Italy was their common repugnance, less on military and strategic grounds than from fundamental characteristics of their civilized prejudices and feelings, to employ the one thing needful, Force, in order to settle a difficulty in which Right and Justice and the Liberty of Peoples seemed to their candid spirits sufficient incentives to any neutral peoples for making a frankly anti-German choice.

Now, what should have been the concern of the diplomacy of the Allies parallel with the action of the Allied armies in France, in Poland, in Hungary, and in the Alps? Its sole logical aim was to assist the general staffs, either by recruital of Allied armies among the neutral nations, or, if that were impossible, by securing the unflinching neutrality of those nations. At all events, every endeavor either to bring the Balkans into the war, or to keep the Balkans out of the war, had to be made with sole regard to Balkan points of view, Balkan states of mind, Balkan ambitions, hopes, interneciné jealousies. Isolation of the singularly heterogeneous Balkan elements, in order to treat them as a particular class apart, was, in a word, the sole rational method for Diplomacy, since Diplomacy eschewed haughtily the one quick method of cutting the Gordian Knot, namely: overawing the Balkans in good time, or even in the nick of time, by such effective action as the despatch of an expeditionary corps to Salonica, or elsewhere, in order to encourage the Greeks and the Rumanians to honor their signature and

:fend their Serbian Treaty of Alliance. King of Greece and M. Venizelos pro- d more than once Dedeagatch, on the an, near the Turkish border, as an llent point from which to begin aggres- action against Turkey. Their eyes on the Dardanelles, and hypnotized the great idea of restoring Balkan in by a revision of the Treaty of harest—which operation implied the est sacrifices to Bulgaria by the ks and the Serbians—fearing, further- : to alienate Italy by excessive con- ons to Greece until it was too late, y appeal of the Greeks the Allies ed, just as they neglected to find for ania just the right compensation at the right time. In fact, they ignored of the real Balkan elements.

HE MIRAGE OF A BALKAN UNION

eece, in particular, insisted, as the of her coöperation against Turkey, the Powers of the Quadruple Entente ld give firm guarantees as to the igibility of Hellenic territory. The ers were ready to bestow on her vast essions in Asia Minor, including the of Smyrna and its hinterland; but, bent on securing for Bulgaria all the edonian territory her Sovereign cov- territory then in the hands of Serbia Greece, they were unable to offer ce these assurances as to her territor- itegrity. Indeed, they proposed even ike territory from Greece and to give Bulgaria. Moreover, there was the e question of the Greek islands and alian rivalry in the Adriatic, matters h require a chapter by themselves. ce constantly replied to the Entente ers that the Bulgars were already allies of the Germans, and that the y of the Allied Powers toward Bul- was one from which they were bound ave a rude awakening. England, ce, and Russia had already received ame warning from Italy. But stead- e three Chanceries jogged on to their , lured to destruction by the will-o'- visp of a Balkan Union to be secured revision of the Treaty of Bukharest. e most critical moment of the negoti- s between Greece and the Allied Powers—when M. Venizelos had secured the King's signature to a decree of mobilization of the army, and even his Sovereign's authorization to discuss with the Entente Powers the potential consequences for Greece of the Entente Powers' alleged intention of beginning military action against Bulgaria—a little speech by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons, a little speech very friendly to Bulgaria, spread consternation broadcast once again in Athens and discouragement in Bukharest. Bulgaria and Turkey—Bulgaria and Turkey? Yes, Bulgaria and Turkey!—had only just signed a Treaty of Alliance; yet the Powers of the Entente were still pursuing with M. Venizelos the marsh-lights of their wild dream of Balkan Union.

Nothing better characterizes the temper of London and Paris during this entire period of misplaced diplomatic energy for the reconstruction of the Balkan League than the fact that Bulgaria's arrangement with Turkey, concluded in August and September, 1915—an arrangement which Rome and Athens and Nish knew full well to be an earnest of the Tsar Ferdinand's utter duplicity—was taken in the Western capitals as merely a curious episode, admitting of a plausible interpretation that in no wise necessarily involved disagreeable interpretations as to Bulgaria's intended treachery to the Allied cause. Yet, no competent critic could mistake the significance of this episode. By the arrangement in question Bulgaria recovered, in the neighborhood of Adrianople, without granting any counter-compensations to Turkey, an immense strip of territory; and for Turkey to have accepted a bargain of this sort she could have acted only under German pressure. Germany calculated that, by facilitating this ingenious bargain, she would thereby restore herself in the good graces of Bulgaria, whom she had left in the lurch after the Inter-Balkan War. William II on this occasion made, as will be seen, a sort of *amende honorable* to the Tsar of the Bulgars. The story, which is an amusing one, is as follows:

Vienna, it will be remembered, was mainly responsible for the second, or Inter-Balkan, War. Profiting by the disputes between the members of the Balkan

"AFTER THE TREATY OF BUKHAREST"

Balkan boundaries as defined by the concert of Powers after the Inter-Balkan War. "Instead of making obvious facts the elements of the problem of diplomatic action in the Balkans, the Allies of the Quadruple Entente undertook to restore the Balkan Confederation by a method which, annihilating the Treaty of Bukharest, would have established Bulgarian lordship in the peninsula and created rancor among Bulgaria's neighbors. Yet, even with regard to the best way of accomplishing these mad ends, the Allies were not as one: the British way was not the Russian way, the French way was not exactly that of either of her allies, . . . the Italian way was at cross purposes with the way of all of Italy's partners"

Confederation over the partition of Macedonia, after the Turko-Balkan War, Austria had incited the Tsar of the Bulgarians to attack his allies of Athens and Belgrade, offering guarantees that Rumania would not intervene. But this action, as had been pointed out by Baron Beyens, the late Belgian Minister at Berlin, was a wanton sacrifice to Francis Joseph of his faithful old ally, King Carol of Rumania. Now, unfortunately for Austria, the Tsar of Bulgaria was utterly beaten by Serbia and Greece, and King Carol was impelled by the sympathies of the Rumanian "populace" to override the menaces and intimidations of Austria, and to take steps for the aggrandizement of Rumanian prestige by humbling his rival, the Bulgarian Tsar. He mobilized, it will be remembered, in the nick of time—in the interests, moreover, of Balkan peace and of Balkan balance of power. He forced Bulgaria to admit her defeat, and to sign in his capital the terrible Treaty of Bukharest, which deprived Bulgaria even of the Macedonian lands that Serbia had recognized as rightfully Bulgaria's in the treaty she had signed with Bulgaria before they set out together on their Crusade against the Turks. Vienna strove desperately to induce the Powers to revise the Treaty of Bukharest, but King Carol absolutely refused to do so; and as Baron Beyens says, "No doubt he was secretly assured of the support of Germany, who was bent on humoring Rumania in order to keep her under German influence." At all events, King Carol telegraphed his gratitude to the German Emperor in a famous phrase: "Thanks to thee, Peace will remain definitive."

THE KAISER'S "AMENDE HONORABLE"

Now the important point is this: while Bulgaria had been fighting Serbia and Greece she lost Adrianople. The Turks had quietly returned thither and recovered possession of the city from which they had been driven by Bulgaria a few months before; and Germany, in order to make herself *persona grata* at Constantinople, refused to acquiesce in the proposal of the Powers of the Triple Entente to force the Turks, by evacuating Adrianople, to conform to the Treaty of London. Germany even went further: she backed Turkey in the new arrangement with Bulgaria, an arrangement that deprived Bulgaria of almost all her recent conquests in Thrace. All these incidents, naturally, had deeply rankled in the soul of Tsar Ferdinand. It was not surprising, therefore, that when, in the critical days of the summer of 1915, the Powers of the Triple Entente, struggling in the Dardanelles, found it advisable to secure the coöperation of Bulgaria, Germany should have made desperate efforts to thwart their action at Sofia. And what simpler way of attaining her end than by procuring for the Bulgars a goodly portion of that Thracian territory which Turkey had taken from them, and

Turkey would never have been able
p but for German support? Ger-
therefore, prevailed on Turkey to
a strip of that territory, and Bul-
hus entered again into possession of
on of her former conquests, without
been obliged to offer Turkey cor-
ding compensations in the form of
engagements. What was meant by
ng that Germany made to Bulgaria
nde honorable must now be clear to
ıder.

REASONS FOR GREECE'S DOUBTS

sion has been made to the speech of
lward Grey, friendly to Bulgaria,
at a critical moment troubled the
mity of Athens and of Bukharest.
ıilly-shallying temporization of Sir
d Grey, which led him to hope
: hope, and to believe in the loyalty
garia, inspired that friendly speech.
e speech frightened King Constan-
who had already been offended by
jection of his offers of coöperation
t Turkey and by the prolonged
lgarian manœuvres of the Entente
; in their efforts to reconstruct the
ı League. Serbia had acquiesced
Entente's policy of Balkan Union,
reece found herself being left in the
not only by her old ally, but by the
; of the Entente. King Constan-
:rceived that his Macedonian con-
consecrated by the Treaty of Buk-
ran the gravest risks of being sacri-
He knew as well as M. Venizelos
whatever the disinterested dreams of
tente Powers, Bulgaria would never
the proffers of Serbia, never ac-
: in the Allies' plan for securing a
Balkany. Bulgaria in the hands of
ar Ferdinand was for the Grecian
. traitor Power, and he never con-
his conviction that the Force of
would finally demonstrate the vast
s of the Allies. For Greece, at all
Bulgaria was a Sword of Damocles,
at fact was just as much a reality
ıg Constantine as for M. Venizelos.
ıct, indeed, was their sole bond of
It was this fact that made it
e for M. Venizelos to wrest from the
decree of mobilization, the urgency
of which was clear at Athens when it became certain that Bulgaria and Turkey had signed a Treaty of Alliance. Thus Greece had many pretexts for wondering whether the Allied Powers were not playing a double game. And in fact, while their motives had, indeed, been excellent, their gestures, seen from the Acropolis, seemed really to be inspired by a deep-dyed duplicity.

Such was the melancholy and paradoxical consequence of their efforts to solve the Balkan diplomatic problem as idealists; that is, by leaving out the essential elements, namely, the Balkan elements. When, finally face to face with the Nemesis that they had themselves evoked, the Entente Governments found themselves organizing, against the first thoughts of General Joffre and Lord Kitchener, a puny expeditionary corps for the Balkans, and their troops disembarked at Salonica without the permission of the Greek Government, it was not difficult to frighten the Hellenic world with the old legend and bugaboo of the Entente Powers' intention of holding Macedonia for the Bulgarians. For the moment, at all events, how could King Constantine feel sure that even M. Venizelos had not deceived him? All the more as Sir Edward Grey was still saying pleasant, diplomatic things of Bulgaria in Parliament at London.

BALKAN INTERESTS IGNORED

In a word, for twelve long months the Diplomacy of the Allies kept saying to the Balkan States: "When will you join us in our Holy War against the Germans?" As if the Balkan States were Sisters of Charity, or possessed the souls of Avenging Angels! The Allies talked to the States the language of sentiment only; or rather, whenever they talked the language of interest, it was chiefly to despoil Serbia and Greece of hard-won provinces which had been for centuries a bone of contention between them and their mortal secular enemy, the Bulgar. Never was there such a spectacle of beautifully speculative but quite unimaginative diplomacy. Because Gladstone had fired the soul of England over "Bulgarian atrocities," and because the Tsar of Russia had raised from

the dead the Bulgarian People, was it, then, necessary that the Foreign Ministers of the Entente, during the greatest of the World Wars, should hesitate lest they hurt the feelings of an ambitious Prince, who was biding his time to crush his foes of Belgrade and of Athens? Yet the task before the Entente Powers was a relatively simple one if dealt with on its merits. It was soluble if considered as a problem of mechanics. It was only necessary to begin by eliminating all irrelevant data. The Allies had only to keep clear before them the notion that they were dealing with the Balkans, and that the Balkans were the Balkans. Thus, their policy and their methods should have been the exact opposite of what it was. They had sought to conciliate their enemies by sacrificing their friends, a method that means not merely disaster but dishonor. Sir Edward Grey acknowledged, in fact, on a solemn occasion, that all the diplomatic action of the Allies was bound to be at a pure loss. Yet he failed to draw the obvious conclusion: "Why, then, have ever indulged in a policy so futile?"

Yes, on October 14, 1915, in the House of Commons, the British Prime Minister made an interesting statement on the results of the prolonged negotiations between the Allies and the Balkan Powers. Ten days before this statement Russia had presented an ultimatum to Bulgaria. Nine days before it, French troops had landed at Salonica and M. Venizelos had fallen. Eight days before it, the Austro-Germans had crossed the Drina, the Save, and the Danube. Five days before it, Belgrade had been occupied. Three days before it, the Bulgarians had taken the hedge of the Serbian frontier. Two days before it, the Greek Government had declined to assist Serbia, and on the particular date in question, Great Britain had just ventured to declare war on Bulgaria. Evidently, the diplomatic situation was not wanting in interest when Sir Edward Grey rose and remarked:

In my opinion, it is clear that nothing ... side a preponderating advantage to the ... in the course of the military events in ... during the last few months, would have ... us to make the policy of Balkan Union ... over the opposite policy of bringing ... Balkan War.

"A GLORIOUS FAILURE"

Several observations might be ma... reference to this verdict of Sir Ed... Grey on the diplomatic labors of hi... and his colleagues between August, ... and October, 1915. A single one ... suffice. Sir Edward Grey's words ar... all events, a candid repudiation o... responsibility for one of the most rem... able disasters in the whole history of ... lomacy. But it may be said of it, a... should be said in it, that the disast... question was a glorious failure, a fa... which—though unquestionably a bl... the reputation for sagacity of the A... Foreign Offices of London, Paris, ... Petrograd—may always be cited, for ... evidence it affords of their generous ... sions, as an exceptionally characte... title to honor. "Noblesse oblige," ... France and England and Russia tre... the suspicious, vindictive, parvenu ... Powers of the Balkans as their civi... peers. They fancied them amenabl... impulses as disinterested as their ... Russia, England, and France, applying ... traditional *Fra Angelico* diplomacy, ... got that there are certain peoples ... even in this Christian twentieth cen... that know only the language of intri... tion. Moreover, that is a *fact;* and d... macy means *foresight.* If England, ... sia, and France had only remembered ... the Balkans were the Balkans, the li... of the doors of the Foreign Offices of ... don, Petrograd, and Paris would no... stained indelibly with the blood of Se... and the Serbian Roland, Marco K... witch, the hero of Kossovo, would n... the present time be hiding in a poor fi... man's cottage at Scutari.

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AMERICA'S WAR-BORN TRADE

THE IMMENSE INCREASE OF EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR — CONGESTION OF TRAFFIC AT NEW YORK — EXPORTS OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS AWAITING SHIPMENT TO EUROPE AND ASIA

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THIS page and the succeeding twelve pages of the WORLD'S WORK *tell in pictures part of the story of our trade with Europe since the war began. The demand for American goods—chiefly from the Entente Allies—has doubled our exports of automobiles, tripled our exports of brass, quadrupled our exports of wheat and other breadstuffs, multiplied by seven our exports of explosives, and multiplied by fifteen our exports of horses and mules. Of thirty-three American industries most affected by the war, twenty-three have been benefited and ten have been injured. The exports pictured in these pages are largely responsible for our present prosperity.*—THE EDITORS.

AEROPLANES FOR THE ALLIES

The United States, for the first time to any great extent, began exporting aeroplanes to Europe in 1915, when 349 of these, of a total value of $2,423,805, were sent to the Allies

VESSELS OF ALL AGES

Sailing vessels, reminders of the days before the Civil War when American shipping was at its height, have suddenly reappeared to meet the demands for sea-going carriers

FROM MAN-O'WAR TO MERCHANTMAN

The English warship *Pelican*, which was used at the outbreak of the war as a submarine mothership, but which has been bought and converted into a merchantman by the Hudson Bay Company

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A CARGO OF WHEAT

Despite the fact that the Government of Canada recently commandeered the entire wheat supply of the Dominion for Great Britain and its Allies, the United States continues to ship great quantities of wheat to other countries. Last year $333,552,000 worth was exported

MODERN ARGOSIES FROM

A FOREST OF MASTS

The United States furnished $350,000,000 worth of war supplies alone last year. To transport these, vessels of many types were pressed into the transatlantic service

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NG OFF RIVER-
DE DRIVE

locking facilities of
tan and Brooklyn
overtaxed that
teamers have had
and unload their
off Riverside Drive,
formerly pleasure
re moored

CONGESTED SHIPPING

The loss of trade with Germany and Austria has been more than compensated for by the larger purchases of the Allies. The increase of our exports over imports for ten months of 1915 was $1,416,499,339, whereas in July, 1914, the balance of trade was against us by approximately $5,000,000

SEVEN SEAS

FOR RUSSIAN RAILROADS

The United States is supplying Russia with a vast amount of railroad material and, with Japan, furnishes Russia with most of its war supplies

HELD UP BY A LACK OF SHIPS

Part of a consignment of locomotives built for the Russian Government to be shipped to Vladivostock, which, owing to a lack of ships to transport them, have been deposited along the railroad tracks outside of New York to avoid demurrage charges

FLAT CARS FOR EUROPE

Although the Russian Government has placed large orders for rolling-stock in the United States, our exports of railroad cars fell from $11,000,000 in 1914 to $3,000,000 in 1915

FOR THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILROAD

The rolling-stock for the Russian railroads is shipped in units and reassembled upon its arrival at its destination. The Russian Government has recently been double-tracking the Trans-Siberian railroad, and for this purpose has bought much material in the United States

HORSES AWAITING SHIPMENT

Draft horses and mules are in constant demand by the belligerents. The American exports of horses and mules rose from $4,078,000 in 1914 to $76,772,000 in 1915

MAN'S FAITHFUL ALLY

The resources of Europe for supplying horses and mules having been drained, the Allies turned to the United States and South America for their supply

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THE COMPLEMENT OF THE AUTOMOBILE

The automobile has not entirely displaced the horse in modern warfare, and throughout the United States the Allies have agents purchasing horses and mules

WITH THE SINEWS OF WAR

ESSENTIAL TO THE MODERN ARMY

American automobile manufacturers exported about 50,000 cars of all descriptions last year of a total value of more than $60,000,000. Great Britain received 20,000 of these cars

INSPECTING AUTOMOBILES

Before the automobiles are loaded on board ship a corps of inspectors opens the packing cases and sees that the machines are in good condition

ONE OF THE MOST USEFUL OF MODERN INVENTIONS IN WARFARE

All kinds of motor-cars have been shipped to the Allies, from armored cars to ambulances. Last year more than 17,269 commercial cars and 31,000 passenger automobiles were dispatched abroad

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PLAYING THE RÔLE OF GOOD SAMARITAN

The United States shipped breadstuffs to Europe last year to the value of $573,823,000. The value of wheat exported to Belgium for ten months of 1915 was $4,194,446

FOR THE RELIEF OF BELGIUM

Through the American Commission for the Relief of Belgium, the United States has been the savior of that stricken country since its invasion by the Germans at the outbreak of the war

BARRELED BEEF

The value of the meat and dairy products sent abroad rose from $146,227,000 in 1914 to $220,052,000 in 1915, an increase of nearly 50 per cent.

KEGS OF HORSESHOES

Among the many products which the Allies are obtaining from this country and which range from torpedoes to lignum-vitæ, horseshoes have an important place. In 1915, $2,500,000 worth were sent to Europe

TAKING ABOARD A CARGO OF GASOLENE

Gasolene is one of the essentials of modern warfare, and the United States is shipping it in large quantities to all the belligerent nations which are in a position to obtain it. In the first nine months of 1915, Great Britain received 16,315,140 gallons and France 12,884,610 gallons from the United States

FROM INLAND TO THE SEA

Bringing down the grain from the inland states by means of canal boats and transferring it directly to the steamers at New York. France, Italy, and Great Britain each received more than 30,000,000 bushels of wheat from America in the first ten months of 1915

ACTIVITY ALONG NEW YORK'S WATERFRONT

All day long and far into the night the waterfront is a scene of the most intense activity. Lighters laden with merchandise, scows with coal, and tugs towing great barges of freight cars ply incessantly up and down the harbor

THE DOCKS OF NEW YORK

The upper harbor of New York has an area of about fourteen square miles lined with docks. Despite the fact that most of the great transatlantic liners are either interned or are being used by their Governments, the harbor is busier than *before the war* with the shipping of supplies to belligerents and neutrals

TOWING OUT A LIGHTER

To transfer its cargo of automobiles to a steamer anchored in the harbor of New York. In July, 1915, the exports from the United States were greater than ever before known for that month

LOADING A LIGHTER

In some cases goods to be shipped are transferred from the dock to the steamer by means of lighters, although more often the freight cars discharge their cargoes directly into the vessels

LOADING A VESSEL FROM LIGHTERS

Since the outbreak of the war the lower harbor of New York has been filled daily with merchantmen of all nations waiting to receive their cargoes

LOADING ONE SHIP ACROSS ANOTHER

Through a lack of docking facilities in New York Harbor, it has often been necessary to load cargoes across one ship to another tied alongside

HENRY P. FLETCHER

OUR FIRST AMBASSADOR TO RECONSTITUTED MEXICO—A DIPLOMATIST OF THE NEW ORDER WHO HAS RISEN BY HIS OWN MERIT THROUGH ALL THE RANKS OF THE SERVICE—HIS CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN THE FAR EAST AND IN SOUTH AMERICA—THE DIFFICULTIES AND POSSIBILITIES OF HIS NEW POST

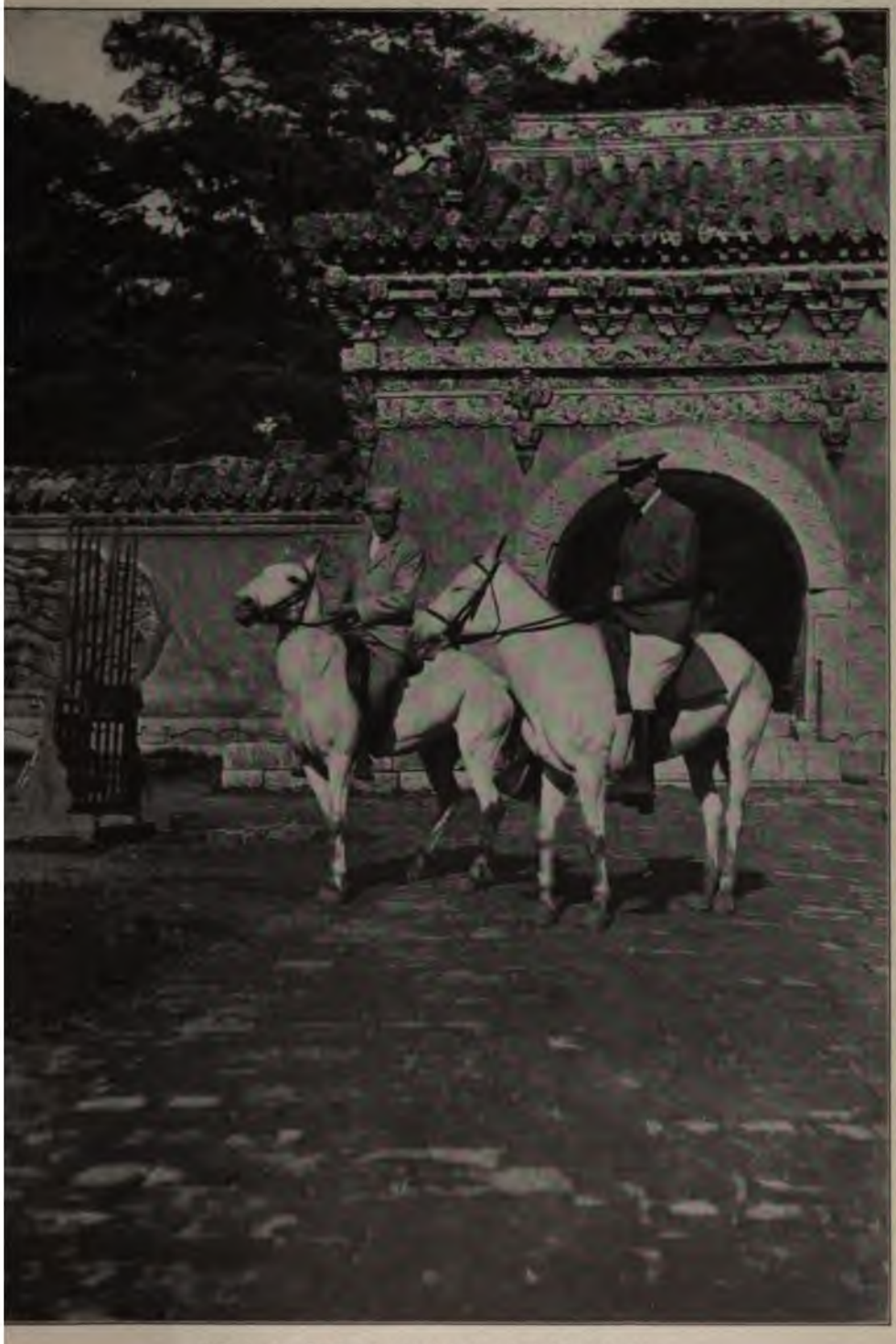
BY

GEORGE MARVIN

HENRY P. FLETCHER, our first Ambassador to reconstituted Mexico, is a diplomatist of the new order. The old order died with the war which it had been impotent to prevent or to minimize. The roots of the new have long been sprouting, but in its methods and objects it has only within the last few years become recognized as a changing key in international affairs. Toward the making of this new diplomacy, this modern type of dealings, nation to nation, the United States has contributed its share, and in the future working out and perfecting of these new relations the United States has a leading part to play.

Mr. Fletcher's career has not been a matter of successful negation, not merely a consistent avoidance of error. Diplomacy of the new type is slowly welding diverse and divergent republics of America into a practical union of principles tempered by mutual advantage. In this constructive work of diplomacy Mr. Fletcher has taken a leading part during his five years of residence as Minister and Ambassador at Santiago, Chile. It is directly because of the noteworthy success of this mission, confirming a record of thirteen years in the service, that he has been chosen for the Mexican post.

His appointment is a shrewd commentary on the progress of our relations with the Republic that once was Mexico, has long been chaos, and now, at last, with forbearance, patience, and wise counsel on the part of friendly neighbors and bystanders, may once more become a self-sustaining American republic. Mr. Henry Lane Wilson, our last Ambassador to Mexico, who also, as it happens, was appointed to that post from Chile, was a good representative of the old school. He was more than equal to the demands made upon his office in the jog-trot of accustomed duties. It is perhaps less a criticism of him than of the old service to say that he proved



KEEPING THE DOOR OPEN IN MANCHURIA

Fletcher (left) as First Secretary of the American Legation during his five years in China, with Mr. Willard D. Straight, who was then American Consul-General for Manchuria

OUR REPRESENTATIVE AT SANTIAGO

Ambassador Fletcher (on the extreme left) leaving President Barros Luco's palace after the official reception to the first Ambassador from the United States to Chile on November 19, 1914

unequal to the extraordinary, undefined, unprecedented strain of sedition and war. Mr. Nelson O'Shaughnessy, who as chargé succeeded his ambassador, was by himself as inadequate to the situation as was John Lind, the Scandinavian ex-governor of Minnesota, sent to Mexico in August, 1913. But between them both they managed to cover the ground in its then seismic condition. Each was an admirable source for a totally different kind of information: the one a dilettante but sympathetic and nominally trained observer on the inside; the other, a complete alien in sympathy and point of view, but with a rugged grasp and judgment of new impressions and denatured facts.

MR. FLETCHER IN PEKING

During one of the most important periods of his rise from the bottom to the top grade of the diplomatic service

A difficult chapter of our Mexican policy closed with the recognition of Venustiano Carranza; a still more difficult chapter opens with the reëstablishment of our diplomatic relations with the new Mexican Government, for which we are chiefly sponsor. And it is both significant and reassuring that our Government at this time selects for its representative, not a business man, not an important campaign contributor, not a time-honored member of the old service, of whom, it is true, there are very few left now; not even, as Mr. Bryan might have advised, a "deserving Democrat." The Government might have chosen any one of these. Instead, it chose a man eminently fitted for the job.

Mr. Fletcher comes from up in the Cumberland Valley, in Pennsylvania, where they make good citizens. He has made himself a diplomatist. One fine day at Peking, in May, 1909, he suddenly jumped into international fame. The day before, he had been merely First Secretary of the American Legation, when his chief had bowed his good-byes from the rear platform of a northbound train to the concourse of official Europe and Asia which generally speeds a departing Minister from that post. The following day, in charge of American interests in China, he proceeded to brush aside Great Britain, France, and Germany while he established, side by side with those Powers, in spite of their protests, the right of the United States Government to equal participation in the famous Hu-Kwang Loan.

OLD AND NEW CHINA

That was Fletcher's opportunity and he took it promptly. But that was by no means the beginning of a very interesting career in and out of the diplomatic service. When the Spanish War broke out in 1898, H. P. Fletcher, twenty-five years old, a lawyer of Chambersburg, Pa., joined the Rough Riders and served with that regiment through the Cuban campaign. After peace was concluded he reënlisted in the Regular Army and went to the Philippines as first lieutenant and battalion-adjutant of the Fortieth Infantry. His service with the Army only accentuated natural traits, for there is a good deal of the military about Fletcher's presence, his goings and his comings. He always stands very straight, keeps his chin tucked in, and by the mere unconscious following out of a military habit of body gains a crispness of manner which men accustomed to lounging habits generally lack.

But the Army could not hold him when the fighting was over. In May, 1902, he entered the diplomatic service as Second Secretary of the Legation at Havana. In those days, before Mr. Root reorganized the diplomatic service in 1906, appointments were very frequently made without examination. Fletcher owed his appointment to straight political pull. A member of a very large and strong Republican family whose tentacles reached far through the Pennsylvania machine, he got in by logical influences brought to bear upon his Senator. He got in by pull, but no amount of mere pull would have sufficed either to keep him in the service during these thirteen years or, overlapping three Administrations, to shove him up to its topmost rank.

From Havana he was sent for the first time to China as Second Secretary of the Legation, to serve under Mr. Conger, at that time the United States Minister at Peking. But he was not long to remain there. After two years of a very useful experience he was whisked, by what often seemed the unreasoned whimsicalities of the service, off to Lisbon, Portugal, with a compensating rise to the rank of First Secretary of Legation. Two years in Portugal, however, served only as an intermission in his service in Far Cathay. In April, 1907, he was back again with a modern house of his own in the handsome new legation compound built and owned by the United States Government at Peking, and this time he enjoyed the liberal education of serving under that most distinguished of all American diplomatic representatives in the Far East, the late W. W. Rockhill.

It was the old China of the Empire that Fletcher knew, the China that can never be restored. Yuan Shih Kai, on the 11th of December, 1915, reëstablished a monarchy in place of the so-called republic which during the last four years has proved unsuitable to the political development of an unwieldy, disintegrated nation. But he can never restore the state of mind in China, or with regard to China, which existed under the old Empress Dowager in the last years of the Manchu dynasty. In Fletcher's time the Forbidden City was still forbidden. Mystery hung over it. The heart of China was nearer to Kublai Khan and to Marco Polo than it was to the Chinese Republic of 1915. The Empress's rule had been further withdrawn into the shadows than that of any other government in the world. The great changes began to come in Fletcher's time. In the years between 1903 and 1910, Chinese engineers, educated in England and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, tunneled

under the Great Wall to run a railroad along the old caravan route from Peking to Kalgan. Chinese recruits with their queues coiled up under their made-in-Germany caps began whacking the brown earth of their parade grounds with the goose-step. Electric lights twinkled out along the Legation Quarter at Peking and out into the murk of the Tartar city. At the Hotel Waggons Lits, built near the water gate where the expeditionary force first broke through to the relief of the legations in 1900, Chinese mandarins of 1909 got into the habit of coming to dine on the European plan. The "foreign devils" were politely but firmly discouraged from continuing to play polo and curse one another in seven languages through the sacred groves of the Temple of Heaven. The first motor car turned up to push its way through wide-eyed Peking over new macadam streets built at an enormous cost per linear yard. These and many more new signs began to crop up in those years, and in 1907, for the first time in all its history, the Chinese Empire spoke out loud of its rights and of its grievances to the rest of the world. They hired an American publicity agent who was, for a hectic year and a half, their Jeremiah.

In all this life Mr. Fletcher shared: he helped fix up the matter of the publicity agent; the Temple groves echoed to his mallet strokes and to his comments, fortissimo, on the polo of his colleagues, when on Thursday afternoons all the *grand monde* of Peking turned out to watch the polo and drink tea under a big red and white marquee spread under the immemorial oaks of the Son of Heaven. Fletcher, with officers of the Cameron Highlanders, most of whom are now lying dead in France, hit golf balls around Chihli province, outside the city walls, with Chinese caddies to follow them among burial mounds of their own departed ancestors and flocks of startled sheep. In the evenings he dined with burly mandarins at the Waggons Lits or played bridge at the Club with all the rest of the world.

And all the time he kept his pores and his eyes wide open with good exercise and native intuition. Although living under the Empire and sympathizing with it, he kept in step with new China and g know it down to its uncertain foundati

In the spring of 1909, after two years of Peking service, he became Ch d'Affaires, in which capacity he represe the United States in China for near year. Therein lies a curious sequenc our diplomatic representation in Pek Mr. Conger was at heart a missionary ran his Legation in that spirit. Mr. R hill, who succeeded him, was primari sinologue, the intimate friend of the Chinese literati. His heart was in China, which he loved and by which he well beloved. But Mr. Rockhill paid that rare familiarity of his with the Empire by a corresponding lack of s pathy with New China.

Fletcher was the first American diplo —after a missionary and a distingui sinologue—to realize that America something to do in the business of Ch had a definite part to play in the econo commercial, and financial reconstruct of what was then the Chinese Emp We have seen how he made the first ste carrying that realization into effect.

To the playing of that part he brou to bear five years of a keen perceptio changing conditions in the Far East of the bearing upon China of the inter of European nations and of the Uni States, and he cherished the convict that a great commercial people such as American people ought to have more to than they had in the past with the building of China.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RAILROADS

In 1907 England and France had c to an understanding in the matter Chinese railroads. The foreign devel ment and exploitation of China has alw been along the line of railroads, which in a way the bony structure, the spin foreign claims. As between France England, the idea was that each sho share equally in the construction and concessions obtained by the other. Bri interests were then represented by Mr O. P. Bland, well known in this coun as the author of several books on Ch chief of which is the "Life of the Emp Dowager." He represented directly

h Chinese Corporation, made up of famous banking institution of the the Hongkong-Shanghai Bank, in ı, curiously enough, were four German ıg firms headed by Arnold Karberg mpany. French interests were repre-ı by M. Casenave, who now is presi-of the French National Bank of Haiti ne of the two financial representatives ; Government in America.

first Mr. Bland did all the negotiating Chang-Chi-tung, Viceroy of the Hu-ıg and Grand Secretary, a very famous of those days in international affairs. Chang-Chi-tung's secretary was an prising young official by the name of ung-ming, author of many patriotic hlets in defense of his country's oreign policy, and this disturber med to be an intimate friend of Herr s, representative in China of the ich-Asiatische Bank of Berlin. While l for two years kept up an unavailing of parleys with the Grand Secretary, eached a "practical" understanding Cordes. Then one day in April, Chang threw everything else over-and signed up with Cordes for the ow-Canton Railroad. Bland was arily sacked—he had been holding or foreign administration of the big ontemplated, whereas Cordes, follow-ut German policy in such matters, onciliated the Chinese with a flat rs' loan without strings to it. Mr. Hillier, a great friend of Cordes, took l's place and after a lot of wrangling g throughout the spring he, Cordes, Casenave patched up an agreement was signed on the 10th of May, 1909. course of all the negotiations a new ıd project had been added on at ngles to the original one, to run west-from Hankow up to the foot of the ze gorges at Ichang. When the iators did that they ran right over a l and almost forgotten American con-n obtained many years before from hinese by an understanding between ter Conger and Sir Ernest Satow, then h Minister to China, and the Imperial nment.

s was Fletcher's opportunity. He en keeping track of these negotiations all along and had actually obtained a copy of the agreement signed on the 10th of May. He didn't lose a moment. He got into his ceremonial chair—a hard-faced young man with gray hair and a very clear way of speaking—and the four Legation coolies carried him straight to the Wai-Wu-Pu (Chinese Foreign Office), where, as the acting American Minister, he at once obtained an audience with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and promptly filed a demand for equal participation for the United States in the Big Loan.

The original tripartite loan was to have been for the sum of $22,000,000, or about four million pounds sterling. Thus each participating bank was to have had about $7,000,000, and the successful diplomatic attack of Fletcher, therefore, lessened the shares by dividing the total amount of the agreement by four. No one could find a way out of the difficulty for a long time until Fletcher, on his own initiative, finally said: "Why don't you increase the total amount of the loan to six million pounds sterling? Then the three original signers can retain the same shares as before, and still leave the United States the equal participation for which we contend."

A very simple solution, surely. Yet no one else had thought of it. Fletcher's suggestion was adopted, the agreement was finally signed, and the United States, commercially and politically, fairly launched as a joint trustee with the other nations of Europe in the occidentalizing of China.

The development of this course, subsequent to the transfer of Fletcher from Peking, was very rapid and very complicated, bringing in the Governments of Russia and Japan, and finally becoming so unwieldy and entangled that President Wilson, among the first acts of his administration, wisely withdrew the active support of the United States Government.

FROM CHINA TO CHILE

These international dealings in China undoubtedly escaped the man in the street. They were all carefully noted, however, in the records of the State Department, so that in December, 1909, when Mr. Knox was casting about for a new Minister to take the place of Mr. Dawson in Chile, his

choice fell upon the First Secretary and Chargé at Peking. There were other Ministers at lesser posts in the service who wanted the Santiago mission, and there were naturally many deserving Republicans who would have appreciated it. But the requirements of the post were such that the Secretary of State felt it necessary to send there a man of proved diplomatic experience.

At the time of Fletcher's arrival in Chile the Alsop claims, after a litigation lasting a quarter of a century, had only recently been settled by arbitration. The judgment rendered against Chile by an English court had left a widespread grievance, which was neither unintelligent nor uninformed. In addition to that the disagreeable impression created by the *Baltimore* incident—in which we were brought to the verge of war with Chile by the killing of some United States sailors ashore in Valparaiso—had by no means faded out of the popular mind. When Mr. Dawson went away the usual concourse of Government officials did not accompany him to the station. On Mr. Minister Fletcher's first arrival there, in 1910, his welcome was not cordial. When Mr. Ambassador Fletcher arrives or leaves now, the station platform at Santiago is crowded with Government officials and representatives of the diplomatic corps, and even a stranger can see that they are not there for perfunctory or merely official reasons.

It is not too much to say that in his five years of service, first as Minister and then as Ambassador, Mr. Fletcher has turned the attitude of Chile toward the United States completely around, 180 degrees. He has more than overcome a well-rooted national prejudice; he has actually established a feeling of international friendship. It is one of the most extraordinary tributes to the power of personality in our diplomatic service. During the five years of his residence in Santiago the whole trend of relations between the United States and the larger republics of South America has been steadily toward greater reciprocity, not only in trade but in other less tangible though no less important matters. But in Chile, as the Chileans themselves have said, this process would not have prospered as it has without the fortunate impe which our leading representative in has succeeded in maintaining.

Nor has his influence been co merely within the borders of the cou which he is accredited. There were a representatives of other republics during the financial conference in ington last spring, bore active wit the effect of his mission in other co than Chile. In its greatest simp what he has succeeded in doing is a to interpret the aims and objects United States with reference to the republics; to inspire belief in the faith of his Government; to establi groundwork of a real mutuality. He to the Chilean conception of the M Doctrine a new light; he made of entente rather than an incubus, suc in defining it as a great political pri in which the Chileans themselves share, rather than as a paternal h wished down upon them.

In accomplishing this notable cha public sentiment and establishing a relationship between the two countri new Minister's tact as a diplomatis greatly helped by his equipment as a vate citizen. And he liked his job. service in Cuba, the Philippines, and in Portuguese-speaking Lisbon, had him a familiarity with Spanish whic five years at Santiago have now imp into an almost perfect control of language. A wit and humor whic often brilliant in English gain rather lose in Spanish as good as his. equipped, he can meet Chileans on own ground, with the implied and de courtesy, which most citizens of the U States conspicuously lack in a foreign try, of carrying on all his dealings i language of the country. Fletcher k nearly everybody who is anybody in C He has been for some time the most po member of the diplomatic corps at Sa go. Taking himself always with th most seriousness, he never appears t taking himself at all seriously. And is a great help south of the Equator a as north. In the outdoor sports wh gradually becoming more and more a of the social life in Chile, such as golf

), and riding, he can more than hold his
ı. In the tennis tournaments at Vina
Mar, the Newport of Chile, where he
ually pitched the tent of his summer
bassy, he was one of the best players
he actually got the Chileans to take
golf, although the game had been grafted
ındlanguishedin the soil before his time.
ut no amount of tennis, or golf, or polo,
ɔridge, or social amenities—all of the
ter side of life which the Latins love
vell and know how to enjoy so much
:er than we—ever once interfered with
solid accomplishments of his mission.
eed, they helped such accomplishments,
they made him friends and they kept
in touch with all the different kinds of
ple with whom he had to deal, just as
/ had done in China. He got a United
:es Coast Artillery officer to look after
Chilean coast defenses. He furthered
development of the country by three big
erican interests—the Bethlehem Steel
ıpany, the Braden Copper Company,
the Chile Exploration Company. In
ember, 1915, the Chilean newspapers
nimously commended his work in fos-
ıg commercial relations with the United
es, at the time when the treaty of arbi-
ion which he had negotiated was rati-
by the Chilean Senate.

OUR FIRST AMBASSADOR TO CHILE

ı the autumn of 1914 it seemed advisa-
:o the Department of State to raise the
tions at Buenos Aires and Santiago to
rank of embassies on a par with Brazil,
:h up to that time had been our only
assy in South America. These are
mercially and politically the three lead-
nations of South America. Their
esentatives functioned in a body as
iators between Mexico and the United
es at Niagara Falls in the spring of
.. Other reasons made the change
opriate and desirable on both sides.
ew Ambassador was sent to Buenos
s, a distinguished gentleman of wide
inments but without any previous ex-
:nce in diplomacy, old or new. It be-
: a question as to who should be ap-
ted as first Ambassador to Chile.
gain the same reasoning, as that twice
re mentioned, applied. Here was
a Minister, one of the youngest if not the youngest in the service, who had had his full share of distinction. Worse than that, here was a Penrose appointee from Pennsylvania, a rock-ribbed, dyed-in-the-wool Republican, occupying a position worth $12,000 a year with traveling expenses and a legation thrown in, now coming up as the diplomatically appropriate but politically illogical candidate for a position paying $17,500 per annum, to say nothing of all the additional panoply which goes with a full embassy.

One can easily imagine the effect of this tableau upon the benignant mind of Mr. William J. Bryan. There were any quantity of good uses for Fletcher's place and a very able young Democrat, who had done more than yeoman's service in the national campaign, and with a Chilean wife from one of the best families, was a logical and an eloquent applicant for the post.

Fletcher hadn't a single thing to recommend him but his record. Yes, one thing more: A number of influential Chileans kicked over the diplomatic proprieties and actually memorialized the State Department to keep him in office. To the great credit of all concerned, Mr. Fletcher was appointed first Ambassador to Chile in October 1, 1914, the position which he held until he was transferred in December, 1915, to the Embassy which he will have to create at Mexico City.

The difficulties in the way of our next representative to Mexico seem at first sight overwhelming. But the constructive possibilities of his position are correspondingly infinite. Mr. Fletcher will have to contend from the start with the native suspicion of the Mexican. One can hardly believe that out of the much-criticised policy of this Administration ground could still remain for accusations of selfishness, aggrandizement, or bad faith. But such charges will be made. In addition to them the new Ambassador will have to face the hostility of an American colony impoverished or ruined by the revolutions of the last four years, and implacable foes, most of them, of the hands-off policy of the United States on which they choose to place the burden of their misfortunes.

One of the Ambassaor's first duties will

be that most difficult matter of the adjustment of claims. Altogether they now amount to about a billion dollars. Mexico will have to borrow a lot of money to meet these claims, possibly a third or even half of the amount mentioned, a certain part of the money in cash but the great majority of it in long-time bonds secured with Governmental guarantees on the internal revenue. The transactions of such a loan will probably need to be supervised, and President Carranza is pretty sure to fight any outside administration of his finances.

The new Ambassador can hardly reach his post until some time after these lines appear in print, probably not before the middle or end of February. It is the usual custom in the diplomatic service that the first representative of a foreign country to present his letters of credence becomes thereby "Doyen," or Dean, of the diplomatic corps, sitting as chairman in their meetings and representing them in their rare collective functions. In the regular order of events the American Ambassador will occupy this position. In doing so he will play the part of a counselor to the Mexican Government. He might well be called upon by the Mexicans themselves. He must know administrative and governmental matters all the way from ward politics up—he must be capable of statesmanship. He must know the language; he must know the Mexican; above all he must be "simpático."

In the time of Porfirio Diaz, Mexico City was like a European capital. If those who say that now it is like a madhouse are extreme, at least it is reasonable to characterize the present condition of the Mexican Government as a factory with its plant not yet installed.

A CONSTRUCTIVE TASK

For the difficult post of Ambassador in such a capital a better selection could not have been made. For now, as the United States resumes once more its diplomatic relations with the Republic of Mexico, it does so with the express approval and co-operation of six other American republics. It is not too much to say that the most important by-product of President Wilson's policy in Mexico has been to disarm in general Latin-American apprehension, distrust, and fear. Mr. Fletcher will carry with him in his new constructive tasks the good will of Chile and of all Latin America. He goes there as the representative of an Administration which, with infinite circumspicience, has concluded the first chapter of a widely misunderstood and much misrepresented policy. He goes in the name of good order and of autonomy; in the name, let it be well understood, of good Pan-American order and community of interests.

Let his own words be a forecast of the spirit in which he proceeds to the new constructive duties of his new post. On January 13, 1915, *El Mercurio*, the leading daily newspaper of Santiago, in an article on the Monroe Doctrine as understood in Chile, quoted from a speech delivered by the American Ambassador a few days before as follows:

> It would be well to recall the words spoken by the Ambassador, Mr. Fletcher, at one of the largest manifestations ever accorded to a foreigner in Santiago, Chile. The Ambassador said on that occasion:
>
> "Let us remember the visions of our ancestors who laid the foundations of these republics in the new world, and in their spirit let us dedicate ourselves to the fulfilment of the great destiny they dreamed of and which it lies within our power to realize. I do not say these things in criticism of the warring nations. They are the best and only judges of their own interests. But we also have the right to consider our own interests and to mark out the course we should follow even if it should prove a different one from theirs. I personally hope that it will be a different one and that we Americans may be allowed, under God, to work out our destiny in peace and harmony and mutual good-will and tolerance. These are not empty words. The best minds in all our countries are bent on finding practical means of attaining this great end of peace, and I firmly believe that ways and means will be found."

WHAT AMERICAN RAILROADS NEED

AN EXAMINATION INTO EXISTING CONDITIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THE EXPRESSION OF A NEW SPIRIT TOWARD TRANSPORTATION

BY

OTTO H. KAHN

MR. OTTO H. KAHN, the author of the following article, was born in Germany and received his early banking training in that country and in England. He came to America in 1893 and a few years later became a member of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, New York, and the chief business associate of Edward H. Harriman. In Mr. Harriman's great railroad enterprises Mr. Kahn was his intimate associate and financial adviser. Mr. Kahn, moreover, has touched American life at other points than its railroads; it has been chiefly through his work that the Metropolitan Opera House is to-day perhaps the headquarters of the world in operatic art.

Few Americans are better informed on railroad questions, few are so well qualified to treat this subject from the standpoint of the banker and the investor. Mr. Kahn, although a great Wall Street banker, has always entertained ideas on the subject of finance and railroad management somewhat in advance of those commonly held in the circles in which he moves. This fact lends particular interest to his views upon the present railroad situation, perhaps the most critical and difficult one the country has had to face.—THE EDITORS.

THE conflicts and the storms which have raged around the railroads these many years have largely subsided. Abuses which were found to exist, though it is fair to say that for their existence the railroads were by no means alone to blame, have been remedied and their recurrence made impossible. The people's anger has cooled and, though some politicians still sound the old war-cry, many indications (such, for instance, as the recent popular vote against the Full Crew Law in Missouri) tend to show that the people desire to have the railroads fairly and justly dealt with, exacting and expecting from them a reciprocal attitude, treatment, and spirit. Railroad executives have come to recognize their functions as those of semi-public officers owing accountability no less to the public than to the shareholders of the particular property they represent. A system has been evolved which, while preserving for the country in the conduct of its railroads the inestimable advantage of private initiative, efficiency, resourcefulness, and responsibility, yet through governmental regulation and supervision emphasizes and protects the community's rights and guards against those evils and excesses of unrestrained individualism which experience has indicated. It is in every way a far better system than government ownership of railroads, which, wherever tested, has proved its inferiority, except only in Germany, and the very reasons which have made government ownership measurably successful in Germany are the reasons which in America would make it nothing short of an economic calamity, being given political and other circumstances as they now exist and are likely to continue to exist for a long time to come.

The system as it has evolved itself in America, though it is resented by some of the Bourbons as far too advanced and as an indefensible interference with the rights of property, and by some of the Ultra-Radicals as not going far enough, seems to me in theory an almost ideal one. But the best of theories is futile if its practical application is at fault; and I know of few more flagrant instances of the unwise and unsound application of a wise and sound

theory than in the case of our railroad legislation. Indeed, the structure of federal and state laws under which American railroads are compelled to carry on their business at present is little short of a legislative monstrosity. Writing on the subject of control and regulation of corporations, Colonel Roosevelt in a recently published article expresses himself as follows:

. . . When we control business in the public interest we are also bound to encourage it in the public interest, or it will be a bad thing for everybody and worst of all for those on whose behalf the control is nominally exercised. . .

This object cannot be accomplished by a chaos of forty-eight states working at cross-purposes in the development of our interstate and international industrial fabric. . .

So much of the regulation attempted in our country in the past has been done by demagogues or by heedless politicians interested only in their own momentary political success that the very name Regulation has become an offense and an abomination to many honest business men.

THE ANTI-RAILROAD ERA

With the enactment of the Hepburn Bill, during President Roosevelt's administration, began the modern era of railroad regulation and rate control by commissions. It was a measure of radical innovation and far-reaching importance, and it ought to have been given a fair test in practical operation for a sufficient length of time. Instead, President Taft, in 1909, felt called upon to propose a new and drastic measure of railroad legislation. He embodied his recommendations on the subject in a bill which was duly introduced in Congress. It was far from being a perfect piece of legislation. The odor of politics was not absent from it. It was considered by the railroads, and in business circles generally, as uncalled for, unwise, and as unduly burdensome and restrictive in various important respects. But at least it was a consistent and carefully matured measure. It was the formal and official expression of the views of the Taft Administration, the second important measure put forward by it. It offered the first real test of the capacity for leadership and fighting edge of the President and his Cabinet, and they failed in it lamentably.

The introduction of the Taft rai bill coincided with a stage of public ment where suspicion, ill-will, and re ment against corporations were ram where inflammatory appeal took the of reasoning, where economic he and fallacies hoary with age, tried found wanting and discarded elsew long ago, were rediscovered by our l of demagogues and proclaimed by as a cure-all, partly honestly, from la thorough study and clear thinking, p disingenuously, for political and per advantage.

It was a right instinct which had gr the people, under President Roosev leadership, to determine, firmly and mistakably, that the time had com regard the pioneer period of this coun industrial and economic developmen at an end, to revoke the latitude w had been tacitly accorded, to insis strict adherence to the rules of bus conduct laid down by the law, an punish any violation of such rules whomsoever committed, high or It was right to have recourse to the la undo some of the things which t charged with the administration of the had through its non-enforcement mitted and even sanctioned. It wa tirely right and beneficial to set up and claim a new standard of business met in certain respects because business exercised great, and in some ways cessive, power for a long time, an power tends to breed abuses and req limitations and restraints. It was tary and timely to bring home to co ations and individuals, however pow the respect and fear due to the law to use all means at the Governm disposal to visit upon dishonorable tices condign punishment. But it unreasonable and unfair to judge wit troactive moral severity in the light according to the measure of that new dard business methods which with un sal knowledge and universal tolerance prevailed in the past; to stigmat heinous, certain practices which did their essence involve any moral tu certain acts which became unlawful cause they were inherently immor

orable, but only because and only from moment when Congress by statute ared them unlawful, and which, too, are only not forbidden, but are expressly :tioned by the laws and practices of :r great commercial nations such as land, France, and Germany. Some instances of wrong-doing had, indeed, ı brought to light which were offenses nst the written as well as the moral law, fensible under any proper standard of cs, but it was neither right nor wise to nit the just indignation which they ısed to lead to the condemnation and ishment of an entire vast industry, not ıention the loss thereby inflicted upon ıcent security holders and the damage ed to the country at large.

MAKING POLITICAL CAPITAL

iven the then prevailing stage of pub- feeling, the provisions of the Taft oad bill afforded a peculiarly inviting ortunity to those whose political for- s or personal prejudices or convictions them to an attitude of hostility toward measure or the Administration, and he same time offered a tempting means est the backbone—or lack of it—and driving power and influence with Con- s of President Taft and his Cabinet. ain Senators and Congressmen were slow to avail themselves of that situa- , and they succeeded far beyond what could reasonably have hoped for. y laid bare in this first assault—for all , friends and enemies, to see and be ed accordingly—that peculiar and l incapacity for practical political ership and for steadfastness in resolu- and action which was the besetting of the Taft Administration and which ains its outcome.

aving broken down the bill as intro- d, its opponents not only ripped it to rs but, to a large extent, made their measure out of it. A number of provi- s which were actuated by regard for the imate interests of the railroads were out, the coherence and logic of the sure were destroyed, amendment after ndment of radical manufacture was d by a Senate leaderless, weary, and in rry, some of them embodying the weird and crude notions of those to whom corporations had long been the object of fanatical animosity and whose aim was simply punitive, even vindictive. And thus the bill came back to the President. Its fate, from every consideration of political wisdom and self-respect, should have been a Presidential veto accompanied by a trenchant message, but, instead, Mr. Taft tamely submitted, affixed his signature, and, by this truckling to and compromising with the rebellious elements in his own party bent on embarrassing and harassing him, set the pace for the vicissitudes which thenceforth beset and finally overwhelmed his Administration. He has since recognized, it seems, the faultiness of that statute, for he has repeatedly and publicly protested against the over-regulation, the starvation, and the oppression of the railroads which were the inevitable and easy-to-be-foreseen consequence of its enactment, not merely for what it contained but even more for what it omitted. For, while conferring upon the Interstate Commerce Commission almost absolute power over the interstate business of railroads, it entirely ignored the correlated problem of the exercise of control by the states. And in the states a veritable mania of railroad legislation had broken out. Drastic rate reductions, rigid rate regulation, full crew laws, and heavy additions to already disproportionate taxation combined to bring about a system of vast and inconsistent complexity of restrictions, burdens, and interferences, superimposed on the structure of federal legislation and regulation.

There is no parallel I know of in any other country to its greatest industry being placed, down to its minutest details, under the almost autocratic power of seven men owing defined accountability to no one, selected for relatively short terms and according to no particular standard of training or qualifications, and being practically free from control, restraint, or appeal. But it is not so much the existence of that power, excessive though it be, of which the railroads complain; in fact, not a few railroad men have come to be reconciled to the theory on which it rests and even to consider the underlying prin-

ciple a wise and beneficent one. Practically all, I believe, recognize that thorough public regulation has come to stay. It is the faultiness and inadequacy of the law under which the Interstate Commerce Commission works and exercises its power and the multiplicity of masters under whom the railroads have to serve and whom they have to satisfy that constitutes the main burden of their grievances and that cries for reform.

THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

That the Interstate Commerce Commission, being at the same time prosecutor, judge, and jury, combining in itself legislative, executive, and judiciary powers, is a negation of the root principle from which the American system of government springs, may be stated as an incontrovertible fact. Such combination of powers in one body has been styled by James Madison "the very definition of tyranny." The evil or impropriety of such a union of conflicting or at least inconsistent functions has been publicly acknowledged by a most unimpeachable witness, namely, one of the ablest members of the Commission itself, Hon. Charles A. Prouty, in an address delivered in 1907, from which the following extract may be quoted: "If the Interstate Commerce Commission is vested with a jurisdiction so tremendous in extent and of such finality, every effort should be made to provide a body adequate to the trust. . . . I very much doubt whether the same body can properly discharge both these functions (executive and judicial). In the end it will either become remiss in its executive duties or will, in the zeal of these, become unfit for the dispassionate performance of its judicial functions. Whatever may have been true in the past, the time has come when the Commission should be relieved of all its duties except the hearing and deciding of complaints." If this was true in 1907, how much more true and urgent is it today, considering the immense amplification and extension which the Commission's powers and functions have received since then? And has "every effort" been made "to provide a body adequate to the trust?" I am far from underrating the great ability, vast industry, and devotion to duty of the men now composing the Interstate Commerce Commission, nor do I share in the not-infrequently-heard opinion that they are hostile to the railroads on principle, believing as I do, on the contrary, that they are earnestly striving to do justice according to their conscience and judgment and are bravely struggling with a simply intolerable burden of work and responsibility. But it cannot be gainsaid that to this Commission which has greater power and greater responsibilities concerning the industrial life of the Nation than probably any other tribunal anywhere in the world exercises there has never yet been appointed a man who came to it qualified by first rate experience in railway operation, or by broad business experience, or any considerable experience in financial matters. Nor can it tend toward providing "a body adequate to the trust" that the members of that body, called upon to deal with questions of momentous import and most intricate complexity, should be appointed for short terms and be paid salaries so modest as to make acceptance of such appointment a very great financial sacrifice to men of first rate ability, and prolonged continuance in office an injustice to their families.

THE COMMISSION'S OVERWHELMING TASK

I doubt whether anywhere else can be found a body of seven men on whom devolves the staggering, crushing, stupendous mass of work which is laid upon the Interstate Commerce Commission. If it were composed of the wisest, most expertly trained minds and most vigorous working capacities to be found in this or any other country, it would be impossible for it to accomplish the superhuman task which Congress, in its eagerness to rid itself of troublesome problems, has piled and keeps piling upon it. If any one wishes to have detailed proof of the correctness of this statement let him read the last annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission with its formidable array of 200,000 pages of testimony taken, 150,000 tariff publications received, hearings held, opinions rendered, orders issued, claims, complaints,

applications disposed of, inspections le, accounts examined, prosecutions iated or conducted, statistics gathered, igressional inquiries answered, and so h. And let it be remembered that, in ition to its railroad work, the Comsion has also to supervise and regulate graph, telephone, and pipe lines and ress companies. For years, Congress thrust upon the Commission one ction after another until it is simply rwhelmed. The result is not merely ly and insufficient time for deliberate sideration but the necessity to relegate hearing and investigation of many ortant cases to clerks or agents; and, l every desire on the part of the comsioners for the conscientious discharge heir duties, the views and conclusions ved at by such subordinates must ssarily have a large if not a conling influence on the decisions of the mmission.

IE PREDICAMENT OF THE RAILROADS

this presentment exhausted the grievs of our railroad industry it would erious enough, but it is very far from austing them. Indeed, the most serigrievance is the fact that in addition he activities of state legislatures there not less than 43 state commissions, cising varying degrees of power over oads, guided in their decisions by no edents or fixed rules, their jurisdiction their decrees interwining, conflicting l, upsetting those of each other and he Interstate Commerce Commission. 12 of these 43 states the commissioners chosen by popular vote, their terms ging from 2 to 6 years, their salaries g generally very moderate, down to as as $1,500 per annum. It is not suring that the authority of such state missions, of which it would be too much xpect or even to ask unyielding imriousness to public pressure, should e been exercised, in not a few instances, kly for the selfish interest of each state, ewhat on the lines of creating through fixing of state railroad rates and other: the equivalent of a protecting tariff f an export bounty for the benefit of industries or the consumers of each particular state. Nor will it be wondered at that there have been instances of a tendency to use the commissions' authority over the issue of stocks and bonds toward forcing the railroads to spend part of the proceeds for purposes which to the commissioners appeared advantageous for their particular state or certain localities therein. The following illustration is taken from the annual report of the Southern Pacific Company:

To provide funds for corporate purposes, arrangements were made with bankers, in May, 1913, for sale of two-year notes at a very satisfactory price. Authority of the California Railroad Commission to issue the notes was obtained without delay; approval by the Arizona Corporation Commission, however, was withheld, pending certain assurances and guaranties on the part of the Company with reference to the conduct of its business in Arizona which it was not warranted in giving, and, during the time the matter was pending before the Commission, the condition of the money market had so changed that a sale of the notes could not be made. Further consideration of a two-year note issue was abandoned, and one-year notes were issued instead, and sold at a price yielding approximately $275,000 less than would have been received had the two-year notes been issued without delay. Under the laws of California and Arizona the issue of one-year notes did not require Commission approval.

In several cases the carrying out of suggestions made by the Interstate Commerce Commission to the railroads with the view to enabling them to obtain more adequate revenues was peremptorily stopped by state commissions which ordered the railroads *not* to do the very things which the Interstate Commerce Commission had told them they should do and had criticised them for not having done before.

The following extracts from a most interesting and instructive address recently delivered by Mr. Alfred P. Thom before the State Bar Association of Tennessee may appropriately be quoted in this connection as illustrating the activities of state bodies:

Three states have passed laws making it illegal for a carrier having repair shops in the state to send any of its equipment, which it is possible to repair there, out of the state for

repairs in another state; fifteen states have attempted to secure preferred treatment of their state traffic, either by heavy penalties for delays or by prescribing a minimum movement of freight cars, some of them requiring a minimum movement of fifty miles per day, whereas the average movement for the United States is not more than twenty-six miles per day—one of these states imposing a fine of ten dollars per hour for the forbidden delay; twenty states have hours-of-service laws, varying from ten to sixteen hours; twenty states have full-crew laws; twenty-eight states have headlight laws, with varying requirements as to the character of the lights, and fourteen states have safety-appliance acts. Sixteen states have enacted statutes, each asserting for itself the individual right to control the issue of stocks and bonds of interstate carriers.

It is manifest that, if such issue is to be regulated by the individual states, every state is at the mercy of the others. A bond, to be available in the market, must, as a rule—especially now when most bonds are necessarily junior liens—be secured upon the whole railroad line; and this crosses many states. One of the states, therefore, if it possesses the power to regulate the issue of securities of an interstate carrier, may defeat a financial plan approved by all the other states and necessary to the carrier's transportation efficiency. . .

In other words, the greediest, the most selfish, and the most unreasonable state thus secures by its own laws a preference for its own commerce over the commerce of its sister states and over interstate commerce itself.

A MASS OF CONFLICTING LEGISLATION

What with the regulating activities of 43 commissions besides the Interstate Commerce Commission, the adoption by state legislatures of rate-fixing measures, extra crew bills, and all kinds of minute enactments (between 1912 and 1915 more than 4,000 federal and state bills affecting the railroads were introduced and more than 440 enacted), the enormous increase within the last seven years in federal and state taxation, the steadily mounting cost of labor, the exactions of municipal and county authorities, etc.—it will be admitted that the cup of railroad difficulties and grievances is full. I am far from holding the railroads blameless for some of the conditions with which they are now confronted. Not a few of them were arrogant in the days of their power, many mixed in politics, some forgot that besides having a duty to their stockholders they had a duty to the public, some were guilty of grievous and inexcusable financial misdeeds. But, in their natural resentment and their legitimate resolve to guard against similar conditions in the future, the people have overshot the mark. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Not less than 82 railroads, comprising 41,988 miles and representing $2,264,000,000 of capitalization, are in receivers' hands. The duration of receivership has become longer and longer, far longer than it used to be, owing to the difficulty of raising the necessary funds for the rehabilitation of the properties and for taking them out of receivers' hands, which difficulties are largely due to the complications and delays resulting from the jurisdiction and views of state commissions. Thus the Wabash Pittsburgh Terminal has been in bankruptcy since May 29, 1908, the Wheeling & Lake Erie since June 8, 1908, the St. Louis & San Francisco since May 27, 1913, the Wabash from December 26, 1911, to November 1, 1915. Railroad construction has practically stopped, the purchases by railroads have been reduced to a minimum, so much so that, had it not been for the windfall of the "war orders," our steel and cognate industries would have faced an exceedingly serious situation. Railroad credit has become gravely affected. It is true that faults of management and disclosures of objectionable practices have been contributory causes in diminishing American railroad credit, but from my practical experience in dealing with investors I have no hesitation in affirming that the main reason for the multiplication of railroad bankruptcies and of the changed attitude of the public toward investing in railroad securities is to be found in the federal and state legislation of the years from 1906 to 1912 and in what many investors considered the illiberal, narrow, and frequently antagonistic spirit toward railroads of commissions charged with their supervision and control.

Considered from whatever point of view, the conclusion seems to me unavoidable that American railroad legislation

st sound in theory, is in practice a hwork, a makeshift, and grossly and lamentally faulty. It has been added modified, tinkered with session after on in national and state legislatures; illogical, unscientific, confusing, vexıs, and generally intolerable. The rstate Commerce Commission and ıtate bodies acting at once as lawers, prosecutors, judges, and juries the destinies of the railroads in their ls, with the power almost over life death—a power not much short of cratic, for it is subject to little, if executive control and, as far as the :ral Commission is concerned, to tically no effective judicial review. ke the courts they are bound by no edents and rules of procedure, guided o fixed and well understood principles ıles of decision. The Interstate Com-:e Commission, overburdened with rs and duties vastly beyond the city of any seven men, is bound to : much important work to subortes. In the case of rate decisions compelled to resort to postponements h in effect amount to denial of justice, :he power possessed by the Commissince 1910 to suspend for ten months osed rate increases is nothing less the power—opposed to all equity—flicting heavy and irrecoverable monepenalties before or pending trial. :rience has shown that the Commission ractically all important cases avails : of the power of suspension for the :en months' period, which, as a matter ct, at times is even further prolonged, ailroads consenting to such prolongarather than have the Commission ɔelled to render an opinion without, ıe pressure of its other work, having time to give sufficiently thorough and ıre deliberation to the subject.

SUGGESTED REMEDIES

ıilroads, being essentially nation-wide heir functions, should, as to rates other phases of their business directly ıdirectly affecting interstate results, ılaced under one national authority ad of being subject to the conflicting diction of many different states—a jurisdiction the exercise of which is always subject to the temptation of being used unfairly for the selfish and exclusive advantage of the respective individual states. State commissions have their proper and important functions in the supervision and regulation of street railways and of public service corporations other than interstate steam railroads, and even in the case of the latter in the exercise of certain administrative, police, or public welfare powers within well defined limits. But the fundamental law of the land, the Federal Constitution, expressly reserves to Congress the exclusive power of dealing with commerce between the states, and the exercise by state authorities of rate-making and other powers which, though technically confined to railroad activities within the states, yet actually must and do affect interstate relations, is clearly opposed to the spirit, if not to the language, of the Federal Constitution.

Until the advent of the railroad legislation of recent years, the rate-making power in interstate commerce (and, in most of the states, also for intrastate commerce) was in the hands of the railroads, subject to judicial review upon complaint. Under this system the rate structure of American railroads was built up, and it may safely be asserted that, among all the accusations, just and unjust, which have been brought against them, the charge that, generally speaking, the rates thus fixed were excessive has found no place. On the contrary, the rates resulting from that system were much the lowest prevailing anywhere in the world, notwithstanding the fact that wages paid by American railroads are fully twice as high as those obtaining in Europe. Under the bill of 1910, the interstate rate-making power was to all intents and purposes conferred upon the Interstate Commerce Commission (subject to interference by states and state commissions), but with characteristic unfairness or thoughtlessness the power to prescribe *minimum* rates, which manifestly ought to be the concomitant of the power to prescribe *maximum* rates, was not given to the Commission. The burden of proving according to the requirements of an un-

in standard the necessity for proposed rate increases was thrown upon the railroads. Personally, I believe that the principle of giving to the Interstate Commerce Commission power to *regulate* rates is sound, and I am convinced that it has come to stay. But I think that the now prevailing rigid and cumbersome system of what is practically rate *making* by the Commission is neither sound nor wise. I believe that the public could and would be just as fully protected and that, in fact, both the public and the railroads would be the gainers if the immensely complex, difficult, and delicate task of making rates were left in the hands of those trained for it by a life's study, experience, and practice, i. e., the railroad officials, with full power, however, in the Commission, on its own motion, to reduce or to increase rates for cause.

A HELPFUL POLICY NEEDED

It is vital to our railroads that investors be reassured and encouraged as to the safety and attractiveness of investment in American railroad securities, particularly also in view of the world-wide competition for capital which, sooner or later after the close of the European war, is likely to set in. A more liberal and helpful policy toward railroads should be inaugurated and a greater margin of net earnings secured than can be obtained under the existing rates in normal times; and in this connection it must be borne in mind that such margin must include a sum over and above what would be a reasonable dividend because the nature of the railroad business makes the accumulation of a substantial surplus a necessity for every properly managed line. A railroad can never be considered a finished product. Expenditures are continually required and not a few of these outlays, such as for the elimination of grade crossings, better station buildings, etc., produce no direct revenue. If railroad officers are to plan for the future in a large and far-reaching way, if an adequate supply of capital is to be forthcoming for the extension and development of our railroads commensurate with the opportunities before our farmers nerchants and with the vast size and promise of our undeveloped are must be not only reasonable liber above all reasonable stability o In other words, the railroad must be taken out of politics. T itous and fortunate circumstances ing mainly to the direct and indir of the stimulus of huge war or because of other unusual circun railroads are doing much better at and that investors, after having road securities more or less severe for years, are, for the time being, upon them with a friendly eye, sh make us lose sight of the underly that the railroad industry is in a ently weakened condition, that t of enterprise has largely gone out roading, that construction has that only the absolutely necessar mum is being spent for equipme Nor must the present prosperity country blind us to the considerati the full measure of prosperity wh capable of attaining or, indeed, any ent and comprehensive progress or ity cannot be reached as long as its portant industry, that of railroadin eaucratized, shackled, harassed, an

The present lopsided structure road laws ought to be demolish superseded by a new body of signed, not to punish the railro to aid them toward the greatest ment of usefulness and service to try, conceived upon harmonio fully considered, scientific, and p lines. The reform of our ban currency laws having been ca effect, for which the country owe debt of gratitude to President W reconstruction of our railroad l amongst the most pressing a needed reform in the economic the country. The President's l sage, in which he calls for consid the situation of American railroa a most welcome and promising i justifying the hope that he is to bring to bear upon a wise this problem his great powe and leadership. The bankin rency legislation of 1913 affor priate precedent and in

llel. The national functions and acter of the railroads are largely ogous to those of the national banks. the national banks, so should the oads be freed, at least in essentials, the conflicting and multitudinous diction of the several states and placed r federal authority. And just like the nal banks, they should not only be itted but be compelled to coöperate, thus mobilized for the maximum ex- and efficiency of service; in other ls, pooling and kindred arrangements ld be sanctioned, subject to the oval of the Interstate Commerce mission. The formula and principle he banking and currency legislation, a strong, effective, and controlling ral Federal Board in Washington, ved from detail work and from certain tially conflicting functions, with Re- al Boards according to geographic pings, might prove exactly suited to oad legislation. Red tape should be wherever possible, bureaucratic inter- ce limited, and, to the extent that it safely be done without jeopardizing due protection of the interests and s of the public, freedom should be n to the railroads in the conduct of business coupled with strictest in- lual responsibility and fullest public- Railroads should be freed from the ir, unreasonable, and illogical situ- n of being subjected, as they now at one and the same time to special latory and supervisory legislation, to the inhibitions of the Sherman -Trust Law, which is based upon a ry and designed to serve a purpose tially contradictory to the theory purpose of our existing railroad legis- n. Furthermore, the same body h determines earnings by fixing rates ld be charged with the responsibility aring and determining wage disputes een railroads and their employees, or at be not practicable then at least the duty of giving full weight and deration to all facts that go to enhance cost of operating railroads, such as ative enactments like the full crew increased taxation, advances in wages, so forth.

The situation resulting from the European war has brought to this country a scope and a wealth of opportunity to which I know of no parallel in the history of the world. But there is no great opportunity without a corresponding duty, no privilege without a corresponding obligation to use it wisely and beneficently. To fulfil with credit and honor, with due advantage to itself and the world, the part which the favor of Providence has allotted to America is a weighty and solemn task. It calls for thoroughness of thought and study, integrity, self-restraint, and conservatism, boldness, enterprise, and adaptability, breadth of vision coupled with attention to details, and last, but not least, wise and mutually trustful coöperation between business and the legislative and administrative powers—such as exists as a matter of course in most if not all of the great nations of Europe. By all means let us have vigorous governmental action, legislative regulation, administrative control whenever and in whatever ways, after mature and dispassionate consideration, it appears best in the interest of the country. But do not let us have paternalistic régime, ignorant interference, partisan motives, political viewpoints, narrow technicalities. Let us carefully refrain from so hampering and confining the activities of business men as to lame the initiative, weaken the self-reliance, chill the enterprise and zeal and joy of work which have always been their characteristics and which have so greatly contributed toward the marvelous development of this country. Let us have no patience with the presumption that men who, mostly from small beginnings, have fought their way to the top after having passed through the hard and searching test and discipline of business, are to be ignored or distrusted in the shaping of the industrial and economic policies of the country, because of alleged incapacity or unwillingness to take a broad and patriotic view of national questions directly or indirectly affecting their own interests. Let us lend no countenance to the presumption that patriotism, virtue, and knowledge reside primarily with those who have been unsuccessful, those who

have no practical experience of business, *nor yet*, be it said with all respect, with *those who* are politicians or office holders.

THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA

I *know of* no finer or more honorable body *of* men than the presidents *of* our American railroads. There is not one of them *now* in office who owes his position *to* inherited advantages, to protection, to anything, in fact, but his own qualities *of* mind and character. With few exceptions, the men in active charge of large businesses or corporations in this country have made their own positions; the vast majority started at or near the bottom *of* the ladder. There is no centre in the world where the label counts less, where it is less possible to bequeath position, however backed by wealth, where the shine and effect of a great name is more quickly rubbed off if the bearer does not prove his worth, where the acid test of personal efficiency is more strictly applied, where strength and talent are more certain to come to the top, than in the great mart of American business. And there is no country where the capacities of representatives of business are so little availed of in governmental and political affairs, their views so little heeded and so frequently rebuffed, where legislation affecting economic, industrial, and financial matters is framed, and the resulting laws administered with such disregard of the counsel and expert knowledge of business men as in the United States. A number of instances could be cited of law-making (the latest being the Clayton Anti-Trust Act) where, if the advice of business men had been taken, the aims sought to be accomplished could have been attained with equal or greater sureness of effect and without undesirable incidental results such as were not intended by the legislators, though clearly foreseen by the trained experience of business men.

Fortunately, there have been indications within the recent past which justify hope that this condition of affairs is a to change and that prejudices and a gonisms which have been prevalen too long are beginning to give wa more auspicious relations. As ou ations have learned the lesson that well-being depends upon their so ducting themselves as to deserve good-will and support of public opi so the people have learned that their prosperity and the prosperity of the industries of the country are int pendent. The matter and manne the passage of the Federal Reserve the spirit and method of its admini tion, the coöperation between the sury and the banking community d the first few months of the Euro war, by means of which what threat to become a most serious situation met and successfully overcome, se public declarations of President Wi the activities of the Administratio coöperation with business men, aime enlarging our commercial and fina intercourse with South and Central A ica—all these and other instances might be mentioned are evidences new spirit expressing itself on broad constructive lines. Our railroad l lation, on the other hand, and, in fre instances, its administration, remai glaring example of the opposite s and our railroad industry cannot manently prosper, nor can the cou obtain the railroad service, extens and facilities which are needed for vast development ahead of it until is given to the railroads from the legisl and administrative conditions which hamper, restrain, and oppress them.

Is it too much to hope that our l lators and administrators will meet broad, wide, and dispassionate vision action the new phase of economic dev ment which is opening up before American nation?

VATING AND LOADING IN ONE OPERATION

ne- and labor-saving machine which combines rk of excavating and loading in one operation truction work

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

COMBINATION EXCAVATOR AND LOADER

A COMBINATION excavator and loader is an innovation. It is the link between hand shoveling and the steam shovel. The machine and wagons do not enter the excavation. The excavator operates over a fan-shaped area, at a distance of 100 feet. Three positions of the machine along the front of a large basement excavation will clear the whole area, with very little hand trimming.

The machine is driven by a 12-horsepower gasolene engine, which furnishes power for a shovel scraper moving from 7 cubic feet to 10 cubic feet of earth. The cable drum is reversible, and draws the scraper at a speed of 180 feet a minute when digging. On the return trip the speed is increased to 420 feet. A full scraper load a minute can be handled by the machine and two men. The loaded scraper is drawn into a skip and the skip swings upward until it strikes the discharge spout, when the material is dropped into the wagon and the scraper at once returns.

This new machine is more suited for work in excavating for buildings, but it is also useful for road and grade work, and for ditching and back-filling.

DOUBLE DEFLECTOR SHIELD FOR LOCOMOTIVES

THE double deflector shield for locomotives is a device which affords complete protection for the eyes of the engineer without the use of glass when looking out of the cab window. The principle of the double deflection shield is pressure at one side and suction at the other side of the necessary line of vision, using the forces of the air currents themselves, generated by the motion of fast-moving trains, to form a practically currentless air space through which the engineer may view the track ahead.

As the air currents presented to the

front of the mask always bear the same relation to each other, it makes no difference how fast or slow these currents may be. Not only does the device prevent any air coming through the eye hole, but with clean planes it has such efficiency that if a match be lit behind the eye hole the flame will be drawn forward through the hole and toward the downward - rushing air near the front of the shield. Protection and clear vision are complete even when wet snow is falling, which is perhaps the most severe test to which the shield can be subjected.

A DOUBLE DEFLECTOR SHIELD
A device which permits of clear vision for the railroad engineer in all weathers

The inventor of the device is a newspaper man of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, who sat as foreman of a jury in the trial of an engineer on the Canadian Pacific Railway, charged with negligence, in that he ran his train almost at full speed into the rear of a freight train on a dark night, with the thermometer forty below zero, a head wind of thirty or more miles an hour blowing, and with the cab windows frozen thickly with ice. In this case engineer after engineer faced the jury, each testifying that such conditions were frequent in winter, and that they were often compelled to run almost their whole schedule without a satisfactory view of the track ahead while in fast motion.

SINKING POLES WITH A FIRE ENGINE

NEAR Gladstone, Mich., there is considerable quicksand and swampy land, where the erection gang of the Department of Lighting of that city had trouble in setting the service poles. At first the work was accomplished by sinking barrels, with both ends removed, and then digging the sand and water out of the barrels. This proved unsatisfactory, as the work was slow and barrels cost about eighty-five cents apiece. So the superintendent worked out a plan for sinking the poles by sluicing away the sand, using a water jet, and utilizing a fire engine to provide the power.

The apparatus consisted of the fire engine, a sufficient length of hose to reach a supply of water, and a nozzle consisting of a 5½-foot length of 1½-inch pipe. The record for setting a pole by this method

NOVEL USE FOR A FIRE ENGINE
Employing a fire engine to sink telephone poles in quicksand when other methods had failed

was five and a half minutes, which included raising the pole, sinking it, and filling in.

CHANGING GEARS BY PUSHING A BUTTON

THIS magnetic gear shift for gasolene-driven automobiles provides for the shifting of gears by the simple means of pushing a button. The push buttons are located on a bracket under the steering wheel. This device makes a gear-shift lever unnecessary. It permits the selection of the next speed without the driver of the car having to remove his hand from the steering wheel, which is of great advantage, particularly on congested roadways.

AUTOMATIC CHANGING OF GEARS
By use of this device the former cumbersome method of changing gears by hand is eliminated

AN AUTOMOBILE MOTION-PICTURE OUTFIT

AN AGENT of a well-known make of automobile uses an interesing automobile motion-picture apparatus to generate electric light for the projecting of scenes taken with a motion-picture camera in the plant where the automobiles are made.

A pulley is placed on the rear shaft of the automobile and a belt is run from this to the projecting apparatus. Only one side of the axle is jacked up, thus leaving one wheel on the ground. As a result, the differential in the rear axle is under a continual strain — one half the axle being at rest while the other half is running at twice the speed that the motor would normally drive it. A small electric fan is placed on a box set in front of the radiator to provide sufficient air current to prevent overheating of the motor. On the wind-shield of the automobile is mounted a switchboard carrying a voltmeter, a field rheostat, a switch, and plug receptacles for a switchboard lamp, the motion-picture machine, and the fan.

An obvious advantage of this device is that the entire apparatus can be transported quickly from one place to another, which, in an educational campaign conducted by means of moving pictures, is of great value in placing the lecture before several scattered audiences in one evening.

NOVEL USE FOR AN AUTOMOBILE
An ingenious owner employs his automobile to operate a moving picture machine

BRICK PAVEMENT LAID LIKE A TILE FLOOR

A COUNTRY road recently built near Paris, Ill., was constructed by laying the brick directly on the green mortar base, in the manner in which tile floors have heretofore been successfully laid.

The roadway was first excavated to the proper grade, and the sub-grade thoroughly compacted by repeated rolling with a 5-ton roller. Steel forms, 8 inches in depth, especially designed for this type of work, were set true to line and grade. The concrete was spread to a depth a little more than that required, and this was then cut down to grade by a steel templet, consisting of an "I" beam and a channel iron, placed two feet apart, and supported by a carrier supplied with two rollers. As the "I" beam cut the concrete to grade, a dry mixture of sand and cement was deposited in front of the channel-iron member of the *templet*. This thin film of dry sand and cement almost immediately took up the moisture from the base, leaving an ideal surface on which to lay the brick.

The bricks were laid with the best face up and the lugs in one direction, and the surface was rolled with a 600-pound hand roller. Then the filler was applied; one part sand, one part cement, mixed dry in a small batch mixer and conveyed to a grout box resting on the brick surface, where the water was applied. The surface was finally finished with a squeegee, leaving the joints entirely filled and the surface smooth.

Throughout the entire work of construction great care was taken to see that no defective or inferior bricks were used, and this, together with the constant rolling which was resorted to almost constantly, resulted in a roadway almost as smooth as the proverbial billiard table. The illustration at the top of the page shows the hand rolling after the bricks have been laid. The picture at the bottom of the page illustrates the setting of the bricks.

FOR SMOOTHER PAVEMENTS

Laying a brick pavement in the manner in which tile floors are laid, which results in a smoothness and durability not usually found in country roadways

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. JOSEPH H. CHOATE

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EMINENT LAWYER, ONE-TIME AMBASSADOR, AND DISTINGUISHED CITIZEN, WHO RE
CELEBRATED HIS EIGHTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY

THE
WORLD'S WORK

MARCH, 1916

ME XXXI NUMBER 5

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE last month, three things par-icularly stamped themselves on the ɔublic mind: the efforts of the Amer-can Government to dispose finally ɸ the *Lusitania* case; the President's tic tour of the West for preparedness; e resignation of Secretary Garrison.

decision of our Government to the *Lusitania* case brings a sense ɸ, for discussing so plain a question nger could not help but raise the t home and the conviction abroad e had not meant our words of strict ıtability in full. And no words or ' that Germany could offer would ree us from the feeling that the ın Government carried out its de-e experiment with inhumanity at : our expense, and no diplomatic ıent will ever take out of our minds ct that the German Government d its submarine commanders to r our women and children if their r was necessary to the submarine's ɨ. Nor can any settlement of the *Lu-* case entirely clear up the situation. Government has suggested to the ı and English that they do not ins on their passenger ships, and ng that suggestion the German ıment announces that their sub-s will consider any ships with guns as warships and sink them with-out warning whether they carry passen-gers or not. Our Government can, of course, warn Americans against traveling on merchant ships carrying guns; it can prevent merchant ships carrying guns from coming to our ports. But it cannot pre-vent Americans from traveling on such ships in the Mediterranean, for example, and if some are blown up, we shall face again the problem, which arises with painful frequency, of what we are going to do about the killing of our citizens.

The President's trip to the West was a great triumph. He was again the leader of the people, the convincing advocate of action. His former indifference to the questions of national defense made his plans for the Army and Navy doubly effective, for no one could discount his wisdom by accusing him of any inherent leaning toward war or militarism. The President and the policy of preparedness both gained great strength by his trip.

Then came Secretary Garrison's resigna-tion. It is a serious blow both to the President and to preparedness. It is a blow to the President because it takes from the Cabinet one of the men who made the strongest and best impressions on the country, and because for Mr. Garrison, a hearty believer in national defense, to resign seems to take some flavor from the President's programme in the West.

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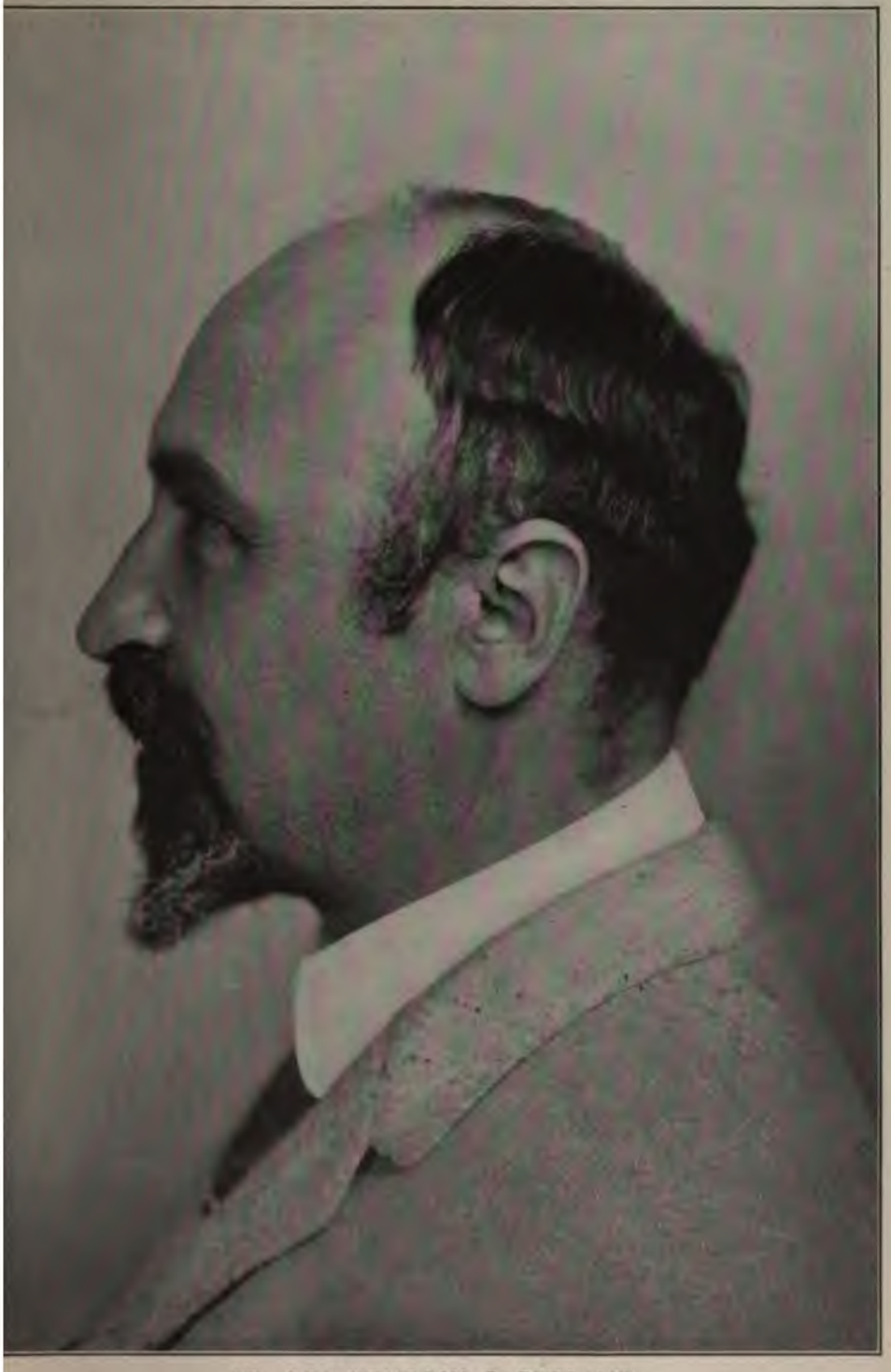
MR. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

WHO, ON JANUARY 28TH, WAS NOMINATED BY PRESIDENT WILSON TO FILL THE VACANCY IN THE SUPREME COURT MADE BY THE DEATH OF ASSOCIATE JUSTICE JOSEPH R. LAMAR



DR. LEO HENDRIK BAEKELAND

AMERICAN SCIENTIST, BORN IN BELGIUM, WHO WAS RECENTLY AWARDED THE PERKIN MEDAL FOR EMINENCE IN THE FIELD OF INDUSTRIAL CHEMICAL RESEARCH

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MR. JOHN P. WHITE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, WHOSE MODERATIO
PAST HAS BEEN ONE REASON FOR HOPING THAT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION MIGHT BE F
THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE OPERATORS AND THE MINERS OVER THE WAGE
MENTS THAT EXPIRE AT THE END OF THIS MONTH AND IN SUCCEEDING MONTHS

(See "The Month

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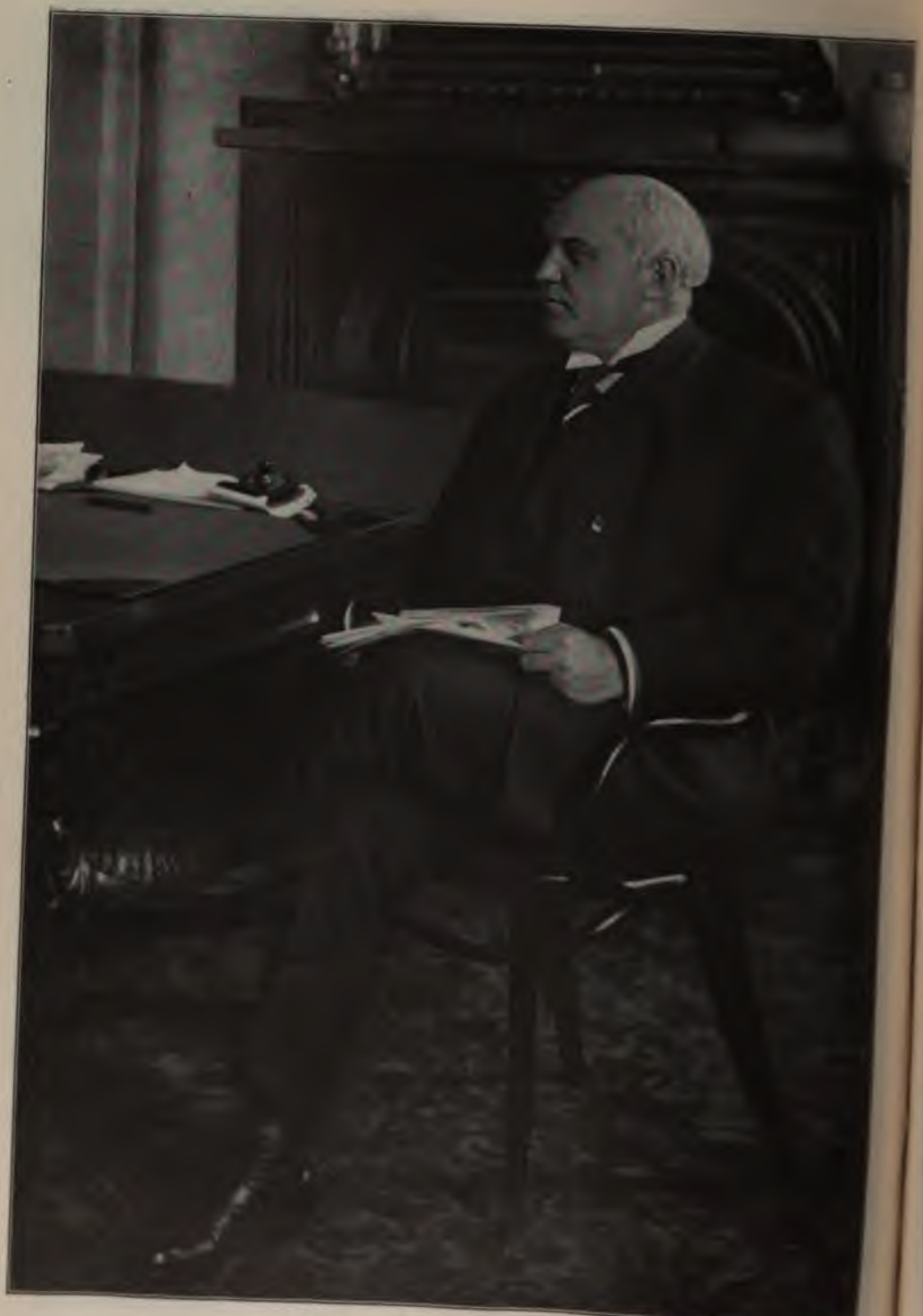
MR. WARREN S. STONE

CHIEF OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS, WHOSE INFLUENCE HAS BEEN LARGELY AGAINST STRIKES AS THE MEANS OF SETTLING THE COUNTRY-WIDE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE RAILROADS AND THE TRAINMEN OVER AN ADJUSTMENT OF THE WAGE SCALE TO THE PROPOSED EIGHT-HOUR BASIS

(See "The March of Events")



MR. FRANKLIN K. LANE

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SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, WHOSE RECENT MEASURES FOR THE OPENING OF GOVERNMENT LANDS AND WATER-POWERS IN THE WEST CONSERVE THE NATIONAL RESOURCES WHILE MAKING THEM AVAILABLE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON PRACTICAL BUSINESS TERMS

[See "The March of Events"]

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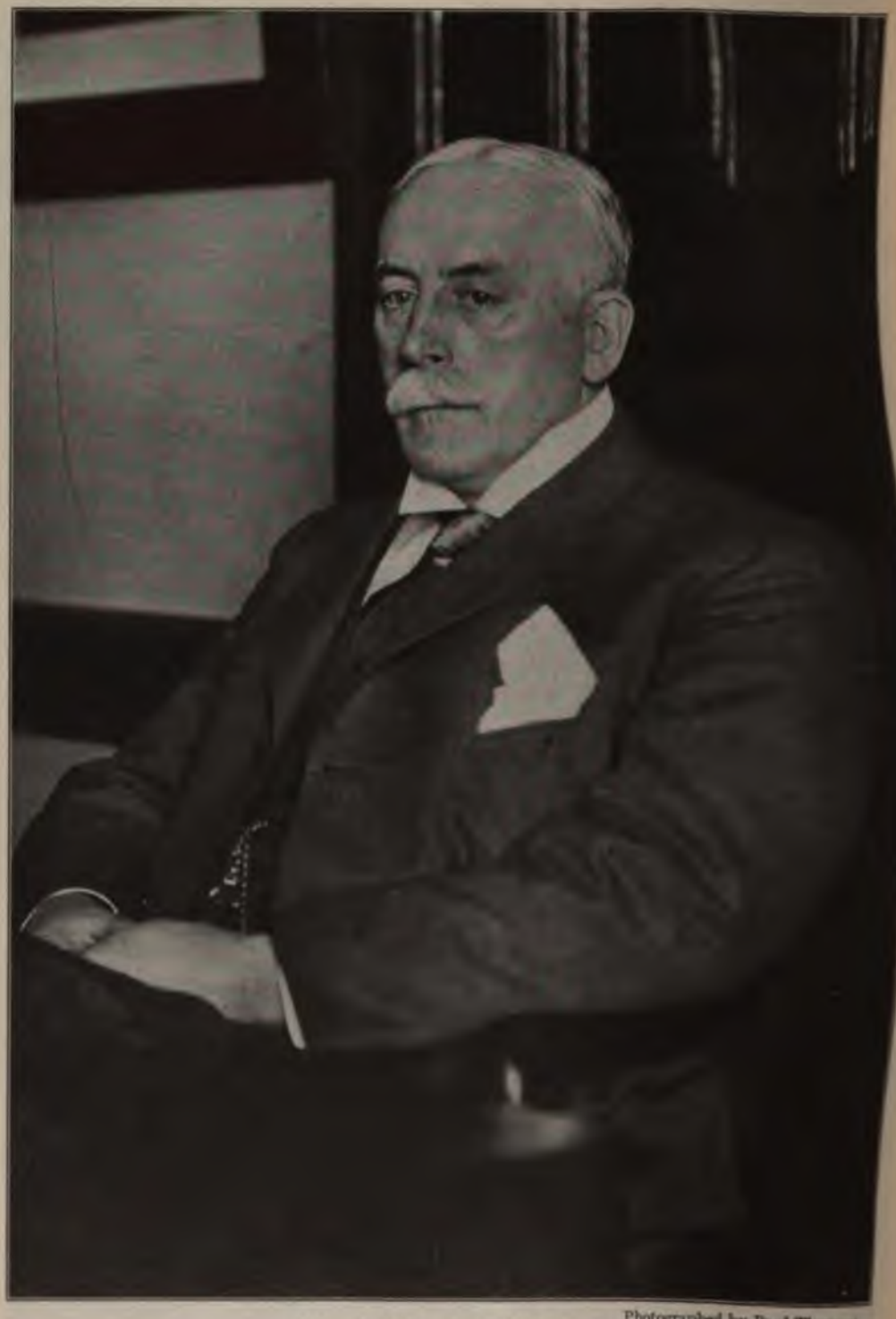
MR. JOHN MASEFIELD

E ENGLISH POET WHO HAS BEEN LECTURING IN THE UNITED STATES, AND WHOSE
US VERSE HAS BEEN ONE OF THE STRONGEST ELEMENTS IN THE REMARKABLE POPULAR
L OF INTEREST IN POETRY IN THIS COUNTRY AND IN ENGLAND



Photographed by Paul Thompson

MR. JAMES A. FARRELL

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION WHO, IN OPENING THE *THIRD* NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE CONVENTION, AT NEW ORLEANS, LA., RECENTLY SAID: "WE CAN NO LONGER TALK OF FOREIGN TRADE MERELY AS AN ADJUNCT TO DOMESTIC PROSPERITY. . . . THERE CAN BE NO STABLE PROSPERITY AT HOME UNLESS WE ARE ABLE TO MAKE LIBERAL *SALES OF AMERICAN* MANUFACTURES ABROAD"

[See "The March of Events"]

THE PRINCIPLES OF DEFENSE

THE President on his Western tour advocated for the United States a navy second to none.

"There is no navy in the world that has so great an area of defense as the American Navy, and it ought to be incomparably the greatest navy in the world."

When the President made this statement there was no plan before Congress, even in the future, for a navy to equal England's, and the Secretary of the Navy's plan would have to count upon the destruction of some foreign vessels to make our Navy even second best.

But whatever relative size our Navy ultimately achieves, one thing is certain: we should add what strength and morale we can to the Navy now, for, as the President said at Kansas City:

> Speaking with all solemnity, I assure you that there is not a day to be lost; not, understand me, because of any new or specially critical matter, but because I cannot tell twenty-four hours at a time whether there is going to be trouble or not, and whether there is or no does not depend upon what I do or what I say, or upon what any man in the United States does or says. It depends upon what foreign governments do; what the commanders of ships at sea do; what those in charge of submarines do; what those who are conducting blockades do. Upon the judgment of a score of men, big and little, hang the vital issues of peace or war for the United States.

The future size of our Navy is dependent upon our international relations. In the past we have never even pretended to prepare against the British Navy, either because we felt that our proximity to Canada was sufficient guarantee of peace, or because we feared no trouble with England, or, perhaps, because it would cost too much. The General Board's programme which, however, was neither published nor followed, would have been adequate to meet either Germany or Japan. The President's plan of a navy second to none would, of course, put us on a par with any one nation. But nowadays nations fight in groups. It is impossible for us to build a navy sufficient to meet any possible combination that might come against us. We could, however, presumably build a navy large enough to hold the balance of power between two groups and render ourselves immune from attack. In fact, our immunity in the past may partially be laid to the fact that neither faction in Europe wished to force us into the camp of its enemies. If the war ends in a deadlock that situation may continue. If not, the old balance of power will be upset, and, until the equilibrium is found again in some way, it would be comforting to have a larger navy than we are likely to have when the war ends. For, while we are at peace with the world, our traditional policy of no entanglements means that we should have to look out for ourselves in case of war unless it were very plainly to some other nation's advantage to join us.

Our policy has the inestimable virtue of keeping us out of other people's wars, and the corollary of this is that we must ourselves be ready to attend to our own.

The average American has always looked upon his problem of national defense as the Englishman has looked upon his—and they are the only two peoples in the world who have put their main dependence in their navies, hired a small army of professional soldiers for police work and to attend to minor foreign expeditions, and for the rest depended on volunteers. The American looks upon the United States as if it were a great island—and essentially he is right. And the work of the British Navy in the present war is convincing proof that we can do no better than imitate their big naval policy. On the other hand their military experiences ashore are a warning to us not to follow their example when framing our army policy.

Their regular army was good, as ours is, and though twice as large as ours, its size is negligible in a modern conflict. Their territorials were not sufficient in numbers or training. Their main reliance was upon training a volunteer army while their allies held the Germans off. And, of course, finally they came to conscription.

There is only one way for us to escape all these ineffective and terribly costly steps that finally lead to universal service, and that is to adopt the principle of universal service to begin with.

After a year and a half of war the English have come to conscription. Whenever we get into serious difficulty we recognize that compulsory service is the best military policy. Washington argued for it. The war of 1812 convinced Jefferson of its necessity. Lincoln resorted to it.

And the principle of universal service, of itself, whether all young men be called to training or not, is the only thoroughly democratic system of national defense, for it is not democratic to hire defenders nor to depend on the more patriotic to volunteer to defend the "slackers." Nor is there necessarily any militarism connected with universal service. Militarism arises in a state where there is a military class with special privileges which controls the policy of the government. In the autocracies of Russia and Germany, where there is universal service, there is a privileged military group and there is militarism. In the democracies of France, Switzerland, and Australia, where there is universal service, there is no privileged military group and no militarism.

But in the correspondence between the President and Mr. Garrison the President goes on record against universal service. Aside from this he explained that his mind was open to any plan but committed to none. It was evident at that time that unless the Continental Army plan had active Administration support it would fail. Taken together these things seemed to mean that any increase in the Army would be gained on the principle of the Federal control of the militia advocated by Representative Hay. It was entirely logical, therefore, for a Secretary who felt that the adoption of such a principle would be a national calamity to resign, especially as a similar drift of affairs seemed about to make him a silent partner in the abandonment of the Philippines.

The President's policy, that it would be unwise for the Executive to interfere with Congress, depends for justification on its results. When all is said and done the American people look to the Executive for leadership and results, not to Congress.

The danger at present seems to be that not only will the principle of universal service be lost sight of, but also the principle of having a unified service, for no compromise can make a unified and efficient force out of the militia, for the Constitution reserves "to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the training of the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." And it seems foolish to try to work on such militia when the Constitution gives Congress the right without restrictions "to raise and support armies," as well as "to provide for the common defense."

INDEPENDENCE AND RUIN FOR THE FILIPINO

THE Clarke amendment to the Philippines bill provides for the independence of the Islands at the end of four years' time. However, if conditions seem not to warrant our withdrawal the President is empowered to delay the process until another Congress can consider the matter.

This bill means to end our administration of the Islands after about twenty years of tutelage. In the main we have administered the Philippines generously and well. We have, of course, used the Filipinos as a protected market for our manufactures, but that is not surprising, as we do that to our own citizens also. We have kept order, increased transportation facilities, introduced sanitation, and made a good beginning in education.

We shall stop these activities when we leave the Islands but we shall be responsible for their defense—but not responsible for any actions of theirs which might require defense. We are to leave the actions of the Filipinos entirely under their own control, but we are to be responsible to outsiders. We are to keep aggressors off the Islands but the defenses are to be left in Filipino hands. We are to extend the Monroe Doctrine across the Pacific to a people who never had enough courage or character to gain their independence—in the face of our recent Mexican experiences with a people who have had independence for a hundred years.

The best precedent for immediate Fili-

pino independence is, of course, the independence of Cuba. Cuba has conducted her affairs moderately well (though a second intervention was necessary) yet not so brilliantly as to encourage the experiment with a people less homogeneous and more backward than the Cubans, a people, moreover, living on many different islands, speaking many different tongues, with different and conflicting religions.

There are two logical things to do with the Philippines: (1) to get rid of them and all responsibility for them; (2) to accept them and responsibility for them.

If we traded the Islands for the British West Indies we might get rid of responsibility for them, for it would descend on England; but unless we pass the responsibility on to some other nation it will remain with us. The Filipinos cannot take it.

ANOTHER TARIFF BOARD

MR. TAFT, when he was President, appointed a non-partisan scientific tariff commission to study the difference in cost of production in this country and abroad so that a Republican Congress could have the facts on which to make an accurately protective tariff. The Democratic House of Representatives very naturally abolished this board because it did not want information on how to make a protective tariff.

Now President Wilson is advocating a non-partisan scientific tariff board to study the tariff from the Democratic point of view—the tariff-for-revenue-only point of view, and to give Congress information on the new economic and commercial situations developed by the war.

Such a body might be very useful to Democratic Congresses. But when the first Republican House of Representatives comes along it may in its turn demand that the tariff board change its activities or cease to exist.

A board or commission to study the tariff can give Congress many facts which Congress cannot get for itself. It can act as a statistical department acts for a business house. But in the final analysis Congress must decide what kind of a tariff we shall l The talk of taking the tariff out of politics is the same as asking for taxation without representation.

But it is wise for the Committee of Ways and Means, which frames the tariff, to hire the best economic and accounting help it can get. It does not make much difference what this help is called. Similarly, the other committees of Congress should have a great deal more assistance than they have. There is as much need of a scientific non-partisan expenditures board to help the committee on appropriations as there is of a tariff board.

Most of the committees of Congress should employ more expert assistance just as other men of large affairs do. And it does no particular harm to attach to these men the high-sounding adjectives "scientific" and "non-partisan."

LOOKING BACKWARD—AND FORWARD

PRESIDENT WILSON, in his address in New York City before the Railway Business Association on January 27th, and Mr. James A. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation, in his address in New Orleans before the National Foreign Trade Council on the same day both called attention to the changed economic position of the United States and to the necessity for an adjustment of the public mind to realize this change and to meet the new problems of the future with fresh vision.

President Wilson's words were these:

"Think of the position into which America has been drawn, almost in spite of herself, by the circumstances of the present day. She alone is free to help find things wherever they show themselves in the world. And she is forced, also, whether she will or not, in the decades immediately ahead of us, to furnish the world with its chief economic guidance and assistance."

Mr. Farrell said:

"We can no longer talk of foreign trade merely as an adjunct of domestic prosperity. The fact has to be recognized that there can be no stable prosperity at home unless we are able to make liberal sales of American manufactures abroad."

Mr. Wilson's point, that the rest of the world henceforth must look more largely to America for capital, has got pretty well into the consciousness of the American people. Mr. Farrell's point (which is the complement of Mr. Wilson's), that America has a big job ahead of it to get this capital, has not soaked in. We are proud of our new importance as "the new financial centre of the world." Mr. Farrell would have us humble at the thought of the work we shall have to do to maintain that difficult position.

Just now war profits have flooded us with cash to lend to borrowing nations. But when Europe's armies return to their industrial activities, the war profits will cease. Then we shall have to compete again against the other manufacturing nations, and the surplus profits for foreign investment that we shall be able to make in the face of that competition will be made only by the most careful management.

Over half of our enormous exports, as Mr. Farrell has pointed out, have been foodstuffs and raw materials. These raw materials are carried to Europe and are there converted into highly finished articles in the manufacture of which European laborers get the wages and European capitalists get the manufacturing profits, and these articles are then sold to India and China and South America as part of Europe's profitable foreign trade. Mr. Farrell would have America manufacture these raw materials in America, pay these wages to American laborers, keep these profits for American capitalists, and add these sales to America's foreign trade.

But before this advantageous process can be worked out, America must go into foreign trade and find the markets in which these manufactures can be sold. Europe has controlled most of these markets. America must capture them or develop new ones. Mr. Farrell advises us to develop them as Europe developed them, by lending to backward countries the money with which to buy from us the materials with which to develop their resources, on the theory (which works, by the way) that they will use the wealth their developed resources bring in to buy from us other things which they will need as they progress.

All intelligent Americans understand this situation when it is explained to them. But relatively few of them understand that they, personally, can do anything about it. The big capitalists and the big manufacturers do see a definite personal opportunity, as the existence of the National Foreign Trade Council and the organization of the new American International Corporation prove. But the small investors, the small manufacturers, and the farmers do not realize that they too can help.

The truth is, they can help very definitely. The small investors can help by buying the securities of American-financed foreign developments, after the same cautious and intelligent investigation that they apply to the purchase of native securities. The small manufacturers can help by organizing, with allied concerns, associations to push the sale of their wares abroad. And investors, manufacturers and farmers alike can help by considering the vital relation of the tariff to this question and by their so instructing their Congressmen that future tariff legislation will help and not hinder this essential change in America's economic growth.

II

What kind of tariff legislation, then, will help America to meet this necessity to become a world trader? Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, a life-long Republican, speaking to the Republican Club in New York City late in January, answered the question:

"We are prosperous, and we will continue prosperous. Nothing can stop the great prosperity except tariff agitation. I feel this, and, standing here on this historic Republican ground, I say that if you revive the tariff agitation in the next campaign and threaten the country again with a high protective tariff the people will have none of it."

The reason why the people should have none of it is chiefly that our tariff wall has not only kept foreign manufactures out of the United States but it has, by the very act, kept American manufactures from foreign markets, for a nation does not buy cannot sell.

go together. But an added reason why they should have none of it—why manufacturers themselves should have none of it—is that this tariff wall, protecting them almost absolutely against foreign competition, has weakened their courage and weakened their initiative. Now the necessity for initiative is being forced upon them by the necessity of selling their goods abroad, and they must meet the change like men. President Wilson has recently sounded this challenge to their manhood:

"America has been reluctant to match her wits with the rest of the world. When I face a body of men like this [the Railway Business Association] it is almost incredible to remember that only yesterday they were afraid to put their wits into free competition with the world. The best brains in the world afraid to match brains with the rest of the world! We have preferred to be provincial. We have preferred to stand behind protecting devices. And now we are thrust out to do, on a scale never dreamed of in recent generations, the business of the world. We can no longer be a provincial nation."

TWO BIG LABOR CONTROVERSIES

NEARLY 400,000 men on all the railroads of the country are demanding a change in the hours-a-day basis on which wages are calculated, and about the same number of men in the anthracite and soft coal regions are asking for at least 10 per cent. increase in pay. These simultaneous demands of nearly one million men have already made 1916 one of the big years in the history of labor agitation.

The railroad men affected are only the crews of freight trains. They are now paid so much a mile for a run of 100 miles or so much an hour for a day of ten hours—whichever figures out the most money for a particular run. What they demand is to be paid so much a mile for a run of 100 miles or so much an hour for a day of only eight hours. In other words, they want to reduce by two hours the length of the working day and thereby increase by two hours the possibilities or earning "overtime" at ch higher rate. It is not so much the "eight-hour day" they want as it is the "eight-hour-a-day wage base."

The anthracite mine workers are asking for the eight-hour day instead of the present nine-hour day. They are asking also for a 20 per cent. increase in wages, recognition of the union, and the adjustment of some matters in dispute relating to the basis of wages and to working conditions. The soft coal miners' demands are similar. Mine laborers are of two classes: (1) the miners, who are practically small contractors, as they are paid by weight of coal blasted and are free to knock off work whenever they feel they have earned all they want for the day; and (2) the mine workers, who comprise the men who shovel the blasted coal, the mule drivers, engineers, and miscellaneous workers, who all work by the time clock and at a fixed rate a day. The dissatisfaction with present conditions is largely among the second of these classes.

The chief hope of a peaceful settlement of these wage controversies has lain in the record for moderation of Mr. John P. White, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and of Mr. Warren S. Stone, chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Both have opposed general strikes and have favored arbitration. Mr. Stone is the head of only one of the four railroad brotherhoods that are involved, but he is the best known and probably the most influential leader of all the railroad men.

OPENING WATER-POWER AND MINERAL LANDS

THE House passed two bills in January which will provide for the use of practically all our remaining national resources. When the Senate passes these bills, we shall have practically nothing left of our national domain except the national forests and the national parks. These bills are designed to settle the problem of "conservation" once for all.

Quietly, industriously, painstakingly, Secretary Lane has been solving this great national and political problem. Our Alaskan coal fields, our water-power sites, and our mineral lands wrecked the Taft Ad-

its early days, but Secretary Lane's proposals, so absorbed is the Nation in other matters, have hardly aroused passing interest. Yet men like ex-Secretary Walter L. Fisher and ex-Forester Gifford Pinchot have publicly endorsed his recommendations. With them the great problem of conservation, "How can we obtain the greatest national use of these resources without speculation and exploitation?" has apparently found its solution. So long as these laws are honestly administered conservation, as an active political issue, virtually disappears.

II

The first law opens to general use the Nation's water-power sites. Experts figure that, of the 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 horse-power of energy lying in our rivers and streams, we are using only about 6,000,000 horse-power. This is national waste on a tremendous scale. The larger part of these water courses lie in the Western states, and may very likely become the fundamental fact in their economic life. We are now using about 280,000,000 tons of coal a year for work which these water courses could perform just as well. This coal has to be hauled long distances to be put to use. It is limited in supply; once burned, it cannot be used again; enormous as may be the quantities concealed in the earth, the time may conceivably come when it will all be gone. But this water-power has existed for millions of years and it will exist for millions of years to come. It is a perpetual supply that can be used over and over again. Properly chained, this water will turn huge turbines, which will generate an endless supply of electricity. This electricity will perform any number of services in the Western states. It will light their streets and houses, run their trolley cars and elevators, operate their churns, furnish power to sewing machines and vacuum cleaners, and may even supply fuel for kitchen ranges. It will also make available vast new farming lands in the West, for these parched farms possess enormous stretches of water besides the rivers that flow upon their surface. There is another *ter system* flowing underground, as regular in its courses and as depend as the visible surface streams. One of hydro-electric power will be to p this subterranean water to the surface irrigation purposes.

It is not surprising that our wealt water has aroused the cupidity of spec tive business interests. The Governm fearful that it would become a mean extortion, has hugged these water cou to itself—withdrawn them from pu entry. Secretary Lane has had l difficulty in outlining a plan that will m them available. He proposes to l them for a fifty-year period, the ren paid to go to the reclamation fund— money that is used to irrigate arid la The Government has the right of exte ing or ending these leases at the expira of this fifty-year period. If it dec not to do so, it agrees to purchase works at market valuation and any a tional land the lessee may have acqui at cost. The only purpose of this arra ment is to give the Government cont so it can terminate on fair terms the l of any corporation which has abused privileges. The only interests that opp this arrangement are certain legisla from the Western states, who wish central Government to hand over its sources to the states themselves. Government would make a great take if it did this, and fortunately th is little likelihood that this local v will prevail.

III

The second bill proposes a similar p gramme for the utilization of our min lands. We have unexampled wealth oil, gas, coal, phosphate, potassium, dium, and other minerals. At pres the orange growers of California the apple orchardists of Oregon send Florida, several thousand miles away, phosphate rock, used as fertilizer. Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming, sta that are right at their doors, have 3 acres of land underlaid with this substance. At present these our water-power sites, are v for fear that, if opened somebody will

; of barrels of oil lying two thousand below the surface on the public do-ı, and Heaven only knows how many c feet of gas, in precisely the same lition. The application of a rational em of leases and royalties, however, make all these treasures part of our tical life.

THE INCOME TAX STANDS

THE recent decision by the court of last resort, upholding the constitutionality of the income tax against attacks on it, verified, in its proper e, Mr. Dooley's witty maxim that "the reme Court follows the election re-s." In a large sense, that is what it ıt to do. In a democracy, what the peo-want, after thoughtful deliberation, ıt to be affirmed by that court as being awof the land. And the peoplewill take decisionon the incometax asan affirma-of their fifty-year struggle to maintain principle of a direct tax on incomes. y will take it so, notwithstanding that, nically, it is simply the upholding of particular methods by which that tax l be determined under a particular ıte enacted by Congress.

nd in this the public will be funda-tally right. The men who fought e last five attacks on this last form of law to the last legal ditch were prob-quite sincere in their special reasons :omplaint, but the broad truth remains most of these attacks in the last fifty s have been intended really to pre-: the taxing of incomes at all. The ıle intended to settle that question good when they forced the passage of Sixteenth Amendment three years ago. y would probably be willing to admit the Congressional Act which put amendment into operation may be ctive If so, Congress should be the ce of relief: Congress should be asked ompelled to pass a better law. But cks on the law through the courts, and technical grounds, are resented as ts to evade the principle of the tax f.

he food upon which public enthusiasm the income tax has fed has been the conviction that wealth has evaded its share of taxation under other methods of collection. Landlords pass the tax on real estate on to the public in the form of increased rents; capitalists manage to avoid much of the tax on personal property; the internal revenue taxes are shifted to the consumer in the increased price of tobacco and spirits; and not only the customs taxes have been paid by the general public but a generous profit besides, because the tariff has prevented the importation of foreign goods at even an advance on competitive prices.

II

But, though resentment at these evils chiefly prompted the public to favor the income tax, one of the most valuable positive virtues of that tax is often overlooked. This virtue lies in the fact that the income tax is a direct tax. The man who pays it knows he is paying it. The strong arm of the Government itself reaches out directly to him and takes from his hand a part of his money. Instinctively he feels like calling this action highway robbery. So much the better. For when a man feels that way, he is likely to take a keen interest in the way the "robber" spends his money. If the Government that takes his money proceeds to spend it in pork barrel appropriations, instead of for wise and considered purposes, he is likely to regard it as a personal injury and make a disturbance about it—as he ought. Probably no one thing would so safeguard the public treasury as some form of direct collection of all taxes.

Such direct collection of taxes serves another useful purpose: it brings home to the citizen the personal realization that he has a stake in the Government—personal duties to it as well as personal benefits from it. Almost every point at which the Government touches the life of the citizen serves only to remind him of its beneficence. The postman bringing a letter to the door is almost the only living symbol of Federal unity that the average citizen ever sees. To be sharply reminded, by way of his pocket-book, that beneficence costs money, his money, leads to a sense of personal duty to the common-

wealth. This is peculiarly important when such questions as national defense arise. Instinctively, the American thinks that "the Government will take care of that." But armies are not made of Government officers: modern armies cannot be made even of Government-paid men. They are made of the citizenry of the Nation—you and me and our neighbors. Direct taxes help to make us realize our personal obligation in the defense of the country—our country.

MISFITS—PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

WHAT shall be done with invalid employees? As invalid employees are the large majority of all workers, this question covers comprehensive ground. Not all employees have tuberculosis, valvular heart disease, or acute infections; nearly all, however, have some physical defect that interferes with efficiency and happy living. Most never suspect the real situation and yet a careful examination, made periodically, will detect weaknesses that may hasten their end.

A great manufacturing company in New York has a regular and systematic method of protecting its employees' health. Its records show how haphazard is the usual scheme of managing a great industrial plant. Ideally, the organization should seek out the man best fitted to do that particular job and set him to doing it. Yet this company found many absurdities. It had telephone operators with defective hearing and men and women doing close work, demanding the keenest vision, who had serious defects of eyesight. Laborers who were ruptured or afflicted with heart disease were performing heavy lifting work. A man whose work made him climb ladders almost continuously had heart disease and a high blood pressure. Another worthy citizen with a frightfully high blood pressure was doing especially heavy work and rapidly eating himself to death. These discoveries led to a general shifting; these people were not discharged, but they received medical attention and were placed in positions where they could render some service to the company.

This question of locating misfits is of the greatest problems of modern dustrialism. Medical departments accomplish a great deal. Such a de ment in one concern now examines e candidate for employment as rigidl would a life insurance company. The not demand physical perfection, but at there is some assurance that the m fitted for his work. They also exa every employee periodically, advise slightly incapacitated how they can prove their defects, and take all mean even at the cost of long vacations medical attendance, to revitalize the seriously ill. Beyond this physical however, few corporations have yet But the mental misfits are probably common than the physically misfi Men and women in thousands are work for which they are unfitted—men women who, if some method could found of discovering their aptitudes, have useful careers. A recent inves tion disclosed that several corporat that jointly employ 10,000 people engaged 40,000 employees in a single This meant that 30,000 had failed. we cannot believe that the human heap is as large as this. There must been something that the majority c do. Surely there must be some method than that of "hiring and fir to assort the human material that is in industry.

STATE POLICE

SOME ONE once asked a chi the Texas Rangers to explain remarkable exploits of his me arresting desperate criminals si handed. His reply was: "A man knows he is in the wrong can't stan against a man that knows he is in right—and keeps on coming."

That is one of the chief merits o state police, whether they be T Rangers, Northwest Mounted Police the State Constabulary of Pennsylv They are trained to "keep on comi They have the soldier's disciplined that has thought out the perils of his ing and has come to take the risks o

iness as a matter of course. They have, des, the soldier's impersonal attitude ard the man he may be called on to ot. Where a militiaman on riot duty r waver at the thought of using force inst his next-door neighbor, or where a iff or constable may hesitate to act fear of political consequence, a state ceman has no such doubts. He is ned to restrain himself to the last ant to which quiet determination is , and then to shoot and shoot to kill. s aloofness and this certainty of action hemselves almost guarantee that he l not have to shoot. In the nine rs that the Pennsylvania Constabul- has kept order in that state, the iber of times its men have had to use r weapons is relatively very small, the deadly effectiveness with which r did use them when they had to made it possible, for example, for men to quell a riot of more than a isand strikers and sympathizers in tsville by simply riding slowly and itly through the streets.

he temptation to abuse their authority ery small for a body of men that have arge a territory to patrol, whose mili- discipline keeps them from forming ng local attachments, and whose tical supervision rests in a distant e capitol instead of in a near-by court- se or city hall. Probably no more tive method of safeguarding the rural ricts of a state has yet been devised. duty in cities is the more familiar, use the more spectacular, part of the of a state police; but its most useful, by far its larger, work is the protection ne lonely countryside in which sheriffs constables alike have been conspicu- y ineffective.

PENSION LISTS FOR ENGLAND AND CANADA

THERE are numerous indications that, as was the case with our own Civil War, the burdens of the pean conflict will last many years peace is concluded. This applies only to the unparalleled debts the ns are piling up. They are also accumulating enormous liabilities for pensions. Interest on England's war debt, as it stands at present, will require an annual charge of about $500,000,000. In addition to this, pension charges already demand $100,000,000 a year. That is the amount provided for in the latest English budget. No one can foresee what appropriations will be needed in the next ten, twenty, or fifty years. In 1866, a year after the Civil War ended, we were paying $15,000,000 a year to its survivors. Now, fifty years afterward, the cost is $166,000,000 yearly. If England increases her pensions at the same rate, she will pay in 1966, about $1,100,000,000 every year on this one item.

Meanwhile Canadians are demanding better pension treatment for their soldiers. Compared with Europe, Canada treats her army with even greater lavishness than the United States. The private soldier gets $1.10 a day and his wife or widowed mother has a separation allowance of $20 a month. Under the Canadian pension system, the rank and file soldier, in case of injury, gets an amount ranging from $75 to $264 a year, a captain from $216 to $720 a year, and a brigadier-general from $636 to $2,100. Canadian newspapers are already denouncing these stipends as niggardly and are pointing to the American pension list as the only respectable model. Thus the Toronto *Daily News* "would like to see pensions to the rank and file increased. The Dominion is rich enough to provide handsomely for its disabled and partly disabled officers and men." No Canadian statesmen have yet advocated pensions on any other ground than disability; nothing like the American service pension has yet been proposed. But the war is not over yet—these things are in the future. It was not until 1907, forty-two years after the Civil War ended, that our service law was passed by Congress.

In all likelihood the war will deprive the United States of its present preëminence in pensioning soldiers. We shall probably be just getting rid of this burden —that is, unless we have some new wars— as Europe is feeling the weight most oppressively. If we add England's

$60,000,000 old age pensions to her $100,000,000 military bill the English pension list is now about the size of ours.

THE MORMONS OF MEXICO

OUR recent Mexican difficulties have disclosed one picturesque footnote to American history. Most Americans have now learned, for the first time, that there are large Mormon colonies in Mexico.

There are Mormon colonies in Canada also, and the province of Alberta contains two "Stakes of Zion." But to the Mormons all over the world their Mexican colonies are things exceedingly precious. The sacrilegious Mexicans, in assailing them, assail what are, in many respects, the brightest jewels in the Mormon crown. There are Mormons in England, Denmark, Germany, even in New York City, but none fill the peculiar place set aside for the Mormons of Mexico.

For these Mexican colonies are "cities of refuge." They are really shrines established for the uninterrupted practice of polygamy. They were founded, in the early 'eighties, primarily as protests against the treatment that the Mormons were receiving in the United States at that time. Then the United States, after temporizing with the Mormons and their peculiar institution for more than half a century, began to enforce vigorously American marriage laws in Utah. President Cleveland, after vainly attempting to persuade the Mormons to become, as he expressed it, "like the rest of us," sent United States marshals and Federal judges into Utah. As Utah was then a territory, Congress possessed jurisdiction over the marriage relation, and the laws of Congress strictly limited the Saints, like the rest of Americans, to one wife. Hunting polygamous Mormons, arresting them, and confining them in the Utah penitentiary became an exciting industry. The polygamists scattered to the four winds of Heaven; Joseph F. Smith, the present head of the church, took refuge in the Hawaiian Islands, while others less important concealed themselves in caves, in abandoned [illegible] sometimes between the mattresses in beds. In a few years nearly all leaders of Mormondom were we stripes in jail, the church property been escheated to the United States a ground that the institution was treaso and law-defying, and the whole orga tion, now extremely rich, went bank This was the situation that produce famous Woodruff manifesto of 18 which the Mormon church promis abandon polygamy in the United St

However, many polygamous Saints fled to Mexico. The land seemed invi President Diaz, who was approache the subject, had no particular hos to polygamy. He wanted good colo and the Mormons understood sheep ing and grazing. Here, then, in nort Chihuahua and Sonora, was the where the Mormons could "live religion" and keep alive by practi great doctrine by which the M church rises or falls. The Mexica mon colonies have thus been perp lighted vestal fires of this "new and lasting covenant" of polygamy.

In fact, ever since they acquired hood, the Mormons have secretly tised polygamy in Utah. But in M they have practised it openly. T places are as obviously polygamous a Salt Lake City in the days of Bri Young. The Mexican colonies have moted polygamy in the United State here the Saints have frequently go marry the plural wives they have a ward taken back to Utah. This is curious story of the origin of the col which Villa's forces attacked.

REPRINTS OF FINANCIAL ARTICLES

THE WORLD'S WORK several y ago felt compelled to mak rule forbidding the reprintin its regular monthly article on in ments except by newspapers and current periodicals. Notwithstandin rule, unauthorized reprints have made, without permission, by unk private agencies. All such reprints circulated without the consent o tion of this magazine.

NVESTMENTS IN MUNICIPAL BONDS

·y month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on experiences with investments and lessons to be drawn therefrom.*

WHEN in doubt buy municipal bonds," is an old investment rule of thumb which experience has shown to be most widely :tised at times when the doubt concerns :ountry's business and financial outlook. one runs over the history of the several ods of general depression that have ırred in the United States during the twenty-five years, one finds that, at very first signs of uneasiness, the flow nvestment capital immediately sets nst securities dependent in any way n the earnings of private enterprise, in favor of those backed by taxes, the l of earnings that do not fail.

his tendency distinguished the invest- t market of 1915. It was especially ked during the first half of the year e the business of the country was going ugh the uncertain process of readjust- itself to the unprecedented conditions ted by the war. It continued as an ıence to be seriously reckoned with by investment bankers, even after this justment appeared to have been mplished and industry of nearly every l had been stimulated to prosperity ortions. Its importance is pretty ıitely suggested by recently published es, showing that while the railroad, ıstrial, and public utility corporations to content themselves with about ıty-five millions less new capital than 914, the municipalities of the country : able to command from investors e than forty millions more. In the total amount of permanent icipal loans placed during 1915 was :r than in any other year of the last de. One authority places it at ap- imately $489,000,000.

here is something more or less axiom- about the rule whose operation hus exemplified. An income from taxes! Paradoxical as such a thing may seem to those who are unacquainted with securities, it is the most widely accepted formula for safety in the investment world. Yet in undertaking to apply it, investors are not infrequently led into unexpected perplexities.

One who wrote to the WORLD'S WORK not long ago presented a typical case of this kind. He had been charged with the responsibility of investing a small sum of money for a nephew, recently left an orphan. The principal of the investment was to remain undisturbed until the boy became of age, but it would be necessary to use the income meanwhile to help toward his support. In fact, the circumstances made the question of the investment's yield of considerable importance.

The writer said that his own investment experience had been confined to the purchase of a few railroad bonds, none of which could be sold in the market for anywhere near the prices he had paid. He said that although this gave him little concern about the safety of his own funds, he did not like to contemplate the possibility of having to face a similar situation when the time should come to turn the money over to his nephew. What he wanted for the present purpose was an investment free from the vicissitudes of active market securities, yet one which could be converted into cash with reasonable facility and without undue sacrifice, even at a time of uncertainty.

He had first taken the matter up with the cashier of his bank, who had argued convincingly that municipals were the only securities meeting such requirements, and who had advised dividing the money among the following bonds: street improvement 4½'s of a large city in Ohio to yield 4.05 per cent.; municipal improvement 4½'s of a California city to yield 4.30 per cent.; the 5's of a school district in

Missouri to yield about 4.30 per cent.; and the 5's of a road district in Texas to yield 5 per cent.

The average yield on this assortment of bonds figured out a little less than 4½ per cent. With careful management the total income accruing at that rate might prove sufficient, but the investor, without knowing exactly why, suspected he might do better. In any event he thought it would be good business to learn more about the market for municipals before concluding the transaction with his bank.

He started to make an independent investigation, and, at the time he wrote to this department, he had progressed just far enough to demonstrate what a dangerous thing a little knowledge can be, especially when it pertains to the science of investment discrimination. He was full of resentment at his banker for having tried, as he believed, to make an unreasonable profit on the proposed investment by taking advantage of his inexperience, and a long-standing business relationship was on the point of being severed. The unpleasant situation had arisen in this way:

Among the bonds mentioned in the advertisements and circulars the investor had collected, there were a number which appeared to him to bear striking similarity to those recommended by the bank, except that their yields were materially higher. He had picked out for comparison with the four issues suggested by the cashier two street improvement bonds of Western cities, both yielding 7 per cent., and one of each of the other two classes, yielding respectively 5½ and 5¾ per cent.

He said that he was fully aware that in all comparisons of the kind allowance should be made for such differences in interest rates as might be due to the relative intensity of the competition for money for all purposes among the various localities. But where municipal credit was involved, it seemed to him preposterous to try to explain on that ground such wide differences as his comparison showed. He wanted to know, therefore, if he did not have a just complaint against his local banker for placing an exorbitant price upon his offerings.

Analysis of this comparison readily revealed a number of points about m cipal bonds, in regard to which a cl understanding on the investor's happily proved a remedy for his re ment. The most important of t points may be referred to here in som tail as one that has called for explan in the correspondence of this depart with increasing frequency of late. the one involved in distinguishing bet the class of street improvement b which the investor found to be avai to yield as much as 7 per cent. and the represented by the issue of the Ohio yielding only slightly more than 4 per

Here is a somewhat unfortunate, if unavoidable, duplication of invest terms. Both of these two classes of b are issued for identical purposes. there is an important fundamental di ence between them as far as the se of the obligation is concerned. Both payable out of special taxes ass against the real estate benefiting the improvement. But in the one the obligation is that of the prop owner, personally, safe-guarded by a upon the particular property affe whereas in the other case the obligati that of the municipality itself, safegua by its power to tax all the real and pers property within its limits to meet any ficiencies that may result from defaul payments of the special assessments.

No general rule can be laid down distinguishing quickly between these classes of bonds. Experienced inves however, are accustomed to go on theory that a "straight" municipal b can less frequently be bought to yield m than 5 per cent.; so that when they offerings at the higher rates, they beg analyze to determine the kind of c upon which the bonds are based. plain that the term "municipal," el as it is, ought not to be stretche include the first of these two classe bonds. And it is plain that much m careful discrimination is called for in selection of investments from this c despite the fact that it has an establi record for safety upon which many ca bankers are found willing to stake t reputations.

YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

TO THE remote tax-payer who reads his Washington dispatches in the morning's paper some of the departments of the Federal Government appear be continually asking for support or ng for help. The Department of nmerce is one grand cry *to* help. Even perficial acquaintance with it impresses average person with the enormous po- ial assistance to the individual citizen in the power of this one department. great many of its good offices are erally appreciated and partially made of. A great many more are not only appreciated; they are not even known. ebody ought to introduce a bill in gress permitting the United States ernment to advertise!

he things which are incident to the eral conception of "commerce" are ex- rdinary. That very important section s organization which is directly devoted helping the Business Man get more itably, and geographically more widely, y is fairly obvious. But who would ect that the Department of Commerce breeding diamond-back terrapin at ufort, N. C., running warm schools for native Eskimo children on the late Pribilof Islands off the coast of ka, or charting submerged rocks off volcanic coasts of the Sulu Archipelago? big lights that flash out from Cape teras, from the old Morro at San Juan Porto Rico, or guide steamers away the Farallon Islands in the Pacific kept burning by the Department of merce. Every ship's captain or mate takes your life in trust on a river steam- : or on an American ocean liner gets his ority to do so from the Department of merce, which also provides him with charts and inspects and passes upon hull and boilers of his vessel. When buy a pound's or a bushel's worth of marketing at the corner grocery it is the duty of the Department of Commerce to tell you, if you want to know, whether or not you get the equivalent of an honest pound or bushel. What constitutes a yard, how much is a gallon, is the Department's business; one of its bureaus will tell you accurately the melting point of firebrick or the precise latent heat in the fusion of ice. And this same bureau, with a truly Baconian carelessness of limitations, now reaches out to a benighted people with precise standards of radium activity! Hatching fishes, protecting seals, surveying lakes and buoying channels, weeding out human defectives, and finding out what kind of plumbing they like in Peru, the Department of Commerce is a glorified humanitarian octopus. And on top of all these trivial details, it takes the census.

And all these various, and in some cases entirely disassociated, services, organized into eight separate bureaus, the Government lumps together and calls "Commerce." To do the work of its eight helpful bureaus, it mobilizes a peaceful army of 18,687 employees, of which number 9,936 hold permanent positions in the Department. Like the War Department, Commerce, in its work of national defense, also runs a small navy of its own, numbering 169 vessels. The up-keep of this army and navy cost Congress, in 1914, eleven and a half million dollars.

For them that go down to the sea in ships and have their business in great waters the Department runs five separate services in as many bureaus: the Bureau of Lighthouses, the Steamboat Inspection Service, the Bureau of Navigation, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Bureau of Fisheries.

When night falls over the territorial waters of the United States, 5,004 lights of all classes flash silent warnings and guides. When fog obscures our coasts 567 fog signals, aërial or submarine, send out their

long sea calls. Commerce runs all these "aids to navigation," as they are called, owns the lights and the sirens and the bells and pays the men who keep them burning or bellowing or ringing. Just now it is particularly concerned with making the shores of Alaska safe, with 319 signals already in place along those desolate Northern coasts. A light on the size of this undertaking breaks through the fog of general ignorance when one finds by a study of the map that the Alaskan and Aleutian shores reach east and west the distance from Charleston, S. C., to San Diego, Cal., and north and south cover as much continuous distance of coast as from the Canadian line to Mexico.

The function of the Bureau of Navigation is the enforcement of the navigation laws in all the ports and territorial waters of the United States, and the function of the Steamboat Inspection Service is the inspection of American passenger-carrying vessels in order to make travel by water safer.

It is the present red-tape law that the Department shall inspect the hulls and machinery of all passenger-carrying steam vessels more than 65 feet in length. This definition means that steam vessels less than 65 feet in length are not inspected and the Department has no direct jurisdiction over the enormous fleet of 250,000 motor boats plying the waters of the United States.

When the *Eastland* capsized at her dock in Chicago last July, the Steamship Inspection Service was given a good deal of unenviable publicity, but, all told, it has done its work well. During the fiscal year 1914 more than 318 million passengers were transported on vessels coming under the inspection of the Bureau. But during that period, counting out suicides, accidental drownings, and other unpreventable items, the total number of passengers who lost their lives was only 105; that is approximately a ratio of one life lost for every 3,000,000 passengers transported. During the same period the Bureau inspected and certified 7,930 vessels and issued licenses to 18,871 officers of all grades.

The duties of the Bureau of Navigation, which at the close of the fiscal year on June 30, 1914, comprised keeping in order 26,943 vessels of the American merc marine—which even then represented largest tonnage in our history—have been considerably increased by the A August 18, 1914, which removed th strictions of American registry to ve built in the United States and officere American citizens. The European thus hastened a change in a moss-g maritime policy which had for many y been hampering our progress on the s In the fourteen months between the pas of the second section of this act and middle of November, 1915, 168 vesse 574,244 gross tons were registered u the American flag. Making these g and growing fleets function properly volved regulations all the way from s apparently insignificant details as carr the ship's name in a conspicuous plac obeying the rules of the road, up to recently adopted regulation making c pulsory the equipment of all vessels ca ing fifty or more persons with wireless

SAVING THE FISH

When it comes to the Bureau of Fish Mr. Redfield's Department of Help se to become primarily an agent of conse tion rather than of commerce. But t are those who ask why the seal and and other furry herds on the island Bering Sea should come under the hea fisheries. You might just as well ask Navy Department why naval officers kings of the Pacific islands of Guam Tutuila, ask the Commissioner of I cation why he supervises the reindeer dustry in Alaska, or ask General McIn of the War Department, why his Ins Bureau should be running the civil gov ments of Porto Rico and the Philip Islands. As Mr. Redfield very a points out, "Custody over the terres fur-bearing animals of Alaska, whic now imposed by law on the Bureau Fisheries, is an uncongenial, incongru duty, entirely foreign to the proper fu tions of that Bureau."

The Bureau of Fisheries has more t enough to do to look after its own fish. hatches them in 130 stations scattered a 34 states and the territory of Alaska, an supervises the catching of them when

they are caught, from the Yukon to Gloucester, Mass. Last year it brought 4,047 millions of them into this world; it transplanted Pacific salmon to the coast of Maine and it grafted Atlantic lobsters on the Pacific shores of Washington. Furthermore, it withstood the earnest representations of various Congressmen and Senators to stock their local waters with alien fish which would, to the Bureau's best knowledge and belief, incontinently destroy all the native fish in the applicant's district.

But fast as it breeds and stocks and transplants fish, the fishermen would gain upon the Bureau but for rigid conservation restrictions. Out on the North Pacific, where the Alaskan salmon fisheries employ 22,000 persons with an investment of nearly 40 million dollars, the regulations are rigid enough, but four "salmon agents" have to cover that territory of many thousand miles of coast and are obliged to borrow boats wherewith to do their inspection from the canneries which they are to inspect.

The oldest scientific service of the United States Government is the Coast and Geodetic Survey. It is also, by the acknowledgment of other nations, the greatest and most efficient of its kind in the world. Some idea of the geographical size of its job may be gained from these comparisons: There are, for example, several times as many miles of coast in Alaska alone as in the entire United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; the surveying and charting of the Philippines is in itself a far greater task than is imposed upon France by all her own marine borders in Europe; the survey of the Hawaiian Islands, Samoa, Guam, and Porto Rico is a much greater project than the entire survey of the European coast of Germany. In all this great work the Department is dealing first with humanity, and secondly with commerce.

STANDARDS AND THE CENSUS

The Bureau of Standards really has—or will soon have, as it becomes better known and appreciated—about as much reason for separate existence in relation to the industries of the country as the Department of Agriculture admittedly has to farming. Its helpful activities cover an enormous range of scientific work in physics, chemistry, and engineering, which on the one hand vitally interest the individual consumer and, on the other, the manufacturer, educational institutions, public utility corporations, and state governments. It defines and stands for honest weights and measures in daily trade, works out manuals of safety rules for extra-hazardous occupations, and tests, standardizes, and watches barometers. The 338 employees of the Bureau made, last year, more than 100,000 useful tests, the results of which the Bureau furnishes with its service of information to the public, to the industries, and to other Government bureaus.

THE "BUSINESS MEN'S BUREAU"

The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is the present centre of the Department. And it is working with German thoroughness.

It does its task abroad through a threefold force; two of these, the Consular Service and the commercial agents, have been established for some years. The third, the commercial attachés, was created by Mr. Redfield and authorized by Congress less than two years ago. Consuls and consuls-general, with many diplomatic services to perform, keep track of commercial information in their several localities only. Commercial agents do not deal with localities at all but pursue specific trade subjects through many countries all round the world. The commercial attaché is a new thing in our trade history. Attached to the Legation or the Embassy in a given country, he is not limited to any locality but carefully studies the commercial development and progress of the people among whom he lives with a sole view toward the export and import trade of that country with the United States. Eight of these useful officials have already been appointed and have been on duty for nearly a year at London, Berlin, Paris, Petrograd, Buenos Aires, Peking, Rio de Janeiro, Lima, and Santiago de Chile.

To make the dissemination of its information more immediately available the Bureau has now established branch offices in Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans, Boston, Atlanta, Seattle, and St. Louis.

RENOVATING NICARAGUA

HOW OUR BENEVOLENT BAYONETS WENT INTO A CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLIC AND WHY THEY REMAINED THERE—THE PRESENT TREATY ANALYZED IN TERMS OF THE CANAL ROUTE, FOREIGN DEBTS, AND NAVAL BASES —ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE STORY OF AMERICAN INTERVENTION

BY

ARTHUR R. THOMPSON

(MEMBER OF THE NICARAGUAN MIXED CLAIMS COMMISSION)

AT THREE points around the Caribbean the equatorial sun glitters on the bayonets of United States marines: on the southern coast of Cuba one hundred of them guard our own naval station at Guantánamo; eighteen hundred more of them, a full brigade, have converted an Antillean chaos into Haiti; and far away westward a company of them is camped on the shore of Lake Managua, just outside the capital of Nicaragua. These two last detachments are established on foreign soil. But all those United States bayonets touched by the equatorial sun are benevolent bayonets, and the marines who click them on to the muzzles of their Springfields are peacemakers, peace-maintainers.

The Congress of the United States in Washington has recently considered or is now considering separate agreements or treaties with four of the governments of equatorial territories surrounding the Caribbean, and each one of those agreements followed the bayonet of a marine into the tropical domain under consideration. And in every single instance, just as the bayonet came benevolently not to make war but to insure an enduring peace, so the agreement or treaty has been devised as a means of maintaining such peace upon secure foundations after the bayonet has been withdrawn. In Santo Domingo the customs revenues are being administered by the United States so that the current expenses and the amortization of the foreign debt may be paid, uninterrupted by the strife of faction. In Haiti, which shares with Santo Domingo *the same rich* and unrestful island, a treaty was confirmed last November by the Haitian Senate which, with the concurrence of the Senate of the United States, will accomplish for the Black Republic the same objects as those in force under the Santo Domingan agreement already in operation near by. A third treaty proposes to place a higher valuation than the purchase price upon the territory once Colombian through which now flows the Panama Canal and to present these gratuitous arrears, together with an apology, to the sister republic. The fourth treaty, and with this we are more particularly concerned, makes it possible for Nicaragua to clear away the possibility of foreign creditors foreclosing on their loans, and at the same time grants to us such rights and privileges as will insure the future inviolability not only of Nicaragua but also of the Monroe Doctrine from European aggression.

All four of these treaties, differing in their terms and application, are nevertheless all of them separate manifestations of an integral policy, the policy of good-will, justice, and inter-reliability among the republics of the New World.

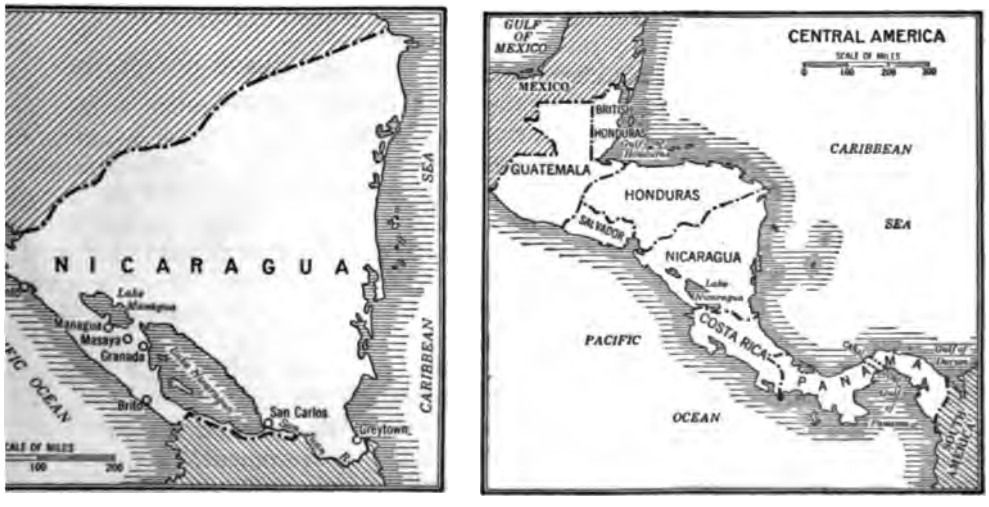
This is the story of the Nicaraguan treaty. What is proposed is that the United States shall obtain the grant in perpetuity to build and maintain an interoceanic canal across Nicaragua; that it shall further obtain renewable leases for naval bases of the Corn Islands on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, and of Nicaraguan territory on the Pacific Bay of Fonseca. In return the United States expressly agrees to pay down a sum of $3,000,000 gold with which the Nicaraguan Government may supplement loans already

tiated with American banks to liqui- all foreign indebtedness, and set its house in order. By comparison with other treaties this seems, offhand, a h kind of treaty, but the provisions administration of revenues and the ar and honest disbursement of govern- funds have already been arranged in supplementary undertakings as een the Nicaraguan Government and United States bankers, such mutual rtakings depending upon the support e United States Government for their ssful continuation. The treaty itself s, though much less evidently than do corresponding agreements with Haiti Santo Domingo, the great underlying ose of transforming a perplexed and derly community into a coherent n, free from the disorganizing effects reign indebtedness and able to align as an independent efficient member of American confederation of republics, for one, and one for all."

HERE IN AMERICA IS NICARAGUA?

d where is Nicaragua, anyway, and, plotted geographically, why have the United States of America, any al responsibility for that particular republic? Let us answer the first ion a little carefully at the outset, o visualize Nicaragua. People who know what they mean by North or South America often have a very foggy idea about what joins the two continents together. The best way to think of the link, called Central America, is to remember a wedge, with its apex balanced on the Panama Canal, the most sensitive point of our possessions, and reaching up northwestward to the southern end of Mexico. Five republics form that wedge. Right in the middle of it, facing westward over the Pacific, with its tangled backyard of tropic vegetation making up the Mosquito Coast on the Atlantic, is Nicaragua. Several things distinguish this particular republic from its immediate neighbors; a few things make it more interesting at present for us.

About as far northwest of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone as Boston is northeast of New York, 121 miles of another interoceanic canal out of a total distance of 168 miles has already been dug by Nature across Nicaragua. On the east Greytown corresponds to Colon and on the west Brito corresponds to Panama. In the entire long spine of mountains reaching from the Arctic Circle to Tierra del Fuego the lowest notch lies in the depression, seventeen miles across from east to west, between Brito and Lake Nicaragua. These considerations make the relative merits of the Nicaragua and



NICARAGUA, AND ITS RELATIVE POSITION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

an Juan River and the intervening Lake Nicaragua leave only seventeen miles of land separating the Atlantic Ocean from the Pacific

Panama canal routes a subject for long discussion, and they will always make Nicaragua desired of many nations.

NICARAGUA'S STRATEGIC POSITION

Take a chart with soundings printed on it and look at the Pacific coast of Mexico and Central America from Lower California to Panama. It will be seen that no harbor exists so suitable for a naval base as that formed by Fonseca Bay in Nicaragua. For strategic reasons then, Nicaragua becomes extremely interesting to a prepared Monroe Doctrine, to the new Monroe Doctrine in which the other republics of America are joint tenants with ourselves. There are other features of the country which distinguish it. On its western side, 110 feet above sea level, lie the largest bodies of fresh water between Lake Michigan, on the Canadian border of the United States, and Lake Titicaca, in Peru. Lake Nicaragua is a little more than ninety-two miles long and thirty-four miles wide, and you have no difficulty in experiencing sincere sea-sickness while crossing it in the 400-ton steamers belonging to the railroad company. When the gold rush was on to California in '49, Commodore Vanderbilt, before the Panama Railroad was built, ran steamers up the San Juan River and across the lake to that low place in the continental mountain spine where his stage-coaches carried the seekers for treasure seventeen miles across to the Pacific.

The strategic and economic characteristics which distinguish Nicaragua from the other neighboring republics of Central America constitute for that country, and for the entire polity of American republics, strung together now as never before by a mutually acknowledged Monroe Doctrine, their greatest danger. Before the war came to annul all lesser considerations for European nations in this hemisphere, the tentacles of possible or even probable European interference could be detected here and there about the Caribbean. In Nicaragua these tentacles appeared in the form of a constant tendency toward commercial or financial dependency upon foreign agencies. It worked out somewhat *in this manner.*

In Nicaragua, as elsewhere in Latin America, a European merchant makes his permanent home, often marries a native woman, and soon from a business standpoint becomes a native himself. With sufficient backing he begins by making private loans to high politicians, in return for which he gets valuable contracts or concessions or secures special privileges. Finally, through him the European syndicate which he represents negotiates a national loan on leonine terms which, in one way or another, is secured by something like a direct obligation of the Government.

The part of the United States in such transactions between some of the Latin Republics and European creditors has generally been the unenviable rôle of buffer. It has often seemed that in these cases the debtor, whether actually bankrupt or not, relies upon the Monroe Doctrine to make him execution-proof. The creditor who otherwise might be relentless enough even to the extent of forced collections has—with the exception of the familiar Venezuelan incident so firmly dealt with by President Cleveland—balked in practice at testing the doctrine, which in theory he may have not only resented but repudiated. Thus, for many years, it has been the business of the United States to see that such bills got paid somehow or other, and it usually emerges from such good offices with more ill will on the part of our neighbor than it enjoyed before.

THE CURSE OF POLITICS

To make matters much worse, we have had in too many of these instances to deal with professional or standardized politicians who, caring little if anything about the welfare of their people concretely, have cared not at all for the abstract conception of the State. Such men and such factions have kept Haiti and Santo Domingo at a standstill for many generations, and just such self-seeking and personal animosity has kept Nicaragua back.

No representations on the part of a foreign Government, however disinterestedly conceived, can possibly take effect upon the electorate through this political incubus. On the other hand, in dealing direct with the masses, propaganda of any

, good or bad, is enormously handi-
ed by the high percentage of illiteracy
ng them—in Nicaragua 80 per cent.
population of 600,000. It is therefore
xasperatingly difficult proposition to
npt to help a people thus marooned
outside influences to enjoy the same
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ocratic form of government that
ins in our own country. In this
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ugh the press to a high percentage
terate constituencies. But in going
any message into several of the other
blics of America which are struggling
misgovernment, any attitude or policy
h we may adopt—so abysmal is the
separating the oligarch from the peon
aches the people in such a distorted
as to be at once rejected as a "tres-
upon sovereignty" or a "suppression
cred rights."

) act upon a thorough realization of
: conditions often seems ruthless on
part of a stronger government. In
ty it is often beneficent. Our action
Cuba was of this character, to the
ternation of an incredulous gallery of
ons. Santo Domingo and Haiti are
tional chapters of the same unwilling-
to be held off from constructive help
people actually needing and desiring
help—held off by the self-interest of
ical factions backed by other, some-
s foreign, forces. What we have
to remember is that in these cases
es are not dealing with parties but a
on is dealing with another nation, a
le with a people. Clear-eyed and
ute statesmanship will have to over-
: the same opposition at home in
ing or ratifying measures which can
ut into effect only over the same kind
opposition in the territory and among
people to be benefited thereby.

many of the lesser Latin republics the
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ely free from the same limitations.
even in a volcanic Central America,
ragua has been conspicuous for dis-
. Under the guiding hand of President Zelaya, from 1893 to 1910 Nicaragua was either perennially in revolution at home or trying to overthrow the attempts of some of her neighboring sister republics to maintain their governments. On one occasion Zelaya's ambitions reached as far south as Ecuador, clear across the Isthmus and three intervening republics.

Finally, after seventeen years of this form of "liberty," the conservative (sic) party rebelled. They pooled what little of their property and money had not already been confiscated by Zelaya and in 1909 dedicated that and themselves to a revolution which finally—in 1910—overthrew that despot. No revolution ever had a more legitimate object or a more patriotic result. Right in the middle of it Secretary Knox's celebrated note of December, 1909, declared Zelaya's régime a reproach and blot on the escutcheon of Nicaragua, and that in this instance the further maintenance by the United States of that respect and confidence which one nation owes to another in its diplomatic relations had become impossible. It was during that revolution that two American citizens, Groce and Cannon, after being imprisoned and tortured in a Nicaraguan prison at San Carlos, were finally executed —it has always been believed, though not actually proved, by the order of Zelaya.

The leaders of this successful revolution of 1910, Emiliano Chamorro, Pedro Rafael Cuadra, and Adolfo Diaz, the present President, released their country from political bondage, but when they started to establish a government of laws they found the whole country in a deplorable condition economically. Zelaya had honeycombed it with ruinous concessions to foreigners: such as the Aguardiente (Italian) Syndicate, the Bluefields Fruit & Steamship Company, of New Orleans, and other pioneer Louisiana exploiting concerns. The main sources of revenue had been hypothecated for a national loan on almost Haitian terms, and the tax-payers were shouldering a large internal debt the proceeds of which had apparently all been devoted to those interested in its negotiation without any corresponding benefit to the tax-payers themselves. The incoming government was also confronted

with 14 millions of dollars' worth of claims arising out of the destruction of native and foreign property during the revolution, but the most discouraging phase of the entire situation was the political atrophy of the people inherited by the new government. They had seventeen years of a Zelaya past to contend with.

THE COMING OF THE BAYONET

Nevertheless, in spite of all these handicaps, this government of laws rather than of men was beginning to take hold in Nicaragua and to impress Nicaragua's neighbors, when in July, 1912, the then Secretary of War, General Mena, jealous of the President's growing popularity, rebelled against the Government and established himself in Granada, carrying with him a good part of the army who were naturally enough his henchmen. There he soon formed an alliance with the disgruntled politicians who were "out," whom he armed in return for their support of his candidacy as President.

Then the revolution started in earnest. Mena led off by confiscating the American railroad with its rolling-stock operating between Managua, the capital, and Granada, on the great lake. To be consistent they also took the boats, on both lakes, owned by the railroad company, and used them to bombard unfortified towns along the shores. In the course of this naval preparedness they threw three-inch shells with a fine impartiality over the foreign legations, the cathedral, hospitals, and private houses of the capital, killing there many women and children. One of these 14-pound emissaries of frightfulness exploded in the writer's dining room.

All means of communication and transportation being cut off, the United States Legation was, for a very uncomfortable week, prevented from getting any word to the outside world. During that time the American Minister requested from the Nicaraguan Government adequate protection for the American railroad, the American boats on the lakes, and the American interests and lives that were being daily menaced in the capital. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs explained very *clearly that the government forces had* their hands more than full as it was. In view of the proportions attained by the revolution he said that it would be necessary for our Minister to ask for American forces if he expected to be protected. Accordingly, the American Minister promptly forwarded a call for help to Secretary Knox at Washington with a few brief specifications of the uncivilized warfare then being waged in Nicaragua.

Here enters the United States marine, pacificator. Two thousand five hundred of him and of his shipmate, the United States blue-jacket, were landed at Corinto, the first of them going ashore on August 4, 1912. This first contingent formed a Legation guard at Managua, and the rest of them as they came up from the Pacific port were distributed by rail and boat among the large cities and in patrols along the railroads. During the two months that this small army of occupation occupied Nicaragua they fought just one battle. This was the battle of Masaya, where some of the rebel forces under a "conservative" by the name of Zeledon were holding a hill which commanded the railroad below it. After repeated demands for surrender, promising safe conduct to Zeledon and no reprisals to his command, had been refused, the marines carried the position in thirty-seven minutes with a loss of four men. The Legation guard of 100 men is still stationed in the "campo," on the outskirts of Managua.

The important thing to remember about those particular marines is that they were officially asked to afford the protection for American lives and interests in Nicaragua which the Nicaraguan Government was at the time unable to supply. The peculiar thing about those marines is that the Nicaraguans do not want them to go away. Their original landing and that of the blue-jackets has been criticised as an "unwarranted trespass upon the sovereignty" of Nicaragua and as an "undue interference" with the internal affairs of that country. But let us not forget that some of these critics were beneficiaries of the old Zelaya régime, who do not view with contentment the continuance of orderly government under the existing régime.

Possibly our interv[illegible] in Nicaragua

'ented the overthrow of the existing
:rnment. So its opponents contend.
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ddition to protecting foreign lives and
ierty from uncivilized warfare, we were
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recognized constitutional government.
intervention in Nicaragua was based
, first, on broad humanitarian prin-
s, and secondly, on a political priv-
, if not actually a duty, under a broad
:eption of the Monroe Doctrine. From
onal observation on the ground at the
I can state further without reserva-
that our men conducted themselves
manner which reflected conspicuous
it on their country. Officers and
, as we have a right to expect, were
riably courageous and determined,
more than that, they have continued
:onduct themselves with a restraint
discretion which, more than their
'ery, have impressed the Nicaraguans
ng the three years when two successive
iinistrations at Washington of differ-
political faith have maintained them
heir pacific station.

EVIDENCES OF GOOD FEELING

ıe official reports of Admiral Souther-
and his subordinate officers to the
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ets in Nicaragua established officially
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country. They ought to put at rest
ılation as to the necessity or propriety
hat act. But in case they do not,
ıdant evidence is at hand from the
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ıote to history alongside its Cuban
ecessor on the same page.
ɔon leaving Nicaragua in October,
, Admiral Southerland reported that
itions throughout that country were,
he admission of its citizens of both
es, more settled than they had been
many years previous. This condi-
of affairs was directly due to the
ıtions of his forces, called military
n reality far less military than pacific,
h operations had been materially
d by the uniformly excellent im-
ion made by United States officers
and men upon the people. Admiral Southerland's opinion was that the retention of a small force of marines in Nicaragua was an absolute necessity, because its withdrawal would undoubtedly be followed by the recurrence of revolutionary activities. His opinion has been concurred in by two successive Secretaries of the Navy, one acting for a Republican President and the other for a Democratic Chief Executive. The marines, as I have said, are still in Nicaragua. Let us see what the people of Nicaragua say about their continued stay there.

The women of Granada said to Admiral Southerland on his departure:

We, the daughters of this beloved soil, would feel happy and contented if we had the tranquility indispensable for the development and well-being of our families. But unfortunately civil conflicts have continually weakened the ties which in every civilized country are considered sacred and which maintain the stability of all well-organized Society, which cannot exist without due respect for lives and property. These conflicts have become here constantly more stubborn and bloody, the bitterness always greater and the loss each time more irreparable, bringing about a division so deep in the Nicaraguan people that the most perverse elements predominated in this city, and it fell to our lot to live in a state of horror and fright. It was for this that we celebrated with enthusiasm your arrival on the shores of Nicaragua as a token that soon our troubles would cease. Our hopes were fulfilled, inasmuch as you brought with wonderful rapidity the peace and good order that we had so vainly longed for. So we send you these flowers, gathered from our gardens, which carry for you and your generous country the gratitude of the women of Granada.

President Diaz thus expressed himself in an official communication to the American Admiral:

When the last revolutionary conflicts broke out you happily arrived on our shores as a true representative of a friendly nation, and what otherwise would have been a bloody and a long war was promptly and energetically quelled in its beginning, thanks to your friendly and effective coöperation. Allow me on behalf of my Government and the nation under my care to tender you personally my deepest thanks, as well as to the Government of the United States of America for this act of gener-

ous friendship which binds our gratitude and stimulates us to our best efforts in carrying on the programme of our Government. . . . On the beneficent aid of your Government we count, for without this all our energies and efforts for the betterment of our country would be entirely in vain. You carry with you the gratitude of this people and of this country, where you have so effectively helped to found a new era of progress, of prosperity, and of peace.

And as a proof that this utterance of President Diaz is not a mere matter of empty words it is well to remember that he has continued his genuine efforts toward making the government of his country one of laws rather than of men. He has granted permission freely to the Liberal party, of opposing political faith, to hold meetings for the purpose of reorganization, and has been uniformly fair-minded toward political opponents who have showed any disposition at all to play fair themselves. Unquestionably a most potent ingredient in the present lack of bitterness is the fact that after the capitulation of General Mena's army at Granada the rebel leader was himself given safe conduct out of the country and his troops were sprinkled carefully back into their former civil occupations without the reprisals which generally follow an unsuccessful revolution.

A CONSTRUCTIVE TREATY

In Nicaragua, then, good order has prevailed for three years. The reason why good order has prevailed, by the admission of the Nicaraguan people themselves, is partly because of the presence in that country of 100 United States marines. The force in their bayonets would hardly be sufficient to preserve good order in a population of 600,000 people inhabiting a very diversified country. Neither would the benevolence in those bayonets be sufficiently tranquilizing unless the beneficiaries were convinced of good faith. It is neither the actual force nor the asserted benevolence in those bayonets which has made it possible for them to preserve good order all this time. They are simply recognized as the symbol of a big idea, the pledge of an honest, tem*porary guardianship*. Nevertheless, it is not the purpose of this Governme keep those marines there indefinitel good many of them would like to living in Nicaragua, but they can o so individually. Our Government w to substitute for the benevolent bayo treaty which is not only benevole which is mutually beneficial.

This treaty, like all others whic before the Senate for ratification, f ing with opposition. Some of this sition is inspired or interested; so is due to ignorance of the facts case. With the former state of m cannot deal by reason, but the latter s of opposition ought to be open to re and a clear statement of actual authoritatively made.

I have indicated briefly earlier article the deplorable condition of economically existing in Nicaragua result of Zelaya's seventeen years g government. To investigate this situ the State Department sent to Mana in May, 1911, the late Thomas C. Daws a man well known all over Latin Ame and everywhere recognized as of unqu tioned fitness for the task assigned hi

The result of the Dawson mission the appointment of the Mixed Cla Commission, on which I had the hono serve, to adjust the claims arising out the war, to establish the finances of country on a sound gold basis, and to t appropriate preliminary steps towar complete readjustment of the nati finances by means of a loan. The re of all these transactions have been are entirely open to public examin and they are, of course, on file in the partment of State, which, under two cessive Administrations of oppo political faiths, continues to sponsor t

After a thorough investigation by Claims Commission it became clear the sum of $15,000,000 would be re for the refunding of outstanding bon the payment of just claims and the f debt, and for the general financial r tation of the country. In that sum a vision was made for various needed in improvements such as the reconstruct of a railroad to the Pacific Coast and for building of the railroad which has long b

WHERE THE UNITED STATES FLAG BELONGS

Consulate of the United States at Managua, Nicaragua, which was under fire during the bombardment of the capital in August, 1912

WHERE THE UNITED STATES FLAG DOES NOT BELONG

asa Número Uno," the Nicaraguan White House, official residence of President Diaz. Contrary to statements made in Congress and in the press, the United States flag never flew over this building

"EL CASTILLO"

The prison fort at San Carlos where the two Americans, Groce and Cannon, were imprisoned and executed — it has always been believed, though not actually proved, by order of President Zelaya

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needed to a harbor on the Caribbean shore.

For this loan bids were invited on a statement, prepared by the Commission, of the financial and economic conditions in Nicaragua. There was not the slightest concealment or any manipulation in the interest of any banker or group of bankers. Several competing bids were received and the highest bidders, Brown Brothers & Company and J. & W. Seligman & Company, of New York, jointly obtained the issue of 5 per cent. bonds at 90½, which, when all the elements are considered, can only be regarded as a very liberal price for securities of this class. On

THE BREAD LINE

Some of General Mena's starving revolutionary soldiers who wer
and fed in Granada by Admiral Southerland's expeditionary

had enough of empty words. Nicaragua, like many other governments to the south of us, needs money. As in the case of Peru, our bankers have shown a willingness to advance money on security and time agreeable to their debtors. In the case of Nicaragua, a nation with less stability, our bankers are also willing to advance money and thus provide the material and practical assistance which the people need. But they feel that they cannot do this without assurances of a continuity in our relations with Nicaragua which the proposed treaty will provide.

NICARAGUAN TERMINAL FACILITIES

The railroad wharf at Granada on Lake Nicaragua, the largest body of fresh water between Lake Michigan and Peru

ON THE SAN JUAN RIVER

According to the Canal company's report, a steamer of 600 tons can sail at high water from the Atlantic up this river and across Lake Nicaragua to within seventeen miles of the Pacific

In its present form this treaty, as drafted acceptably to the present Administration and favorably reported upon by a majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, contains nothing in any way prejudicial to the best interests and independence of Nicaragua. Indeed, it is a pledge for the independence of that nation. Once in force, a country which has socially, politically, and economically never realized its own possibilities may begin to grow up to the stature of which it is easily capable if unhindered. The

INTERVENTION BY INVITATION

United States marines disembarking from the *Annapolis* and the *Yorktown* at Corinto on the Pacific coast of Nicaragua

BENEVOLENT BAYONETS

Encampment of the company of United States marines outside of Managua. The headquarters of good order in Nicaragua

THE PEACE-MAINTAINING MARINES

The detachment which fought the only action in our intervention leaving for the battle of Masaya. "They carried the position in thirty-seven minutes, with a loss of four men"

MAKING INTERVENTION EFFECTIVE

3.7-inch naval gun from the *Annapolis* mounted on a flat car at Corinto for the expedition to Managua, the Nicaraguan capital

BUILT BY GERMANS, OPERATED BY NICARAGUANS

And safeguarded by United States marines. The beginnings of railway development in Central America

means will be provided wherewith its development may be forwarded, whereby its obligations to European capitalists and governments can once for all be wiped away. The establishment of a resolute Monroe Doctrine will be made possible

WHERE OUR MARINES AND BLUE-JACKETS DISPLACED NICARAGUAN REVOLUTIONISTS

General Mena started his revolution in Nicaragua in 1912 by confiscating the American railroad and its boats which operated on Lake Nicaragua. It was to protect this property and the lives of Americans in *Managua that the* American Minister appealed to the State Department at Washington

A RECORD OF FAILURE

: Abandoned track of the old Canal company. Right: One of the locomotives which helped
the abandoned canal

he recognition from Nicaragua of our
al bases on its coasts and in the taking
ver away from the ambition or covet-
ness of other nations the only other
ible route for an inter-oceanic canal.
he moral and psychological effect of
e treaty provisions, once they are
blished and recognized in Nicaragua,
be not only to exercise a stabilizing
ience upon political and economic
ditions in that country but in time to
ad in a helpful contagion throughout
Central America. And when that
shall come our benevolent bayonets
be withdrawn from Nicaragua as
were withdrawn from Cuba and as
will be unquestionably withdrawn
Haiti when the Black Republic has bec
a republic in fact. They will have
their vigorous share in a friendly
constructive determination to help
neighbors help themselves in beco
economically and politically self-sustai
sister republics.

RAIL POWER IN NICARAGUA

e-jackets in charge of a train on the Granada-Corinto line. Fifty-one per cent. of this property
owned in the United States, the other 49 per cent. by the Nicaraguan Government

CANADA IN WAR TIME

THE RECENT CALL FOR EVERY THIRD ABLE-BODIED MAN IN THE DOMINI
HOW EVERY FAMILY HAS BEEN TOUCHED BY THE WAR—THE EFFECTS
ON BUSINESS, ON POLITICS, AND ON THE PEOPLE

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

EVERY sixth able-bodied man in Canada has enlisted for service overseas, and Sir Robert Borden's recent call for half a million men means that within the year every third man of the best in the Dominion will be enrolled. In human terms it means that every mother in this nation at our doors expects hourly the proud sorrow of hearing that her son has joined the tramping squads that march through the city streets; that *every boy and man* is

facing the "n
conscription" o
own conscience,
ing, "Can I v
longer to enlist?

Already ther
scarcely an En
speaking famil
Canada that th
has not touched
son, a husban
sweetheart, or, a
farthest, a cou
in the ranks—n
of them are
many have retu
to whom death w
be a mercy.
the fire
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members who
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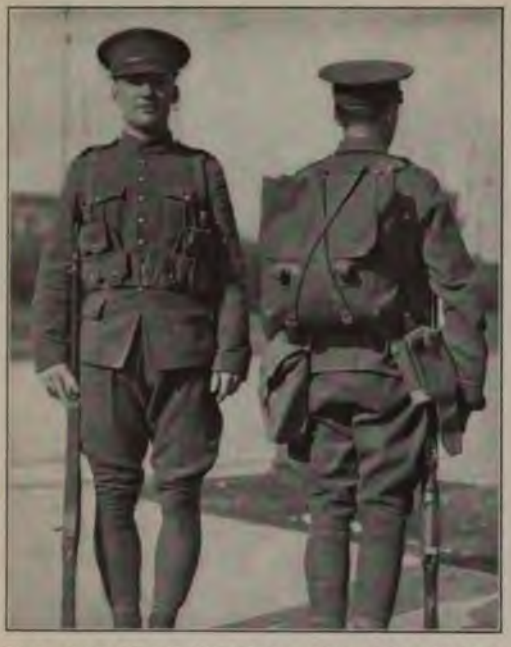
many of the n
appears a little

CANADIAN CIVILIANS TRANSFORMED INTO SOLDIERS

The 20th Battalion of the Second Contingent (Canada now maintains 50,000 men on the firing line, besides about 105,000 in training in Canada and 70,000 in final training in England), marching from the Parliament Buildings past the South African Memorial Monument in Toronto. Though imperial loyalty, as distinguished from national, is stronger in Canada than ever before, Canadian troops go to this war as Canadians, whereas *in the South African* War they went as volunteers of the British Army



THE CANADIAN UNIFORM AND EQUIPMENT

The Ross rifle is the regulation arm, distinguishing the Canadian soldiers from their English comrades, who use the Lee-Enfield. The entire equipment of the Canadian troops is provided by Canada

HOME FROM THE FRONT

Recovering from the effects of a fractured skull, three deep wounds, and twenty-five splinters of shrapnel in his body, but soon to go back again to the firing line

"SOMEWHERE IN CANADA"

C Company of the 58th Battalion practising bomb-throwing last summer in camp at Niagara, Ontario, under the direction of Sergeant Blaney, who had learned how under fire in Flanders

THE SOLDIER'S FAREWELL

ısands of married men have gone to the war Canada, and thousands more are arranging usiness affairs so they can go

THE SOLDIER'S RETURN

A photograph taken on the 21st of November last, when 142 wounded Canadian soldiers returned to their homes in Toronto

CARING FOR THE DEPENDENT FAMILIES OF CANADIAN SOLDIERS

headquarters of the Patriotic Fund in Montreal, where 200 cases of need are cared for daily from a fund of $1,600,000 that was raised by popular subscription in six days

THE LAST REVIEW BEFORE LEAVING CANADA FOR THE FRONT

The Duke of Connaught reviewing the 42d Highlanders on the Champ de Mars in Montreal. On this historic parade ground, after successive conquests of the city, the troops of France, the United States, and Great Britain have in turn manœuvred. Not far away a museum preserves the printing press on which Benjamin Franklin printed the first newspaper published in Montreal, now the Montreal *Gazette*

THE MEN WHO ARE DIRECTING CANADA'S PART IN THE WAR

Sir Robert Borden (in derby hat, left), Premier of Canada; and General Sir Sam Hughes (right), who is *chiefly responsible for* the remarkable success in the recruiting, training, and transport of Canadian troops

ONE OF THE GREATEST ARMADAS THAT EVER PUT TO SEA

Thirty-three transports, each carrying 1,000 Canadian soldiers and their complete equipment, sailing down the St. Lawrence ten weeks after war was declared, traveling in three lines of eleven ships each, a battleship at the front and another at the rear of each line, and destroyers guarding their flanks. Not a life was lost in carrying these men 3,000 miles to England

"MADE IN AMERICA," OWNED BY CANADA

Submarines built for the Canadian Government by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and shi parts to Montreal, where they were assembled and put into commission as part of Canada's contr to the British Navy

star that means "dead on the field of honor." Traveling from Toronto to Quebec, one cannot get away from the evidences of war in public places and in the homes. On the counter in every restaurant and shop a little tin box on which is printed, " your change. The boys in the tr need smokes." On every letter

A HOME GUARD IN CANADA

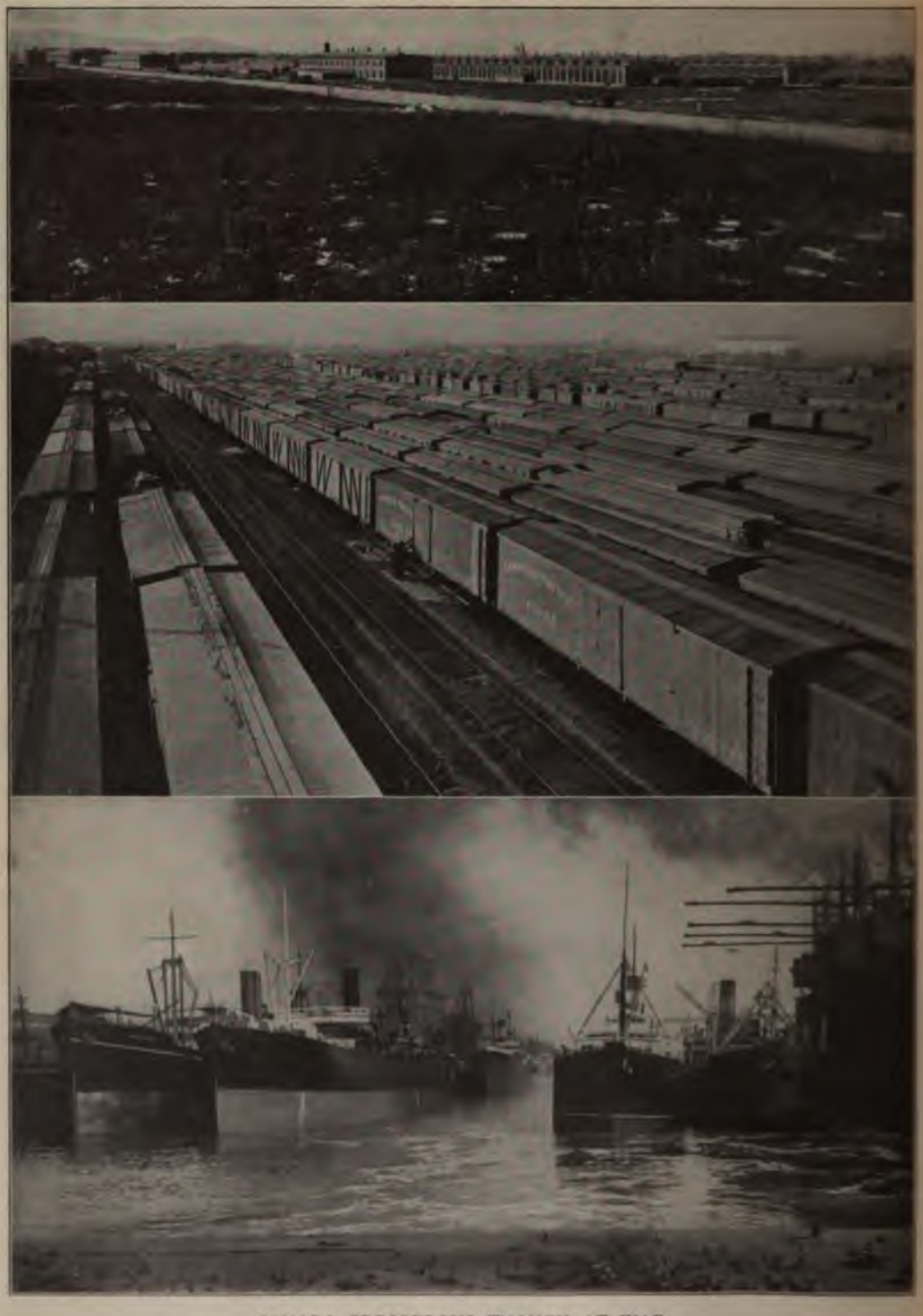
Patrolling a lock on the Welland Canal. Eleven thousand men on home duty in Canada are guarding municipal water works, railroad yards, and munitions factories

A DETENTION CAMP FOR AUSTRO-GERMANS IN CANADA

About 7,000 Austro-Germans are segregated in camps like this one in Petawawa, Ontario, some of them wealthy men who were high in the business and social life of Canada before the war

THE SORE SPOT IN CANADA'S PATRIOTIC REVIVAL

Though Archbishop Bruchesi of Montreal (his train being carried by pages) has recently come out for whole-hearted participation in the war, the Catholic French-Canadians, who number one-fourth of the population of Canada, have *contributed* less than 10,000 of the 225,000 men who have enlisted



CANADA PROSPEROUS THOUGH AT WAR

The biggest grain crop in Canada's history last year revived its drooping finances, and big orders for shells have put hundreds of millions of dollars into circulation. Upper picture: The Canadian Pacific Railway shops at Angus, near Montreal, now one of the great munition factories of the world. Middle picture: The grain yards at Winnipeg when last year's big wheat crop was in transit. Lower picture: *Grain carriers* at Montreal to transport the wheat to Europe

is pasted: "Put war stamps on all rs and postcards." On billboards in the papers everywhere these words ront the reader, "Your King and ıtry Need You—Now." In the pub- quares and on the college campuses ds are drilling. Men in khaki pass ɔn every block, ride in every street car, ıassengers on all trains. Sentries with bayonets pace station platforms, the ːs of reservoirs, and the railroad ges. Bugles call above the clangor of ːt cars. One's early slumbers are en near midnight from a lower floor ıe hotel: it is an officers' dinner to a ral about to sail for the front, and d Save the King," sung by a hundred in uniform, has a new and solemn d. In the homes the pleasant patter ɔnversation inevitably drops off into rious vein—of friends enlisting, sons to the front, a neighbor wounded or e, the Red Cross work at the family ch, and so on.

ıt with all its earnestness, Canada is ıe war with a smiling face. Business tter than it has been for two years— ɔd, thus far in dollars and cents the war been a godsend to Canada—though uture may have a very different story ll. For the summer of 1914 was the ıour of collapse after years of boom. ıda had built two new transcontinental ıads (the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern) through country ıarsely settled that it could not earn est on its indebtedness—and built it reckless disregard of cost and with ɔwed money. Mushroom towns on western prairie had grown up about es of farm settlement, and real estate ılation had inflated values. The day , early in 1914, when the easy lenders d their pocketbooks, and Canada had ːt down to a common-sense level in ıess. Thousands of men were thrown f employment and walked the streets, ːially in British Columbia, Alberta, itoba, and Saskatchewan, where the ı excitement had been the highest and olid values back of it the lowest.

en came the war. Much of the ısiastic enlistment of the early days ıe conflict was the enthusiasm of hungry men out of a job, to whom military service was only another kind of adventure, besides being an assurance of a new suit of clothes and three meals a day. The hardy young unmarried men of Canada's West enlisted by the thousands, especially the unattached men of English birth to whom the plight of England at war with Germany made also the most personal sentimental appeal. Seventy per cent. of the first contingent of soldiers that sailed from Valcartier Camp, near Quebec, were these English-born.

With the departure of these men, the problem of unemployment began to solve itself. The Government at Ottawa urged everybody to grow grain to supply Great Britain and its allies. A moral obligation was laid upon even city householders to plant something in their little garden plots that would help supply sustenance to the Empire. In consequence, the biggest acreage in years was planted to grain. Nature smiled as never before, and in 1915 Canada harvested the biggest cereal crop it had ever produced, and the railroads are still trying to get the last of it down to tidewater. The harvesting and transporting of this crop gave plenty of work for all. Prices were good, and a golden stream of money flowed back from Europe to fill the vaults of the Canadian banks. Meanwhile, extravagant "improvements" were halted. Revenues everywhere rose and expenditures fell.

Then came the war orders. Canada had been making some of its own manufactured articles, but they were principally bulky, not too complex, and not too fine; for example, such things as railroad cars. It had bought its finely finished mechanisms, such as typewriters, in the United States. Suddenly, Great Britain asked Canada to make shrapnel shells—millions of them—that involve borings true to the thousandth of an inch and a finish little short of perfection. Under the impulsion of threats and beseechings from the Government and of rich profits to be earned, after many experiments Canadian shops began to turn out shells that were acceptable, and to-day they manufacture every part of these shells, even the delicate mechanism of the time fuses, in Canadian

shops, with Canadian tools, by Canadian labor, entirely from Canadian materials. And the orders already executed and those so far in hand for this year will return to Canada one third of a billion dollars.

Add the money received for a record crop to the money received for shells (more than half a billion dollars in all) and distribute it among the people of a country with a population scarcely greater than the population of Vermont, Indiana, Minnesota, Washington, and Oregon—only little more than 7 million people—and one can understand why, even with the cost of food and clothing high and rising, Canada should find business good.

A TRIANGLE OF TRADE

Canada has always been at one corner of a curious triangle of trade, and the war has sent the current of money on an odd back-flow around the three sides of this triangle. Being a "debtor" nation before the war—that is, borrowing more than it earned—Canada was always in the market for money; and being British, it borrowed in London. But it reversed the habit of borrowing nations, who usually buy where they borrow. Canada bought most of its goods from the United States, because they were near, cheap, and suitable. Hence, Canadian credit traveled to London and borrowed money; the money traveled to New York and bought American goods; and the money, in the form of these goods, flowed on around the triangle into Canada.

But the war closed the money markets of London. Britain now wanted, not Canadian securities, but Canadian grain and Canadian shrapnel. Canada, still a borrower, turned to the United States. Its credit now traveled to New York and borrowed American gold. That gold traveled back to Canada, was there transmuted into shells and foodstuffs, and, in that guise, went over the water to London, bringing back, not borrowed British gold, but cash that Canada owned as payment for its products, while London, completing the reversed circuit, also came to New York to borrow the gold it paid to Canada.

Thus New York has become Canada's banker. Canada has borrowed more than 100 million dollars there and will borrow more; and its leading financiers be that long after the war—perhaps fo —New York will be the money mark the Dominion. The Canadian P Railway, for example, though its secu have always had a ready sale in States," has always looked to Londo its chief supply of capital, and its st and bonds have been sold in denomina of pounds sterling. Looking ahead t probabilities of the future, however, it already taken the precaution to ask Government for permission to issue b in denominations of dollars as we pounds. In other words, it sees a li hood that America must finance a l share of its future operations.

But business is not the most intere aspect of the war's effects on Ca The military experience of this military democracy on our borders is dramatic and is full of lessons that United States should study. For Ca had known uninterrupted peace for nin nine years. It, too, was "unprepar Like the United States, its surest guar of peace was the fleet of Great Bri mistress of the seas. Under that be protection, its citizens, like ours, had l an easy life of material progress and developed the cult of "prosperity" the chief end of living. Confronted denly by the horrid face of war, it ga as we should gasp at the same ter awakening. Its citizen soldiers "sp to arms" as we so fondly imagine our trained citizenry would do—but they so with two immense advantages over one that we should certainly not have, the other that we should have only by unlikely coincidence of extreme good l

The first of these advantages was t same protective screen of the most po ful fleet that rides the Seven Seas. Can under that screen, had time, if need to make mistakes and rectify them- take, as she is taking, two years to ga and equip the manhood of the nation defense. We should have no such in ance against unreadiness and blunders.

The other and unforeseeable good tune of Canada was that it unexpecte produced a man—exactly the man needed for its military necessities. S

ies, as he has always signed himself as everybody, old and young, in ada still calls him, was not the man ada had picked to be its Wellington. ybody knew him as about the best sse player Canada had ever produced. knew him as a school teacher, lectur- n the English language, literature, and ry at the Toronto Collegiate Institute. knew him as editor of a country r, the Lindsay, Ont., *Warder*. They him as a member of the Canadian ament, where his eccentricities of h and habit and opinion had made regard him as the opposite of, for iple, Sir Robert Borden, who is pre- ently "safe and sane." They knew as the man who, after a quarrel with nilitary authorities in 1899, had sailed to South Africa and got a command Lord Roberts direct and made a d for daredevil courage in Bechuana- . They knew him as a lifelong mem- f the militia—he volunteered to fight Fenians when he was thirteen years and his size and his circumspection t his age got him accepted.

it——

e "buts" were numerous: Sam es talked a great deal. He talked in icturesque language of that Canadian hwest in which he has of late years a large fortune in real estate specu- n. He said what he thought about s and about people—and he spoke the tongue of men, not of angels. Canada came to regard Sam Hughes bit of a harmless wild man, and when urn of politics put the Conservatives wer and political considerations put Hughes in the Cabinet as Minister lilitia and Defense, Canada smiled antly. In Canada, as in the United s, the regular army was microscopic, the militia was largely a disorganized club with social appurtenances. So, all, what harm could the man do?

en the war. The regular army rs, rusty after a lifetime of the routine npty make-believe at soldiering, sat d began to plan the operation of their sy machinery of war and to dream of commands in Europe. To-morrow call for mobilization would come; they would notify the local commanders, who would gather their men; these would be "entrained" and shipped to divisional headquarters; by that time a concentration point would be ready, and after so long a time the divisional troops would move to the concentration camp, and then on overseas. The United States had worked that way in the Spanish War—and the war was over before half the men got out of Chickamauga, a thousand miles from the fighting line.

SAM HUGHES AND VALCARTIER

Sam Hughes upset all these calculations. The morning after war was declared he had seized twenty square miles of land for a concentration camp at Valcartier, near Quebec. The next day all the dividing fences on that land were down and men were digging trenches for water mains for a tent city to house thousands of soldiers, and were building the butts for the biggest rifle range in the world. Meanwhile he had telegraphed the local commanders all over Canada to gather their men and as many more as would volunteer, and put them on the train, not for divisional headquarters, but for Quebec. If a volunteer had a uniform and a gun, let him bring them; if he hadn't them, send him anyhow. If it took any time to buy his ticket, put him on the train without one, and Sam Hughes would settle the bill.

Meanwhile, at Valcartier, he was preparing the camp to receive, equip, and train the men the moment they arrived. He ordered one of the regular army officers to have a water supply ready in three weeks. "It can't be done," the officer complained. Hughes took only time enough to express his profane opinion of any man who said anything couldn't be done, and cashiered him on the spot. He sent for Sir William Price, the biggest business man in Quebec, owner of 5 million dollars' worth of lumber camps and paper mills, and a driver of men.

"I want twelve and a half miles of water mains laid in Valcartier in three weeks," he said to him. "Go ahead and do it."

"I'm perfectly willing to try it," answered Sir William, "but I'm not up on

army regulations and I have no official rank."

"Blank the army regulations, and you are hereby created lieutenant-colonel, ranking all other officers whatsoever until that job is done."

"What about a uniform? I haven't got one."

"Shirt-sleeves are good enough for me."

And in shirt-sleeves Sir William did the job, not in three weeks but in fifteen days—and would have done it in less if a freight train loaded with his water pipe had not run off the track on its way to the camp and delayed him.

CANADA'S ARMADA

By that process every regular army officer in Canada, with two exceptions, lost his job in a few weeks, and every aggressive business man that Sam Hughes needed to get things done was holding a commission and getting them done. The camp was ready, the uniforms were ready, rifles and ammunition were on the spot. All day long the men were exercised, route marched, taught how to shoot. Every man was given his turn behind the butts, where he could hear the frightening whine of bullets flying overhead and the sickening thud and shock of bullets striking. And ten weeks from the day war was declared, thirty-three transport ships steamed down the St. Lawrence River, in three lines of eleven ships each, a battleship at the front and another at the rear of each line, a flotilla of destroyers guarding each flank, on every ship a thousand Canadian soldiers, completely armed and equipped and partly trained, and sailed three thousand miles across the ocean to England without the loss of a single life. And seven months later, these Canadians, on the battle front at Ypres, under the fumes of the first German gas attack, and with only their pitiful little machine guns and rifles spitting back at the thundering "Jack Johnsons" of the Teutonic hordes that tried to break through their line in massed formation, stuck to their trenches, losing ten thousand men in less than ten thousand seconds, and stuck to them till the German flood receded with awful loss and the Allied troops could reform behind the ren of Canada's first contingent at the w

For what he did at Valcartier, Hughes was created a major-general was knighted by the King, so that t he is Major-General the Honorabl Sam Hughes, Knight Commander o Bath, Minister of Militia and Defen the Dominion of Canada. But he i Sam Hughes to Canada, and fro office in Ottawa, where he sits surro by six stenographers and receives c and dictates letters and telegrams eight o'clock in the morning until mid every day, his name has had magic en in it to aid powerfully in the recruit of the 225,000 men that Canada had r by the first of this year, and magic en to lend impetus to the recruitmen another 275,000 men who have since enlisting at the rate of 1,000 a day.

THE BEST BLOOD OF CANADA ENLIST

The recruits that come to the c now are men who have jobs or fa or both to leave, and they are comi fast as they can arrange for the ca their dependents—as fast, indeed, a authorities can handle them. Tw five per cent. of the bank clerks of Ca have enlisted, and their places have taken mostly by women and girls. ronto University has 1,700 graduates undergraduates in active service: M University has sent men in about the proportion. Young doctors and law who are heirs to big practices and fortunes have gone to the front by scores. The best blood of Canada gone or is getting ready to go. Me Quebec beyond the years of military fulness—business and professional m work at night in the munitions fact testing cartridges and doing other t within their strength. In every city women work ceaselessly on Red C supplies, on socks and shirts for the diers, on the care of the dependent w and children of men at the front.

The Patriotic Fund in Canada has lected millions of dollars for this last pose. In Montreal, $1,600,000 was r by popular subscription in five days. corps of six hundred women works f

quarters in a business block on St. ierine's Street, sifting two hundred ications for assistance every day, and ing regular calls at the homes of wo- who are under their care. Children fed and kept at school, work is found the mothers, and recreation provided both as insurance against the moral rds of their lonely life. Canadian iers are the best paid in the world— get $1.10 a day and a separation vance of $20 a month for their wives idowed mothers, but, with even this rous allowance, ill-health and bad agement leave many problems to be ed by the charity of the public at e. And all over Canada the public shouldered this burden gladly.

E FRENCH-CANADIANS "SLACKERS"?

ie one weak spot in Canada's military or, the one sore spot in Canada's heart, been the French-Canadian population. million of Canada's 7,200,000 in- tants in 1911 (the last census year) of French origin. Of the 225,000 enlisted at the first of this year, than 10,000 were French-Canadians. ada feels this keenly. In the Province uebec, where 1,600,000 of the 2,000,000 ch live, the law for a century has anteed the inviolability of the French uage and the Catholic Church. In province, the public schools are the ols of the majority in every district, so there the parochial school is usually public school, supported by public tion; and instruction is given in the ch tongue. In Montreal, the New t of Canada, 500,000 people are French 150,000 are of English or other origin. he city of Quebec, the New Orleans anada, about 80,000 are French and t 6,000 are English. In the rural icts the French predominance is as or larger. Under the liberal British , these people have retained their ms and language and religion, have equal justice and an equal vote, and thrived commercially. A French- dian, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was for y years Premier of the Dominion. , says Canada, they have failed to their appreciation of the benefits they have enjoyed under British protection, and are leaving to the English-speaking people the fighting of the battles that guarantee the continuance of this freedom and this protection.

Rightly or wrongly, the rest of Canada charges this indifference chiefly to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. Wide currency has been given to a public speech in Montreal in which a French-Canadian asserted that France was being punished by God for its paganism in secularizing the religious orders, that Belgium was being punished for the atrocities in the Congo, and that England was being punished for its Protestantism and its conquest of Canada from the French. Early this year, however, Archbishop Bruchesi, of Montreal, probably the most influential ecclesiastic in Canada, made an eloquent public address urging the French to enlist for the war, and the Government is now hopeful that henceforth that element of the population will respond in proportion to its numerical importance. This attitude of the Church takes half the fire from the leaders of the so-called Nationalist Party in Canada, of which the two most prominent spokesmen have been Mr. Henri Bourassa, editor of *Le Devoir*, a small but brilliant paper published in Montreal, and Mr. Armand Lavergne, a young French lawyer at Quebec. These men have had for their motto, "Canada for the Canadians," and have professed to look forward to a Canada as independent of Britain as the United States is.

CANADA LOYALLY BRITISH

But however they may have gauged the temper of their French compatriots—and the loyal attitude of *La Presse*, the biggest paper, English or French, in Canada gives reason to doubt their accuracy—they have totally misjudged the temper of the English-speaking majority. That majority has been for the Empire to a man.

And here arises a curious seeming contradiction in the mental attitude of Canada. Before this war, Englishmen were the most unpopular people in the Dominion. An American, an Irishman, a Scotchman, even a German, was welcomed wherever he went. But one of the

commonest sights in Canadian newspapers two years ago was the line at the end of many an advertisement for "Help Wanted" that read, "No English need apply." Yet when the war came, English-speaking Canada with one voice declared for the defense of the British Empire. Every Canadian explains this phenomenon in his own way; but as nearly as an outsider can gather it, the explanations boil down to one common set of ideas, namely, that Anglo-Celt (not Anglo-Saxon) civilization is at stake, that the political institutions of that civilization are worth every dollar and every drop of blood in Canada, and that the British Empire, to a far greater degree than even the United States, stands for that civilization and those institutions, and that hence Canada is British to the marrow of its bones and will fight Britain's battles to the bitter end from whatever quarter it is assailed—even, they will warn the American, if it is assailed by the United States.

Hence, whatever doubts may cloud Canadian minds as they look to the future, doubt about the solidarity of the British Empire is not one of them. Canada will demand, after the war, that it shall have a bigger share in imperial councils, especially in the shaping of those diplomatic and commercial policies that involve the possibility of future war: but Canada knows that London is ready to meet this demand half way and so has done little more than discuss a few of the plans by which this union may be made closer.

THE FUTURE OF CANADA'S BUSINESS

The only doubts that seem to be in anybody's mind in Canada—and even these are the doubts of a thoughtful few and not of the general run of people—are doubts concerning the future of the business life of the nation. In recent years, Canada has borrowed 2½ billion dollars, and to-day the country owes altogether close to 3 billion dollars. This money was borrowed for the development of agriculture and transportation and industry. But at least one third of it has gone to put concrete pavements on the prairies of the West, to build great public buildings in little town Alberta and Saskatchewan, to cons railroads that are fifty years ahead o country they traverse. Government travagance has been as wild as the pri Thus the combined national and provi and municipal debt of Canada ave five or six times the corresponding p debt of the five states of the U States which have, combined, the population as Canada. The war, of co will prodigiously increase this debt an drain the country of much of its best ductive labor. Canada foresees h taxation and a higher cost of living the war is done. Only one thing can its future, and that is immigratio spread this taxation out thin and to n the agriculture and industry of the try. The question is: Can Canada these immigrants in the face of these and this high cost of living? Only future can answer the question.

These matters are under investig by a Government commission, and Ca hopes to be at least in a position to u the best advantage whatever resourc will then have to meet the future.

In the meantime, life for the people whole flows on much as ever, again background of excitement and se purpose and, here and there, deep sor The newspapers, under a censorshi mild that one would scarcely suspe existed, follow the war just about as papers in New York and Boston do. one sharp contrast is the note of re ment in the invariable use of the "Hun" to describe German or Aust But they print pages of sporting n details of local elections on local is and half columns about the effor French women in Ottawa to force retention of the French tongue in classrooms in Ontario as well as in Qu by barricading a schoolhouse against police. The interests of life remain same. But the war interest is added, dominates. It is personal to e English-speaking citizen. To be in ada is to know what it means to be country at war.

HALL WE HAVE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT?

IV. ALL THE OTHER PORK BARRELS

I BUDGET SYSTEM THE REMEDY FOR OUR CRAZY-QUILT SYSTEM OF PUBLIC FINANCE—A SAFEGUARD AGAINST LOCAL GREED AND CONGRESSIONAL LOG-ROLLING

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

N THE last two numbers of this magazine I have described the two pork barrels most familiar to the popular mind—our appropriations for river and harbor improvements and those ublic buildings. These articles showed : the national interest, which should e direct national expenditures of this l, really regulated the matter hardly all. Private localities were mainly rested in obtaining federal money for l disbursement; the Congressmen and itors who represented these localities ly became merely commercial agents to Washington to "drum up" busi-. These bills, carrying enormous es of public money, were made possible the fact that all Congressmen and itors, except a handful who made nselves unpopular by opposing such opriations on principle, had each a ate stake in the bills. Each one, there-, would vote for all the other rotten s, because he had a rotten item of his . "We get thicker than thieves," Congressman Callaway, "each de-s all, and all defend each."

it it is not only appropriations for s and harbors and public buildings are log-rolled. The chief items that e up our annual appropriations, be-: these, are pensions, the Army, the y, claims, and the Indian service—f which, in varying degrees, are pork ls. Readers of the WORLD'S WORK hardly be told that this grand prin-, above all, controls our pension expenditures. These constitute our greatest national pork barrel, the expenditures this year aggregating $165,000,000. Every Congressional district in the United States receives on an average $500,000 per annum in pension money. Each section contains, say, 2,500 pensioners. This pension system, besides making votes, "puts money into circulation," and "helps business." Probably local tradesmen would make as loud a noise over any reform as would the old soldiers themselves. Besides providing for the monthly pensioners, Congressmen and Senators introduce thousands of private bills which grant pensions to those not covered by the regular laws. Any one who wishes to gauge the extent to which the present pork barrel spirit exists should glance at the early numbers of the *Congressional Record* for this new session. In the first three or four days of the session about 6,000 bills were introduced, 95 per cent. of which were private pension bills. These bills will follow precisely the same course as the mass of measures introduced for rivers and harbors and public buildings. The pension committee of both Houses will go through the farce of investigating these claims at the Government's expense.

The committees will group these in certain omnibus pension bills; each member will vote for the complete structure because it includes his own items, just as, for similar reasons, he votes for omnibus public building bills and for omnibus river and harbor bills.

Similarly Congressmen, especially in the last twenty years, have used both the Army and the Navy, not as agencies of military defense, but as private "grafts." The present method of distributing the Army is such a familiar scandal that it is not necessary to rehearse it again in detail. Briefly our Army is scattered in forty-nine posts, located not where they will defend the Nation but merely where they will best promote the prosperity of local communities and aid the political ambitions of Congressmen. It ought not to be necessary to argue the question further; a simple statement of the facts shows not only the absurdity but the dishonesty and wickedness of the present system. Yet, in the last ten years, three Secretaries of War, Mr. Root, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Stimson, have unsuccessfully attempted to change it. The Army pays out $48,000,000 in soldiers' and officers' pay every year on the basis of forty-nine posts. That means nearly $1,000,000 to each post. That is the patronage our lawmakers are after; that is the "pork" in this particular barrel. This large sum is nearly all spent at the army posts and makes prosperous thousands of tradesmen. The Government spends large sums in improvements and repairs—and local firms profit from this also. All these forces raise their voices whenever a conscientious Secretary of War asks for a disposition of our soldiers on sound military principles.

When Secretary Root, in 1901, attempted to change this condition, boards of trade, city councils, mayors, governors, and members of Congress pounced upon him in battalions. They not only condemned his efforts to abandon their posts, but demanded that these posts should be enlarged and even urged the establishment of new ones. Their arguments were mainly statements that "the people of this community are peaceful, law-abiding, hospitable, and patriotic," that the post occupied "a beautiful site with seventeen railroads radiating in every direction," and plaintive comments of Congressmen that "we would find it hard to square ourselves with the community if our promises are not made good." At the present moment most Americans are demanding the strengthening of the Army and Navy. Certain Congressmen, mainly from the West and South, are more or less openly opposing these plans.

In most cases these anti-militarists are devoted promoters of the military pork barrel. Congressman Sherwood, for example, recently made a flamboyant speech in which he denounced all plans for preparedness and suggested reducing the legal quota of the standing army from 100,000 to 50,000 men. It is not surprising to learn, after reading this speech, that Congressman Sherwood is the author of the most extravagant pension bill Congress has ever passed.

MR. MONDELL VS. MILITARY EXPERTS

Congressman Mondell, of Wyoming, recently made a speech in Congress ridiculing the idea of preparedness. Does this mean that Congressman Mondell does not believe in spending money for military purposes? Not at all. He is one of the most fervent militarists in Congress, but his militarism takes the form of wasting millions of American money for the support of local tradesmen in two army posts in his state of Wyoming, a state which has a population of 145,000 and pays a total income tax of $66,395. Military experts have testified again and again that these Wyoming army posts weaken rather than strengthen our military efficiency. Yet, at the close of Mr. Mondell's bitter diatribe in Congress against President Wilson's conscientious attempt to give better protection, the following colloquy took place:

Mr. Borland. Am I right in believing that the gentleman will continue to support D. A. Russell? (Laughter)

Mr. Mondell. The gentleman is entirely right, because Fort D. A. Russell is a splendid post, and, contrary to the views of gold-brick fellows who, every time they go to one of Helm's reviews of a hundred thousand men in a bunch, want that kind of thing at home, in spite of the fact that they want to put all the troops near the big cities, I still believe the place to keep them is in the posts throughout the country and Fort D. A. Russell is one of the best. (Laughter)

ıst Americans know by this time that, r seven first-class navy yards, only as a channel deep enough to admit big ships—the ships upon which nal safety might depend—in all tions and at all times. Here again xplanation is the same—these yards naintained, not for naval purposes, ɔ provide political pap in the districts ngressmen and Senators. Yet there le likelihood that this system will be . At a recent meeting in New York, ressman Padgett, chairman of the e Committee on Naval Affairs, even ded our navy yard system. Senator an, of South Carolina, chairman of laval Committee in the Senate, has ly denounced our navy yard policy 'steal," of which the one at Charles- S. C., was his "slice." Or take the ıde of Mr. Josephus Daniels, the nt Secretary of the Navy. Secretary r, of President Taft's Cabinet, closed ıseless stations at Pensacola and New ns. Secretary Daniels promptly re- d them. Why? A document which never been published sheds some on this question. In May, 1913, tary Daniels designated Rear- ral Edwards, then the Commandant e Charleston navy yard—a naval not widely known, even in navy —to investigate the navy yards. Admiral Edwards devoted much time e closed yard at New Orleans. Al- h this officer wore an admiral's star, rtually recommended that this yard pened on political grounds. His age, roundabout as it is, means this othing else.

he people of the Mississippi region," /s in his official report, "believe that aintenance, if not the establishment, tain military posts in the interior of ɔuntry was probably due to the in- t and unequivocal demands of par- r sections of the country that military tion should be formulated upon national lines, and that the over- ıing purpose and sentiment of com- ies and states should not be silenced aside by purely strategic conclusions easons, particularly when the belief ıeral that strategy is not an exact science, and, therefore, its conclusions are not immutable and unanswerable. While political conditions have changed with each succeeding period and while the strategic importance of certain ports has varied with time, there has never been any abatement of belief upon the part of the people of the Mississippi Valley that New Orleans is the logical place for a naval station. Even if such opinion is not founded upon fact, the belief appears to be too deep seated and too general to be ignored. As one half the population of the country have their homes in the Mississippi Valley and contiguous territory, it is neither conducive to naval interest or to national security to ignore such a belief, even though it may be ill-founded. . . . While the Board is also appreciative of the fact that naval interests might be promoted in certain cases by permitting extended and deep seated sentiment to outweigh strategic and military reasons, such action comes only within the domain of the Department or of Congress."

That is, not strategic and military considerations, but "local sentiment," "deep seated belief" of a community, "even if such opinion is not based on fact," should determine the location of navy yards and stations. Inasmuch as Secretary Daniels opened the New Orleans navy yard after receiving this report, these considerations apparently determined his action. But the present movement for respectable naval and military defenses has inspired Congressional activity in the interests of several new pork barrels. Mr. Daniels wishes to make our useless navy yards great shipbuilding concerns, which is merely another way of utilizing public money for local purposes.

Then, too, the waterways lobby has elaborated great plans for dredging creeks, building canals, and excavating harbors in the interest of military efficiency. Each Congressman would like to have a munitions plant in his "deestrict"; Congressman Sherwood, the man who wants to reduce our Army to 50,000 men, and to scrap our battleships in order to pay the money so saved in pensions "to needy and meritorious soldiers" of the Civil War, has introduced a bill to establish a

$5,000,000 munitions plant at his own town of Toledo! The newspapers every day reveal some new Congressman or Senator who wants a new West Point or Annapolis located where it will best promote his own political interests.

Most people do not understand the storm of abuse heaped upon Mr. Garrison's plan for a "continental army." That proposal may have defects; nearly all the Congressional critics who assail it so bitterly, however, do not do so on military grounds. Its worst shortcoming, in their eyes, is that it would destroy a political scheme which has been gaining momentum in recent years—that of federal pay for the National Guard. This plan merely means the distribution of millions from the Federal Treasury for the support of forty-eight little independent armies located in the states. As the Federal Government has no control over these forces in time of peace and very little control in time of war, why should it contribute enormous amounts every year to their support? Yet the advocates of the National Guard, as opposed to a real federal citizen force, are extremely active at present. They have recently organized a lobby at Washington and have established an "organ," *The National Guardsman*, to push their militia pay bill. The recent convention of the National Guard Association at San Francisco, to quote from this organ, "unanimously voted to levy an assessment of $25 for each 500 men of the militia in each state for the purpose of maintaining a lobby during the next session of Congress to look out for the interest of the National Guard. This will amount to about $6,500." Thus, as one tangible result of the preparedness campaign, we have a lobbied movement for a new pork barrel.

OUR UNBUSINESSLIKE GOVERNMENT

Waste, extravagance—these are the traditional vices of republics; and certainly the United States makes good this reputation. The blame rests not only on Congress, for the executive departments are just as careless of the money of the tax-payers. Apparently these departments aim to get as large appropriations as possible and then to spend them as extravagantly as they can. Occasio expert accountants and business men obtained an inside look at departm methods; the things seen have ar both indignation and laughter. E where there is the wildest duplic Seven departments besides the Isth Canal Commission provide facilitie transportation. Four departments three commissions—each, of course, their separate staffs, largely duplicatin another's work—regulate commerce banking. The Library of Congres two departments have jurisdiction copyrights and patents. Five de ments, each independent of the other, with agriculture, forestry, fisheries, the care of the public domain. distinct departments guard the p health. Six departments care for educate the defective, dependent, delinquent. Three separate governm activities—the lighthouse service, th saving service, and the deep-sea re service—independently patrol our at the same time. Why should both Treasury Department and the De ment of Commerce be engaged in res life at sea: could not one department charge of this praiseworthy enterpris

The Federal Government yearly rec 43,000,000 pieces of mail and dispa 22,000,000, 65,000,000 pieces thus pa through its hands every year. Th stallation of modern office methods w save huge sums in handling this co pondence. Every letter received p through twelve hands, and is subje thirty-nine different processes! The E omy Commission discovered that the Department spent $1.21 per thousan receiving and opening this mail, and Department of Justice $13.62; why discrepancy? The use of the win envelope, it has been estimated, w alone save $250,000 a year. M flat-folding government mail, instea following the antique custom of bal it on the back, would save $88,000 a in salaries. Adopting modern methods would save another $200 The Commission showed—and the S tary of War agreed with its conclusi that the Adjutant General's office

e its salary account by $278,550 and ıve its service. Another $324,000 be saved by changes in methods ng to stationery, printing, telegrams, ıther items. The Record and Mail ion had 105 clerks doing the work

The employees of the Department scattered in six different buildings in ington, when the Army and Navy ing had seventy-six good office rooms for storage purposes.

ese are only a few illustrative items ed at random. They show the crazy ods that prevailed in all branches of nmental finance. For these and for several Congressional pork barrels is only one remedy—a national et. This means that some central y, preferably the President—repre- ıg, of course, the executive depart- s—assumes the responsibility of ging and estimating expenditures; this great function of government have a responsible head, instead of distributed among a thousand irresponsible agencies. What chance is there for this reform? Certainly the outlook is not especially encouraging. Congressmen jealously guard their present despotism over the purse, for reasons which must now be obvious. They raise their voices at any suggestion of what they call "executive usurpation." They treated with great contempt President Taft's attempt to introduce something in the nature of a federal budget. But there are a few signs that indicate a change. The simple fact is that the business of the Government cannot indefinitely go forward on the present system. The most thoughtful men in Congress are beginning to recognize this fact. The latest movement in Congress for a budget has failed but another Congress will take it up. Most Congressmen are now in a state of mind where they think that "the budget will come some day—it has got to." They prefer to postpone the occasion, however, until a few more river and harbor and public building bills have been put through.

⟨ PER CENT. MONEY FOR FARMERS

IES THAT ILLUSTRATE THE NEED OF NEW FEDERAL LAWS ON RURAL CREDIT—BETTER FARMING AND CHEAPER LOANS—HOW THE EXISTING FARM MORTGAGE BANKERS COULD BE MADE MORE USEFUL TO THE NATION

BY

JAMES R. MERRIAM

MRS. G. H. MATHIS, of Gadsden, Ala., is a farmer—one of the kind that knows how to make the business pay. As a striking exception in spect to the average Alabama farmer, as "discovered" some time ago by tate Agricultural Department and State Bankers' Association. They er it was her duty to let every busiman and every farmer in Alabama he secret of her success. She yielded ir entreaties. And now she divides ime between her own business and about teaching first-hand the lessons of her experience. One of the most important of these lessons is this:

"With good ground to work, if you want to know what I think of this rural credit business, it is that the only kind of credit we need is better plowing. We need to farm as if our farms owed us something, instead of just scratching around to get a little cotton. Why, we in the South have gone off at a perfect tangent on cotton-growing, and how on earth we ever got the notion into our heads is more than I know."

The kind of agricultural nonsense about which Mrs. Mathis talks so pointedly is not peculiar to Alabama. It is found all

re is, indeed, more or less of it in every section of the country. That is one important reason why we have a rural credits problem for Congress to grapple with, as it intends to do during the present session.

TWO KINDS OF CREDIT

This problem is twofold. Like every other business, agriculture uses two kinds of credit: short-time, personal credit, which furnishes the working capital for production purposes; and long-time credit, which furnishes the capital for the extension and improvement of the farmer's permanent plant, the land. Both kinds depend, of course, upon safe farming, but safe farming is the more essential to establishing the farmer's personal credit.

The class of farmers who are chiefly poor business men is the one which presents the acute situation on the personal credit side. It is the one that is compelled either to supply its needs by highly expensive credit trading at the local store, or to pay the highest rates for money borrowed at the local bank. In Alabama, for instance, it is the class that is largely responsible for the average interest rate of 10 per cent. or total cost of 12.4 per cent., reported by the Department of Agriculture as the charges connected with short-time loans on personal security under normal conditions in that state.

This is the class of farmers to which Secretary Houston, of the Department of Agriculture, was referring in his recent statement before the joint Congressional Committee on Rural Credits when he said:

"They are not people who have well established characters which commend them to lenders of money. They too frequently have little or no collateral, and are not good farmers. Some of them may be fairly good farmers, but not good business men; and too often at the close of the year's operations they have little or nothing left over, and move on to some other unity. . . .

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l legislation which will
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agencies that are
: work of the Department of Agriculture, of
grant colleges, of the state depart
agriculture, and of the better farm
ing. These agencies are bringing
more profitable agriculture and be
tribution. These things are esse
the solution of rural credits."

Mr. Houston might well have
this list of agencies the American
Association and the various state
associations. The practical result
coöperation with the farmer ar
where to be found. To illustrate,
case of Alabama again. The Stat
ers' Association declares that the c
in which Mrs. Mathis was such a
participant last year saved the
much as $20,000,000 which can be
as the basis of $100,000,000 mor

SENSIBLE FARMING, SOUND BA

Every year there is greater app
of the fact that, as Mr. R. L. Be
Texas, aptly expresses it, "an
acreage in corn or wheat or hogs
or cotton or tobacco is specu
weather, labor, and market, and
ically an unsafe credit risk."
nett, by the way, is the man
ceived the idea of adopting the
sheet for farmers applying for b
The banks had long required
of merchants. He believed it
sirable and necessary that they
required of farmers, and prepa
which has been adopted by m
Texas banks, on recommendat
Texas Bankers' Committee on A

This farm rate sheet is basec
following general rule:

"The planting of not exceed
cent. of the cultivated land o
in one crop, and the planting o
acreage of the land in food and
for maintenance of the family
on the farm, is safe farming."

An essential part of the sheet,
is a blank for a statement of th
assets and liabilities. Then
blanks for other data considered
to determine the credit value o
itself. Mr. Bennett's calcul
that the all-cotton farmer r...
15 cents for his crop before his

s the income of the cotton farmer who grows his own food and feed. The ', Mr. Bennett says, could borrow at ank all the money needed in his crop ıction because it is obvious that his ng is safe and profitable regardless of ›rice of cotton. He would, for in- e, be considered a good credit risk by irectors of the Federal Reserve Bank s district, and his note or draft, if ıd for rediscount, would stand on a ›ith that of any business man. Nor l he necessarily be handicapped in the : of needing the borrowed money for ger period than six months, the limit ne fixed by the Federal Reserve Act. William McC. Martin, chairman of the l of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. ', who has given much study to the ts of the new system which pertain to credit, interprets the Act to mean that :h circumstances the local bank might the note for a part of the time, when eserve bank could come to its relief ake the note for the rest of the time.

ARMERS MUST BE BUSINESS MEN

'. Martin told recently about adopt- he rule of requiring statements from :rs when the St. Louis bank first ıd. A number of the member banks, id, thought it would be impossible to ıch statements. But experience has ıd that it is not difficult whenever a ıl explanation is given. And there been several instances, Mr. Martin in which local banks, after receiving statements, have felt justified in lend- ıore money than ever before.

this goes to show that as more and business is injected into agriculture, as bankers are brought into more ate and sympathetic touch with the :rs of their communities, much more ive use can be made of the credit ies already at hand. There are com- :ies, however, where national banks ıt exist because of the lack of a suf- t volume of business to carry even ninimum capitalization of $25,000, /here the state banks of small capital lly justify their high interest rates by ' overhead charges.

' the credit problem of such communities, there seem to be two possible solutions. One would be to permit the national banks to establish branches. But this would involve difficulties which many believe are insurmountable. The other would be legislation providing for the formation of personal credit unions to work on the principles of coöperation that have proved so helpful in European countries, as, for example, under the Raiffeisen system in Germany.

In the country as a whole, the vital forces making for the success of coöperative credit, such as community life as it exists in Europe, with similarity of ideas, habits, desires, and methods of living, are lacking. But there are doubtless a good many sections where conditions would lend themselves to the successful establishment of that kind of a system.

THE NEED FOR CHEAPER MONEY

The other phase of the problem, involving long-time loans on mortgage security, is suggested by the case of a man in Arkansas who recently wrote to the WORLD'S WORK as follows:

"The big help that I need is some 6 per cent. money. I have a chance to quit the mercantile business and go to farming, but would need $25,000 to $30,000 to get loose and go at it. But do you know, we have to pay 8 and 10 per cent. down here? I could give ample security on good farm lands—among them two sections of rich river bottom—but the prohibitive interest rate keeps me from my heart's desire."

This man's difficulties begin to reveal themselves when we apply to his case the standards in accordance with which the bulk of the money that is supplied to farmers on mortgage security is lent at the lower rates of interest. Briefly, such standards are (1) a fertile and productive body of farm land *developed to yield income not only sufficient to support the people required to cultivate the farm efficiently, but also to pay taxes, interest, insurance, and depreciation of improvements;* (2) a proportion of debt secured by first lien not to exceed 50 per cent. of the income value of the farm; and (3) the kind of personal characteristics in the borrower himself which experience in every line of business has

shown to contribute to success, and thus to reduce to the minimum what is called the "moral hazard."

For mortgages conforming to these standards, there is always competition among the big lenders of capital, like the trust companies and insurance institutions, resulting naturally in a minimum cost of distribution. It is found, therefore, that in those states where the larger proportion of such mortgages originate, and where the average of land values is highest, the average interest rate is lowest. For example, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Texas, Oklahoma, South Dakota, North Dakota, Ohio, and Georgia are the only states showing insurance company loans on farm mortgage security in excess of $10,000,000 each. In only two of those states, Texas and Georgia, is the average rate on such loans above 6 per cent.

But the Agricultural Department's statistics show that the farm mortgages held by the big investing institutions make up only about one fifth of all farm mortgages outstanding. The remaining four fifths are those which, failing to meet the more exacting standards of the big investors of trust funds, must find their market among individual investors. With comparatively few exceptions, these mortgages, like the one which the Arkansas correspondent would undoubtedly be prepared to make, are neither seriously deficient in margin above land value, nor characterized by a high degree of moral risk. They originate for the most part, however, in the less developed sections of the country, where the average of land values is low, where the supply of local capital is inadequate, and where there is on that account much competition among borrowers.

High interest rates due to such causes obviously cannot be lowered by legislation. But there are other causes which legislation can remove.

FARM MORTGAGES HARD TO SELL

In comparison with other classes of securities, the farm mortgage, as it is now handled here, is at a great disadvantage in reaching the wide market among individual investors. The fact that it is a personal obligation not only adds greatly t difficulties of the negotiating ban convincing the prospective purcha its investment merit, even in the mo orable circumstances, but it also tically destroys its convertibility. mortgage is seldom found in conv denomination. And, as a rule, its give to the borrower the option of p all or part before maturity, thus m the investment subject to what freq proves troublesome disturbance.

It is pretty generally agreed that move these obstacles there should be lation providing for the organizati land mortgage banks under Federal ters, to be regulated and supervis much the same way as the national b These mortgage banks as proposed have sufficient capital—possibly as as $500,000 each—to command the confidence among investors of all cl and would be endowed with the privilege of (1) negotiating, buying selling individual farm mortgages, a issuing their own bonds against th lateral security of farm mortgages.

Experienced farm mortgage ba are practically unanimous in favorin islation of this kind. In giving expr to their views not long ago through national association, they suggested important conditions for the operati the land mortgage banks: (1) that should be free of limitation as to territorial scope, either in securing gages or selling mortgages and b thus obtaining the advantage of stricted markets for their securities; that the provisions for the conduct o banks should include the qualificatio the mortgages eligible for purcha negotiation; and (3) that where the gages are purchased by the banks negotiating agents and are not negot direct . . . they should be purch only from such individuals, partner or corporations as shall qualify unde provisions of the Federal Act, and w shall be duly inspected and passed periodically by the proper authoritie

In other words, the mortgage ba believe that the new institutions sh utilize the services of existing agenci

THE NEW HEAD OF TUSKEGEE

ɔR ROBERT RUSSA MOTON, WHO HAS SUCCEEDED THE LATE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AS PRINCIPAL OF THE GREAT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR NEGROES—HIS CAREER AND HIS IDEAS OF THE FUTURE OF THE COLORED RACE IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

RAY STANNARD BAKER

TWO stages mark the development of a "movement": first the pioneer—prophetic—creative stage; then the stage of the organizer and conservator. that great movement for Negro edun which is typified by Tuskegee Inte, Booker T. Washington was peculifitted for the pioneer and creative :: and Major Robert Russa Moton s now, at a very important epoch in novement, to do the not less necessary of the solidifier and conservator. ington had his training mostly under ral Armstrong, who was the originator ɔrophet of the Hampton idea of educa-

Major Moton has been trained ly under Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, the sman of that movement.

ashington came at a time when the mass of Negroes in the South, while by edict and free by law, had no way ling free: because they had not labored n that freedom which a power outside above had conferred upon them. longed for the finest fruits of freedom e they had taken the time to grow the upon which these fruits are borne. desired, quite regardless of their ss, the higher forms of education and ical office, and their leadership at that was almost wholly uninspired by any of service.

ashington came like a prophet preachhe glory of duty, of work, of quiet th, of service, of "catching up with rred rights." It was not that he did elieve in the rights of Negroes, for he mphatically, but that he wanted the o, first of all, to merit his rights.

et yourself right," he said, "and the l will be all right."

The Tuskegee system and all of Washington's work was based upon this idea, and he was supremely qualified, as a leader, to declare it and make it a living thing. For he had simplicity, patience, humor, and that great quality of humility which placed him upon an equality with all genuine men, low or high. He was attacked by his own people for not insisting upon the rights of Negroes at a time when they thought the rights they had were being taken away, and he was misunderstood, in the beginning, by many Southern white people, who thought that he had come to train Negroes, not for service, but for servants, in their understanding of the word "servant."

He tried to make the Negro proud of himself by getting something—whether a farm to own, or skill as a craftsman, or a stock of goods as a business man—upon which to base his pride and self-reliance. He was strongly optimistic—the right sort of a leader for a race in a discouraging situation: and he was forever revealing the strong points of the Negro to the white man: and the strong points of the white man to the Negro. He was a great maker of understandings between the races. It was his essential service, or that of the movement he typified, that he made countless human beings with black skins feel their essential manhood.

But movements grow and change. The very fact that Washington was producing independent and self-respecting men, and not a sort of super-servant, tended to set the pendulum, which had swung far in the direction of an emphasis upon duties and service, to swinging backward toward an emphasis upon rights and liberty.

More independence among Negroes,

more wealth, more skill, stronger and wiser leadership have not only made the Negro more conscious of his own low position in American life, but have given him a sharper sense of the rights which he does not enjoy, and of the injustice, symbolized in lynchings, which he suffers. At the same time that he finds himself better able to compete with the white man in many lines of activity the pressure to keep him down seems to increase rather than to decrease. He sees agitation to prevent the free ownership of land by Negroes, to keep them out of all public office, to limit the appropriations for their schools, and he sees the number of lynchings for trivial offenses increasing (there were fourteen more lynchings in 1915 than in 1914).

A CRITICAL TIME FOR THE NEGRO

Thus it is that, while for many years the dominant forces of leadership in the Negro race were men of the Washington type who preached duties, the last few years have seen the rise of a powerful body of opinion among Negroes, organized in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and led by men of the type of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, which has for its purpose the agitation, in season and out, for the rights of Negroes. Greater pressure from above is thus meeting greater resistance from below. This movement is of rapidly growing importance.

It is, then, a rather critical moment at which Major Moton comes to the leadership of the great conservative wing of Negro opinion. Washington lived to see the large fruition of his work, and Major Moton appears now, when new problems are arising and new forces gathering, as the strengthener, organizer, solidifier of that work. He does not need to prove that the Hampton and Tuskegee system makes free men, strong leaders, good citizens: that is established; but what he is called upon to do is to extend and deepen that work and to keep alive the idea that no rights that are not based upon service can be permanent.

Moton is perhaps a little less magnetic as a personality than Washington, and lacks a little of the rare strain of poetry and humor which so well fitted Washington for his difficult pioneer work. But h strong and able speaker and a strong sible, and tactful man. And he has training in methods of discipline and ization which the older leader neve He has been for more than twenty the commandant of cadets and dir arian at Hampton Institute, di assisting Dr. Frissell, and has had sort of administrative problem to with both Negro and Indian stu To him also has fallen many of thos cate adjustments in the relationsh the white and Negro races around centre the most difficult problems in S ern life. Any true Negro leadershi would meet the daily difficulties present themselves and find a huma for two clashing races to live to must be supremely skilful at just this of arranging contacts that will not fire; at the same time arranging neither side gives everything nor everything.

For this delicate work Major Mot had rare training in contact with men both North and South. He has many trips North with the Ham speakers and singers to help in the m raising campaigns, and his work as a tee of several Negro institutions and o izations has brought him into touch Southern white opinion. He has served since 1908 as secretary of one most important private agencies fo assistance of Negro education in the S the Negro Rural School Fund, of the T. Jeanes Foundation.

THE DESCENDANT OF AN AFRICAN C

Major Moton's early life was marked by quite such a desperate str with untoward circumstances as th Washington, though it was severe en Both his father and mother were s but in fine Virginia families. Unlik Washington, who had some admixtu white blood, Major Moton is of pure N stock. His first American ancestor brought from the West Coast of Afri 1735 and was the son of the chief powerful tribe. He had been capt by his father with a dozen or more s captured in battle from a neighb

, and he brought them down to the
to sell to the American slave-traders.
young African chief delivered these
to the captain of the ship and received
ay in trinkets. He was then asked to
it to see this wonderful sailing vessel.
· he had inspected the ship, he was
l by the captain to dine. He said
they gave him some nice things to
:, all of which he enjoyed so much that
ell asleep. When he awoke he was
ied to one of the creatures he himself
sold, and the vessel was headed
rd the United States.

e name of the trader was John Tabb,
loucester, in Virginia, and the young
, a splendid specimen of humanity
than six feet two inches tall, was
to a planter in Amelia County, Va.
ever learned to speak English well
nsisted to his dying day upon observ-
ertain native feast days.

MOTON'S EARLY LIFE

ajor Moton was born August 26, 1867,
ince Edward County, Va., where his
r was foreman for a large plantation
d by Samuel Vaughn. His mother
the cook of the household and the
eceived the kindest of attention. He
this story of how he learned to read:
here was a popular belief that the
hns, notwithstanding their kindness,
ted to and opposed the idea of Ne-
reading and writing. My mother was
fore careful that they should not
· that she was teaching me to read, or
she herself could read. So far she had
it from them, but one night 'Miss
' came in and caught my mother giv-
ie a lesson. My mother was going to
the book but my father objected,
g that they were free and he would
the Vaughns if they said anything
st it. But to our great surprise
; Lucy' was much pleased; the next
she asked Miss Molly, her youngest
fter, to teach me for one hour a day."
continued with the Vaughn family,
sort of house boy, for a number of
, and he considers what he learned
· their tutelage as one of his best in-
nces.

virtue of his early training and his education he came to be a good deal of a leader among the Negroes of his own community. He was a man of powerful build and great energy. His friends even wished him to run for the legislature. Fortunately, however, he came under the influence of a Negro schoolmaster who had been a student at Hampton and was inspired with the idea of getting more education. Being a strong and ready worker he was accepted, in 1885, and began work in the saw-mill of the institution, taking the regular course of instruction. One summer vacation he spent as a waiter in a Pennsylvania hotel, another as a janitor in John Wanamaker's store, and was graduated from Hampton in 1890. He wished for a time to study law, and did so with the help of a friendly white lawyer, but was soon drafted for work at Hampton, where he has continued ever since, except for several vacations, including a trip to Europe, in 1901, as a result of which he concluded that the difficulties of the Negro in America did not compare with those of the European peasant. In all these years he had the warm friendship of Dr. Washington, who once said of him:

"Moton is one of the best read men and one of the most interesting men to talk with that I have ever met. Education has not spoiled him. It has not embittered or narrowed him in his affections. He has not learned to hate or distrust any class of people, and he is just as ready to assist and show kindness to a white man as to a black man, to a Southerner as to a Northerner."

A LEADER OF HIS RACE

One of Major Moton's most important activities was the founding, in 1912, of the Negro Organization Society of Virginia, the purpose of which was to correlate the activities of all the Negro societies in the state in a general campaign for Negro uplift. It was successful in bringing together 107 religious bodies; 112 school improvement leagues and teachers' associations; 42 fraternal orders; five farmers' conferences; one emancipation association; and one bank. Its influence reaches, more or less directly, at least 50 per cent. of the Negroes in Virginia; that is, nearly 350,000 people of his race.

This organization, supported wholly by Negroes, has done a really remarkable work. Here are the results of a few of its many activities:

It has stimulated the erection of fourteen new school buildings.

It has inspired the building of sanitary privies at schools, churches, and homes.

It has distributed 85,000 Health Bulletins.

It has issued the Health Creed and Pledge Card and secured 2,000 signers, to whom the State Health Department has sent its publications.

It has organized Clean-up-Week and influenced thousands of people to observe it; and inspired the publication of the Health Hand Book for Colored People and distributed 65,000 copies of it.

It has organized Farmers' Conferences.

Its agents have addressed audiences comprising thousands of people in all sections of the state, speaking upon health, school, home, and farm improvement.

It has made a week's educational campaign in southwest Virginia.

It has made educational campaigns in five counties and health campaigns in four counties.

In this campaign and in all his other work Major Moton has urged full coöperation of Negroes with their white neighbors, and has won the cordial support of the finest white Virginians.

"By faithful and efficient service, whether in the kitchen, on the farm, in the shop, in the schoolroom, or in the pulpit," declares Major Moton, "the Negro can and must maintain the spirit of coöperation and good-will that now exists generally throughout the South."

In recent years, Major Moton has toured a number of Southern states with Booker T. Washington and has addressed thousands of white and colored people on the value of working together in the spirit of mutual helpfulness for the securing of better schools, better health, better farms, and better homes.

Major Moton is also a trustee of the People's Village School of Mount Meigs, Ala., the Industrial Home School for Colored Girls at Peakes, Va., and the Negro Reform School for Boys at Hanover, Va. He is a vice-chairman of the Na League on Urban Conditions among groes. He is a life member of the Na Negro Business League and a direct the Bay Shore Hotel Company of H ton, Va., and in the Crown Savings of Newport News. While Major M is a Mason and an Odd Fellow, he ha little time to give to fraternal affairs

HIS PROGRAMME FOR TUSKEGEE

Three principles underlie all M Moton's advice to his people, and indicate the nature of the programm will advocate for Tuskegee.

First: The Negro must develop a s racial consciousness.

Concerning this, he says:

"Having demonstrated that his fac and susceptibilities are capable of highest development, it must be true black race, as it has been true of races, that it must go through the process and work out the same pro in about the same way as other races done.

"Let us not deceive ourselves, blig as we are with a heritage of moral le from our past history and hard pa as we are in the economic world by fo immigrants and by native prejudice; one surest haven of refuge is in oursel our one safest means of advance is belief in and implicit trust in our own ity and worth. No race that despis self, that laughs at and ridicules it that wishes to God it were anything but itself, can ever be a great pe There is no power under Heaven that stop the onward march of ten million earnest, honest, inspired, God-fea race-loving, and united people."

Second: The Negro must have a l moral ideal. He says:

"It is no reproach to the Negro to that his history and environment in country have well-nigh placed him at bottom of the moral scale. This mus remedied if the Negro is ever to reach full status of civilized manhood womanhood.

"We must be united to stop the rav of disease among our people; united to l black boys from idleness, vice, gambl

crime; united to guard the purity of
k womanhood and, I might add, black
hood also. It is not enough simply to
st that ninety-five out of every hun-
Negroes are orderly and law-abiding.
ninety-five must be banded together
strain and suppress the vicious five."
ird: The Negro needs intelligent in-
ry. He says:
Ve must not be misled by high-
ding phrases as to the kind of educa-
the race should receive but we should
mber that the education of a people
ld be conditioned upon their capacity,
l environment, and the probable life
h they will lead in the immediate
e. If the Negro will add his propor-
te contribution to the economic
t of the world's civilization, it must
ne through intelligent, well-directed,
ientious, skilled industry.
od has given to the Negro here in this
hern country two of the most funda-
al necessities in his development—
and labor. If you don't possess this
and hold this labor, God will tell you
He has often told other races—'to
on.'"
s advice to Negroes is summed up in
mottoes:
simple. Be self-respecting. Keep
courage.
d he is an optimist.
here is every reason for optimism,
ulness." he says. "The outlook was
more encouraging than to-day. The
o never had more the respect and
lence of his neighbors, black and
, than he has to-day. Never has
al worth deserved that respect more
it does to-day."

MOTON THE RIGHT MAN

jor Moton goes to his new work at
egee with the full support and con-
e of all the friends of the Negro,
white and colored. This general
g is well expressed in a letter sent by
lent Wilson to Major Moton, dated
Hot Springs, December 28, 1914:

AR PRINCIPAL MOTON:
n sure I am giving voice to the feeling of the vast majority of those interested in education in this country, and particularly in the education of the Negro, when I express my gratification at your election as Principal of Tuskegee Institute. I have known something of the special work you have been trying to do for the people of your race and of the spirit in which you have undertaken it, and I believe that your selection as the head of Tuskegee Institute means the promotion there of the best, most practical, and most hopeful ideals for the development of the Negro people. I take pleasure in extending to you my sincere congratulations.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN RACES NEEDED

In conclusion one cannot better sum up the whole spirit of Major Moton and of his work than in the prayer of an old colored preacher which he himself quoted at the Negro Christian Students' Convention held in Atlanta last year:

"O, God of all races, will you please, Sir, come in and take charge of de min's of all dese yere white people and fix dem so dat dey'll know and understan' dat all of us colored folks is not lazy, dirty, dishones', an' no 'count, an' help dem, Lord, to see dat most of us is prayin', workin', and strivin', to get some land, some houses, and some ed'cation for ourselves an' our chillun, an' get true 'ligion, an' dat most eve'y Negro in Northampton County is doin' his lebel bes' to make frien's an' get along wid de white folks Help dese yere white folks, O Lord, to understan' dis thing. Lord, while you is takin' charge of de min's of dese white people, don' pass by de colored folks, for dey is not perfec'—dey needs you as much as de white folks does. Open de Negro's blin' eyes dat he may see dat all of de white folks is not mean an' dishones' an' prejudice' ag'inst de colored folks, dat dere is hones', hard-workin', jus', and God-fearin' white folks in dis yere community who is tryin' de bes' dey know how, wid de circumstances ag'inst dem, to be fair in dere dealin's wid de colored folks, an' help dem to be 'spectable men an' women. Help us, Lord, black an' white, to understan' each other more eve'y day."

THE STORY OF RAEMAEKERS'S CARTOONS

WHICH HAVE POWERFULLY AFFECTED PUBLIC OPINION IN EUROPE, ESPEC IN AROUSING PITY FOR BELGIUM AND INDIGNATION AGAINST THE GERMAN KAISER

PERHAPS the two most strongly developed characteristics of the kindly Dutch people are an easy-going placidity and—especially in the trading classes—a canniness that out-Scotches the Scotch. It was the latter trait which was responsible for the avidity with which the Dutch merchant embraced the opportunity to rake in the guilders by smuggling contraband across the German frontier, and it was the former trait which made the rest of the Dutch people so slow to protest against that profitable practice.

It was against what he called this "tainted neutrality" of his countrymen that Mr. Schroeder, editor of the *Telegraaf* of Amsterdam, rose in revolt, and as a consequence caused his own arrest for unneutrality. From the outbreak of the war Mr. Schroeder, touched by what had happened in Belgium and indignant at the passive way in which the Dutch appeared to regard the throttling of a people whose fate might so easily have been their own, set himself to the task of revealing to his countrymen the situation in its true colors. He is a keen journalist. His picked correspondents throughout Belgium succeeded in getting their letters through to the *Telegraaf* despite the efforts of the Germans to maintain an air-tight censorship, and the news which emanated from these sources has been the most reliable, though not always the least sensational, that the outside world has received from iron-ringed Belgium.

Stirred by the same feelings as those which imbued Mr. Schroeder, and working with his pencil to effect the same end that his chief strove for with his pen, was Mr. Louis Raemaekers, whose drawings in the *Telegraaf* during the nineteen months of the war have caused him hailed as the greatest cartoonist generation, if not of all time. Raem pencil, writing a language plain for world to read, conveyed a swift surer message beyond his country's b than even the gall-tipped pen Schroeder. Germany offered a for his capture on the Belgian side frontier, where it was known he wa to venture in search of "atmos while, on the other hand, Franc England started movements to th that he be extended official reco for "the incalculable service h rendered the Allies in revealing Te in its true colors to all Christendom

During the first week of last Dec Mr. Raemaekers went to England a number of his cartoons on exhibiti the occasion was seized upon to him with such attentions as few foreigners have ever received at t of the ordinarily impassive An By a strange trick of fate, on the that the distinguished cartoonist a banquet attended by most of t nent men of Great Britain, from Amsterdam that his chief arrested and thrown into prison ances calculated to endanger the of his country.

Mr. Schroeder's "martyrdom quickly came to be called, acco in a few days what a year and invective had failed to effect. The people were at last aroused. Pe for his release flooded the Dutch G ment from all quarters, and durin fortnight of his imprisonment Mr. S der's paper was compelled to devote ten to twenty columns a day to lett sympathy and endorsement. On D

THE WISE MEN OFFER THEIR PRESENTS

THE GRAIN IS RIPE!

MILITARY NECESSITY?

EUROPE: "AM I NOT SUFFICIENTLY CIVILIZED YET?"

ber 21st, the charges against him having been shown to have been instigated by the contraband-smuggling interests, Mr. Schroeder was released from prison. How "successful" he felt his imprisonment to have been may be gathered from these words in the *Telegraaf* of the following day:

No happier mortal exists than I. The balance of the account between the Government and myself is entirely to my advantage, imprisonment has caused the spirit of the people to manifest itself in a way that no room for doubt.

By another coincidence, on the d Mr. Schroeder's release Mr. Raema from the hand of the eminent Frenc toonist, Fortain, received the Cross o Legion of Honor.

OUR LADY OF ANTWERP

Mr. Raemaekers's work must speak for itself. There is no doubt that, both in power and execution, he stands head and shoulders above every other European cartoonist of the day, and, from the standpoint of the Allied peoples at least, there is little of extravagance in this tribute from the *Westminster Gazette:*

A genius—apparently the only genius produced by the war—has come amongst us as our friend and most powerful ally. Long after the leading and "leaded" articles in the papers have been forgotten, and the innumerable books on the war have fallen into the dusty crypt of back numbers, the cartoons of Mr. Raemaekers will live to feed the fierce indignation of succeeding generations. . . . Louis Raemaekers has nailed the Kaiser to a cross of immortal infamy.

Besides being a cartoonist, Mr. Raemaekers is a painter of canvases.

NEW YORK, THE STUPENDOUS

THE LARGEST CITY IN THE WORLD—ITS POPULATION 1,000,000 MORE THAN THAT OF LONDON—FORCES THAT HAVE PLACED THE WORLD'S METROPOLIS ON MANHATTAN ISLAND

BY

JAMES MIDDLETON

WHAT is the world's largest city—the city, that is, which houses the most people subject to the jurisdiction of one municipal government? Probably most intelligent Americans regard this as a foolish question. The average Englishman would look upon it as even more absurd. From our school days we have been taught that London is the world's metropolis; a city which New York may some day equal in size, but which, with its 7,200,000 population, has already gained a discouraging lead. But the New York newspapers have recently discovered that London's pretensions are not sound. Not the city by the Thames but the city by the Hudson contains the largest number of people.

It seems that New York, untrue to the braggart disposition which is usually associated with Americanism, has been altogether too modest in asserting its claims. London, by inflating its population figures, has been behaving like a mushroom Western town. Half a century ago, Peking succeeded in imposing itself upon mankind as the world's most populous city. Its untold millions of pigtailed celestials loomed large in every geography. When skeptical Westerners examined these pretensions statistically, however, they quickly melted away, so that Peking now does not rank even among the ten largest cities; its population, estimated at about 700,000, makes it a smaller place than St. Louis, Sydney, Boston, or Liverpool.

Chinamen fooled the world about Peking because, instead of taking an occasional census, they merely gave us their impressions. London has long imposed upon our credulity and good nature by another method. Its figures are accurate enough, but it has included in its own population places to which it has had no rightful claim. Properly London is that part of England which is governed by the London County Council, just as New York is that part of America which is governed by its Board of Aldermen and Mayor. One is the political entity known as London, the other is the political entity known as New York.

Now London, as thus defined, has a population of 4,522,964, and New York, as thus defined, has a population of 5,585,772. That is, New York has a population 1,000,000 larger than its English rival. In making this comparison I have used the latest figures for New York, the police census of 1915, and the latest available for London, those of 1911. Such a comparison, one might say, is unfair to the English capital. Not at all; the use of the figures for 1911 is really generous. For the population of London is decreasing; it was smaller in 1911 than in 1901; and probably smaller in 1915 than in 1911.

What, then, is this 7,200,000, widely advertised as the population of the ancient English town? There are really three separate communities known as London. The first is the old medieval city, with its Lord Mayor, Common Councillors, and other personages and trappings which trace their origin to the time of the Norman kings. This now contains a residential population of about 19,000. Outside of this is the County of London, a group of about 28 towns gathered into one comprehensive government by the Act of 1888. This county, including the city, is London, in the same sense that the five boroughs

making up the present administrative entity of Greater New York really constitute New York. .This is the London that has a population of 4,522,964. Outside of this there is another conglomeration of towns, villages, and cities popularly known as the "Outer Ring." These are independent communities, with their own governments, their own mayors, common councils, and other administrative agencies. Most of these towns are as old, or nearly as old, as London itself, and have no essential connection, political, economic, or social, with their huge neighbor. The London County Council has no jurisdiction over them. They are included, however, with the boroughs of London itself, in the Metropolitan Police District, which is controlled by the Home Office. It is this Metropolitan Police District which contains this population of 7,200,000.

If we follow the London example, and take in everything within a radius of fifteen miles from the centre, we shall have a population of 7,500,000—300,000 greater than London's metropolitan area. Whatever way we figure it, therefore, either from the standpoint of the city itself, or of a metropolitan district, New York has a larger population than London. And furthermore, the population of London was less in 1911 than in 1901, whereas New York grows rapidly.

THE GREATEST CITY IN THE WORLD

Americans, therefore, need no longer figure on the day when they shall have the largest city in the world, for they already have it. Mayor Mitchel presides over the greatest aggregation of human beings ever collected in any one place since the beginning of time. Many kings who cut quite a figure in the world have principalities much smaller than New York. Denmark, with 2,800,000, contains just about as many people as Manhattan Island. The total population of Australia —4,900,000—is not so large as that of this one American city. Switzerland has a population that is much smaller. The whole population of Serbia, the country that started the greatest war in history, is approximately a million less than the population of New York City. Sweden, with 5,476,000 people, is just about as large as the Greater City. Norway, with 2,400,000, is about as populous as Manhattan Borough. If we take the New York Metropolitan District, even more startling comparisons can be made. The entire population of the Dominion of Canada is not so large by 300,000. Belgium, said to be the most densely populated country in Europe—at least before the war—has the same number of people as New York and its environs. Or, to visualize the city's magnitude in an even more impressive way, let us take a few facts nearer home.

Here is one: New York—still following the London example of including the city and its metropolitan district—has a larger population than the following states combined: Colorado, Wyoming, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and one half of Texas. The city's average increase in population for the last ten years has been 135,000 a year. That is just about the population of New Haven, Conn. Consider what a thriving town New Haven is, with its fine residential districts, its schools, its churches, its factories, its parks, its banks, its department stores, its retail and wholesale establishments, its police department, and all the thousands of activities that go to make up a successful American town. Then imagine for a moment a city of that size added to New York every twelvemonth! From 1900 to 1910 New York added to its population a city almost as large as Philadelphia. A single borough, Manhattan, is nearly as large as Chicago; another, Brooklyn, is almost as large as Berlin; another, the Bronx, contains more people than Pittsburg. Other cities—Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle—constantly boast of their growth. Compared to the growth of New York, however—and New York never says a word about it—their progress is almost insignificant. Chicago constantly points to the fact that, in 1840, it had a population of 4,470, while, in 1910, it had 2,185,283. A phenomenal development, certainly—about 2,000,000 in seventy years. But in that same period New York grew by more than 4,000,000! Seattle is the most popular illustration of amazing development. It added 150,000 in the

ten years from 1900 to 1910. But that is only a little more than New York has added to its population every year! Since 1840 no American city has shown a numerical increase that anywhere approaches that of New York. One thirteenth of all the people in the United States live in the Metropolitan District; and one tenth in the state. Moreover, the growth is steady. New York has no boomlike quality; the statisticians' "curve" of its population shows that it has never had a slump. Its progress has been always upward, and where it will end no one knows.

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

On this latter point, however, there are respectable predictions. The American Telephone & Telegraph Company is constantly looking to the future; part of its business is to anticipate the demand for telephones twenty years ahead. Its statistical department has canvassed the whole situation, and figured that, by 1930—fourteen years from now—New York City will have a population of 8,000,000. The Telephone Company is now installing ducts and preparing its equipment for a population of this size. By the way, did you know that New York City had nearly as many telephones as the whole of Great Britain and Ireland? And more than all the following countries put together: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Italy, and the Netherlands? There are single office buildings in New York that have more telephones than the whole of the Kingdom of Greece or Bulgaria.

What is the mysterious alchemy in the soil of Manhattan that has produced this tremendous phenomenon? What forces have made this New York the largest city the world has ever known? A hundred years ago nobody foresaw its present magnitude. In 1800, not New York, but Philadelphia, was our largest city—a preeminence it held until 1830. Then Virginia, not New York, was the most populous state. An examination of American cities a century ago presents many curiosities. As there were no railroads, and as American highways had not passed their infancy, the ocean formed our chief means of intercommunication. All our "great cities" were, therefore, located near the coast—they were all maritime towns. Thus, after Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Boston, Charleston, S. C., was the largest American city. But I defy any one to give the name of the sixth largest American town in 1800. It was Northern Liberties. How many Americans to-day ever heard of this metropolis? An antiquarian research discloses that it is now part of Philadelphia. After Northern Liberties, our biggest city was Southwark, Pa.; then came Salem, Mass. Such were the places, a hundred years ago, which were entered in the competition for primacy. No one would have foretold that New York would have won in this contest. The competition, in the minds of most observers of 1800, lay between Baltimore and Philadelphia.

THE EFFECT OF THE ERIE CANAL

A glance at the map clearly discloses why. Neither place had so fine a harbor as New York, but both, as conditions then stood, had other preëminent advantages. One stood at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, the other at the head of Delaware Bay. The Susquehanna River drained an enormous territory in Pennsylvania and New York State, the great farming country in southern New York sending all its crops to Baltimore by way of this stream. The Potomac, which also entered the Chesapeake, was the highway from a rich farming country in Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. The Delaware performed a similar service for Philadelphia, but the Hudson, as a water highway, was much less important. Had conditions remained unchanged, therefore, both Baltimore and Philadelphia would easily have surpassed New York as the American metropolis. But a transportation genius, De Witt Clinton, with one brilliant stroke destroyed all their advantages. He ran a thin ribbon of water through the Mohawk Valley from Lake Erie to the Hudson—the Erie Canal. The new "West"—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan—all bordered the Great Lakes, the fertile farms in this enormous region finding access to these great interior oceans by an endless system

of waterways. From these lakes into the Erie Canal, down the Hudson to New York —this new highway of transportation was inexpensive, direct, reasonably swift.

Thus New York became the great port for our enormous, rapidly growing Western country. Large cities grew up on the way —Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, all tributary to New York, all practically industrial suburbs of this city.

When, in the next generation, the railroads came, they powerfully reinforced New York's already impregnable position. Then, in the 'forties, immigration started from Europe, first the Irish, then the Germans, afterward the Italians and the Jews. The great mass of these people landed in New York; an enormous number made their permanent headquarters there. The canal and the railroad had made New York the greatest American port—ultimately the greatest port in the world. Immigration made it the greatest manufacturing centre, for these immigrants provided an inexhaustible labor supply.

"UTILIZING THE UPPER AIR"

Outside of the canal, the railroads, and immigration, two modern inventions have exerted the main influences in producing the present city. Without the elevator and the steel system of building construction there would probably be a great city of New York, but it would be an entirely different city from the one that we have to-day. The first passenger elevator appeared in 1859, in the newly constructed Fifth Avenue Hotel. In 1869, Henry B. Hyde put up the first Equitable Building, installing in it several of the new contraptions. This structure, with its leisurely ascending elevators, immediately became one of the sights of New York—a sight that visitors never missed. Compared with the swiftly moving cars in the new thirty-seven story Equitable Building, Hyde's elevators were clumsy affairs, but they contained the idea that has largely made the present New York. Not by itself, however, did the elevator accomplish this miracle. It suddenly made possible buildings eight, ten, perhaps twelve stories high—beyond that, however, the first skyscrapers could not go. Up to that time, buildings had been constructed on essentially the same principles that governed in the days of the Egyptians. The stone walls, that is, carried the entire weight. Thus, the higher the buildings went up, the thicker it was necessary to make these walls. Ten stories carried a wall eight or ten feet thick on the first floor, which meant that this same first floor, the most profitable of all, had little rentable space. Consequently, as already said, about ten or twelve stories represented the highest commercial limit. Then another great genius, as much a maker of the modern New York as De Witt Clinton, worked out a revolution in building. It was not necessary, he discovered, that the walls should support the structure. Instead a huge cage, built of steel, could perform this service. A curtain of pseudo-walls, covering this steel skeleton, would be sufficient to keep out the cold. This method made possible buildings of any height. In a few years after its introduction, it became the one method of constructing large buildings in New York, as well as in other cities. It made possible the utilization of space that had never previously been availed of in constructing a city—the upper air. Not only office buildings, but hotels, apartment houses, factories, commercial structures, and even private dwellings, now adopted the skyscraper mode. How much space would New York cover if, instead of reaching into the empyrean, it had to sprawl around in four- and five-story buildings?

BIG BUSINESS MOVES TO NEW YORK

All these several forces had fixed the American metropolis long before the dawning of the twentieth century. The city has had its greatest growth, however, in the last fifteen years. In that time New York has secured preëminence in almost every activity—commercial, mercantile, financial, social, literary, and artistic. A new America developed after the Spanish War and that America rapidly focused itself on Manhattan Island. Business activity, curbed by the panic of 1893, then suddenly took on a new life and instinctively selected New York as its

capital. The great transcontinental railroads, nearly all of which had gone into receiverships in the dark years succeeding 1893, now entered on a new and unexampled period of prosperity. The Union Pacific, which had sold for $6 a share in 1898, in half a dozen years had jumped to more than $200. Now came, also, the period of great industrial combinations. The New York Stock Exchange, which had listed securities to the value of $400,000,000 in 1896, listed $2,600,000,000 in 1901. Up to that time these great industries had centred their offices in several parts of the country—now, with an apparently concerted rush, they all established them on Manhattan Island. The steel business, in the days when there was no United States Steel Corporation, had its official headquarters in many places—New York, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Chicago. The United States Steel Corporation, however, established itself, about 1901, in New York, taking several big floors in the newly erected Empire Building. This great demand led to the reconstruction of the business and financial district. Wall Street had for several generations been the financial centre of New York; now it became merely the name of a district, as its narrow space could not furnish accommodations for the demands made upon it. The financial section spread in all directions, north, south, east. Harriman, the greatest of the Wall Street kings, had his headquarters on Broadway, while Kuhn, Loeb & Co. erected a new building at Pine and William. The new American era of combinations found its monuments in the huge structures that began to rise, by dozens, in downtown New York, of which the Woolworth Building, with its fifty-one stories, was the final expression.

THE MILLIONAIRE INVASION

This amazing increase of American wealth affected New York in another way—it made it America's prime residential city. Fifth Avenue, which had hitherto been the preserve of the Manhattan plutocracy, now became the abiding place of American millionairedom. Up to that time nearly all New York's millionaire families had been native to the soil—the Vanderbilts, the Astors, the Havemeyers, the Belmonts, the Goelets: now the richest families in the United States began to assemble there. The first ambition of the new millionaire, in whatever part of the country he arose, seemed to be a "palatial" residence on Fifth Avenue. Mr. Andrew Carnegie came from Pittsburg, the Rockefellers from Cleveland, Collis P. Huntington from San Francisco, Judge E. H. Gary from Chicago, the Guggenheims from Colorado, Ex-Senator Clark from Montana, Mr. Charles T. Yerkes from Chicago and Philadelphia. The influx of Pittsburg millionaires, following Andrew Carnegie, produced almost a "corner" in Fifth Avenue real estate. They included Mr. Charles M. Schwab, Mr. Henry Phipps, Mr. Henry C. Frick, Mr. Daniel G. Reid, and many others. This immigration, which began about 1900, created the new Fifth Avenue. The section opposite Central Park, from 59th Street to about 90th, was entirely reconstructed. These new millionaires were entirely reckless; they boomed residential property to a height which no other city had ever known; they ransacked the world for paintings and tapestries and furniture. Ceilings and staircases and mantel-pieces which had reposed for centuries in the medieval castles of Europe were ripped from their settings and transported to make a millionaire holiday on Fifth Avenue. The feverish eagerness of the Western newly-rich to establish themselves in New York had one astounding result—the production of extremely expensive houses on a speculative basis. Up to that time builders would invest $20,000 or $25,000, perhaps $30,000, in a house on the chance of selling it. Now, so great was the demand, they built $300,000, $500,000, even $800,000 houses as speculations. These Western millionaires so stampeded the town that they couldn't wait to build their own "palaces" but bought them ready-made.

A CITY OF FINE ARTS

Much of this was garish, vulgar, almost indecent, the quickly made fortunes finding an appropriate expression in a good deal of extremely bad architecture. The

olishment of New York as the Nation's ential capital, however, had other, : agreeable consequences. It is the ion to speak harshly of wealth; yet fact remains that America's richest is also the American city which is st in the arts. New York long since aced Boston and Philadelphia as the try's literary centre. Nearly all the : publishing houses are lodged there; ly all the big magazines are published ; American writers, poets, play- hts, and artists seem to seek out a ence there as inevitably as do the burg millionaires. In the Metro- an Opera House, New York has not the finest opera in the United States, the finest in the world. The opera rs of Europe have one ambition—an gement at the Metropolitan, and the ert singer in Berlin, Rome, or Paris can add after her name, "of the ropolitan Opera House, New York," added the one distinction that gives the greatest prestige. In the Metro- an Museum, New York likewise has of the greatest art collections ever nbled. No other American city has hing that approaches it. New York, urse, is the great headquarters of the rican stage. Its successful plays are produced in London almost as fre- tly as the London plays are trans- d to New York. In science New York occupies a leading place. Its Natural ory Museum is the finest in the world. is the greatest medical centre in the ed States. Baltimore probably has est American medical school in Johns kins; but the fact that New York ains the Rockefeller Institute—the completely equipped and organized for medical research—would still the city preëminent. The medical sent abroad to assist in the European –Dr. Alexis Carrel's ambulance at piégne, Dr. Blake's hospital in Paris, Strong's expedition which destroyed typhus plague in Serbia—nearly all organized in New York. New York probably greater educational facilities apita than any other American city. as 610 public schools and 632,000 l children. It possesses the largest and the most original high school in the world, in the Washington Irving—an institution that shelters 6,000 girls, nearly all the children of immigrants. Columbia University has not the grace and dignity of Yale or Harvard, but it is an educational institution of tremendous vitality—and, of course, the largest in the United States.

A description of New York thus becomes almost monotonous, because it is simply one superlative after another. The phrase we most constantly use, "greatest in the world," is not a Barnumesque Americanism; it is merely the descriptive fact. New York, for example, is the greatest port in the world. It is the world's greatest manufacturing centre. Its dry-goods business is greater than that of its two chief rivals, Manchester and London, put together. It makes one half of all the clothing worn in the United States. Its taxable property exceeds that of Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and St. Louis combined. It handles 60 per cent. of all the bank clearings of the United States. All but one of the great Eastern railroads have freight terminals at this point. The Pennsylvania began by trying to have its terminus at Philadelphia, but it had to place it in New York. For many years it had its passenger station at Jersey City, Manhattan Island lying only one mile away. It cost the Pennsylvania $150,000,000 to enter New York City; its directors, however, thought that price was not too much to pay for a location on the soil of Manhattan. What greater tribute has ever been paid a city? The New York Central paid $180,000,000 for its new terminus—a sum large enough to reconstruct its line from New York to Chicago. Here again the superlative comes naturally to hand: Is there any other city that possesses two such magnificent stations?

THE NATION'S PLAYGROUND

Great in business, great in finance, great in transportation, great in art—all this is true of New York. And it is pre-eminent in an entirely different direction. It is the Nation's playground. More people come to Manhattan for sight-seeing than go to the Yellowstone Park and the

Grand Cañon. It is more popular with brides and grooms than Niagara Falls. It is a greater winter resort than Palm Beach; a greater summer resort than Bar Harbor or Cape Cod. Just consider: on an average 100,000 visitors come to this city every day. Several hundred hotels, many of them famous in two continents for their luxury and completeness, shelter this great aggregation. Nearly a thousand places of public amusement, not including "cabaret" shows and restaurant attractions, provide their entertainment. The city has, not one, but several theatre districts.

THE RISE OF THE TENEMENT

In one respect—a point not so flattering to metropolitan complacency—New York is unique among great cities. Manhattan is a city without private houses. In the last fifteen years few private dwellings have been built, except those of millionaires. In that same period thousands of the old brown-stone fronts of a previous generation have been dismantled to make way for tenements and apartments. For forty years the city has been undergoing a process of "tenementization." The story is not a pleasant one; it presents as ferocious an instance of exploitation as history affords. Though the erection of tenements began as far back as 1840, the pressing demands of the immigrant population gave this business its greatest impetus. For years the city exercised practically no supervision over the housing of its people, and the poorer quarters, therefore, developed with a rank luxuriance. The original city plan exercised a distressing influence; this divided living space into 25-foot lots, the houses being cramped within these limitations.

The speculator who erected his tenement—and nearly all housing quarters were built on a speculative basis—had to work on this 25-foot lot. From this developed that peculiar infamy of New York—the "dumb bell" tenement, so-called because of its shape—a long, thin building, five, six, and seven stories high, six and seven rooms deep, only the front and rear open to the outer air. The builders rushed these things up by the mile, squeezing the last dollar in rent from their miserable tenants. Not all the poorer classes, however, were forced to live in these many-family dwellings. In the late 'seventies a new style of tenement, christened, in deference to its more prosperous inhabitants, the apartment house, made its appearance. In the last forty years these buildings, representing all stages of comfort and luxury, have grown up by thousands. All cities have their tenements and apartments; in Manhattan, however, they are almost exclusively the living quarters of all classes. Unless one has an income of at least $20,000 a year, private house is hardly to be considered. New York has the apartment habit, however, from other reasons than necessity. The average family, rich and poor, prefers this kind of life. Distressing as the tenement seems, it represents real luxury to the Jewish populations fleeing from the pogroms of Russia. The socially inclined Italian finds living in large groups more enjoyable than the rather lonely rural existence of his native land. The expensive apartment so simplifies existence, so completely robs the servant problem of its terrors, and so diminishes the worries of housekeeping that it is attracting even the millionaire classes in larger numbers every year. Who would have imagined thirty years ago, that apartments rented for $10,000, $15,000, even $25,000 a year would find a ready market?

The poor man's tenement, in the recklessness with which it was built, illustrates the New York governmental spirit at its worst; its history in recent years illustrates the new decency that now regulates municipal life. Tammany Hall is mainly responsible for these old buildings. The new social and political conscience of New York has worked a revolution. The exploitation of the poor by speculative builders ended fifteen years ago. The new tenement law of 1901, passed after one of the fiercest municipal battles ever waged in this country, represented the triumph of a new idea—the close supervision, by the city, of the housing and hygiene of its people. When Colonel Roosevelt's career is completely appraised

THE NORTHERN END OF NEW YORK

Reminiscent of the day when the island of Manhattan was purchased for twenty-four dollars from the Indians. The growth of the city has been steadily northward until now its buildings stretch far up the Hudson River

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THE SOUTHERN END OF NEW YORK

The skyscrapers of New York are one of its most striking characteristics. More sightseers come to New York than to Yellowstone Park or the Grand Cañon; about 100,000 visitors come and go every day. The steady growth of the city has never been interrupted

SPORTS AT VAN CORTLANDT PARK

The largest park of New York, of 1,133 acres in the Borough of the Bronx. Fifteen per cent. of the land of this borough, valued at about $57,000,000, is devoted to park purposes

one of his greatest claims to gratitude will be that as Governor of New York he obtained, from a reluctant legislature, the passage of this measure. This law ended for all time the 25-foot lot "dumb bell" tenement. Most buildings erected since then have represented a remarkably high

THE ZOO AND BOTANICAL GARDENS

Above: The Zoological Gardens of Bronx Park, which contain about 6,000 examples of a wide range of species of animals, reptiles, and birds. Below: The Botanical Gardens, which include one of the largest botanical museums in the world

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York is the acknowledged art centre of America and has also displaced Boston as the literary hub. The Metropolitan Museum contains some of the best known collections of art in the world

order in housing; they have large open courts, admitting light and air in abundance, and have all the decencies of existence demanded by the American standard of living. But the law did more than this, in that it practically required the alteration, almost the reconstruction,

CENTRAL PARK AND THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

bove: A glimpse of Central Park, consisting of 843 acres in the heart of the city, which has successfully d the encroachments of business for almost sixty years. Below: The New York Public Library, com- in 1911, which contains the Astor, Lenox, and Tilden libraries, accessible without cost to the citizens

of thousands of buildings which had been erected in the preceding half century. A few years ago we heard much of the 300,000 inner, windowless rooms in New York. These rooms exist no longer: all, in the last fifteen years, have been opened to the sunlight and air. The fact that the New York death rate has dropped from 19.90 in every thousand inhabitants in 1901 to 13.52 in 1915—one of the lowest in the country—shows one result of this reform.

New York, a city almost exclusively of tenements and apartments—that is its most striking architectural and social characteristic. From a racial standpoint it presents another striking peculiarity. New York contains more Irishmen than any city in Ireland; it is the largest German city except Berlin, and the largest Italian city except Naples. More remarkable than all this, however, is the fact that the city now shelters more Jews than were ever assembled before in one

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BROADWAY AT 34TH STREET

The heart of the great retail dry-goods stores district and one of the busiest corners in New York. Underground at this point are the Hudson Tunnels to New Jersey and the new subway. On the surface are the tracks of the Broadway, Sixth Avenue, and 34th Street car line systems, while above is the 6th Avenue elevated railroad

BOWLING GREEN

The first view of Broadway that the immigrants get after passing examination at Ellis Island. New York contains more Irishmen than any city in Ireland and more Germans than any city in Germany excepting Berlin

place perhaps since the beginning of time. At its period of greatest prosperity Jerusalem contained about 600,000 Jews; New York has about 1,000,000. In the whole world there are only 10,000,000 of the chosen people—evidently America's largest city contains one tenth of them. In the Greater City one man in every five is a Jew; in Manhattan one man in every four. The migration that has been going on for thirty years—of the persecuted children of Israel from Russia to the United States—is the greatest in history. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella has made a great stir in history; yet it affected only about 150,000 people—not so many as have been coming to America every year. In a brief period these energetic people have made an amazing progress. Thousands of the ragged immigrants who landed here

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL

Fifth Avenue at 50th Street, one of the largest most beautiful of churches in America. New City contains about 1,800 churches of almost religious denomination

n Russia twenty years ago are now sperous American citizens—many of n are millionaires. In less than a eration they have obtained control of greatest single industry of New York ie manufacture and sale of men's and nen's clothing. They are rapidly be- ing New York's largest landowners; t apartment dwellers in New York lay pay their rent to Jewish landlords, the recent reconstruction of the city, both its business and residential sec- s, has largely been their work. They displacing the Irish from the municipal service; nearly all the new appoint- its now made are Jews. They are encroaching on that department long rded as the exclusive prerogative of Irish—the city police; many a patrol- and traffic director now bears the ie of Abrahamson, Levy, or Jacobs. s also render acceptable service as nen; and thousands of American ol children now *receive their* rudi- mentary education from Jewish school teachers. With the passion for education that possesses the Jewish mind, they flock by thousands into our higher educational institutions. The 6,000 girls of Washington Irving High School, already mentioned as the largest in the world, are almost exclusively Jews. One third of the students in Columbia are Jews; 90 per cent. of those at New York University belong to the same race. The Jews control the theatres, not only in New York but of the whole United States; the business of providing amusements for 100,000,000 Americans is thus a Jewish industry. They are the largest operators in the moving picture business, at least on the exhibiting side. Indeed, even many of the prize fighters of New York are Jews who operate under Irish names.

Up to fifteen years ago the Jews lived and operated mainly in one section—the great East Side, the area east of the Bowery and south of Fourteenth Street. From

THE STOCK EXCHANGE

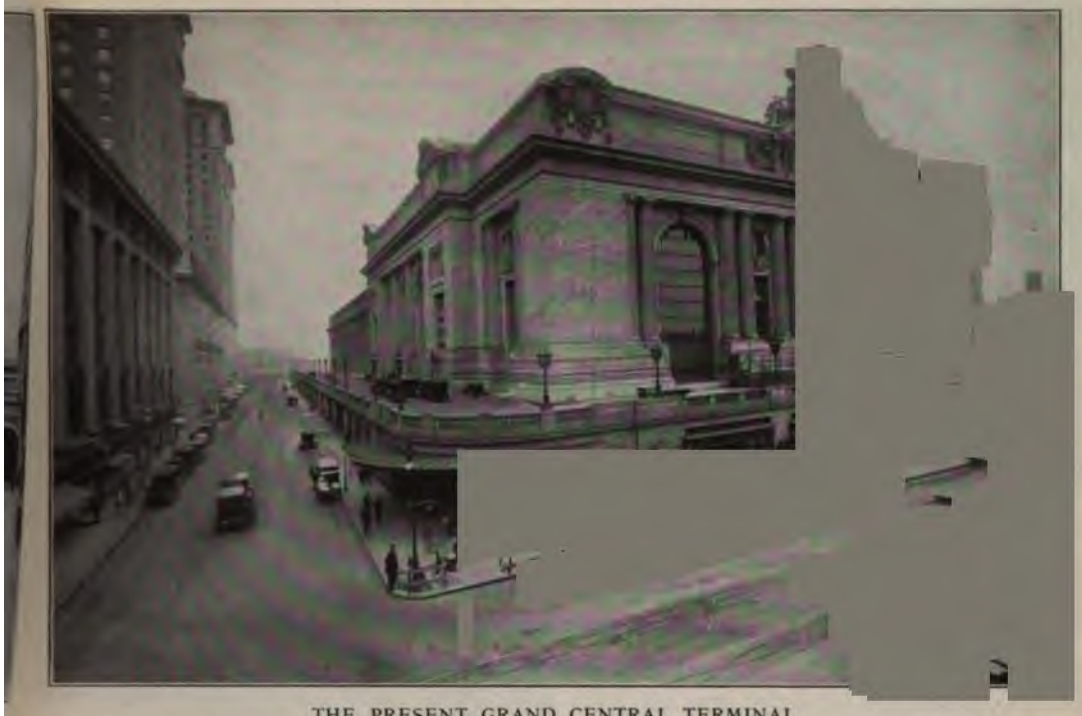
The financial hub of the Nation and the barometer of the country's prosperity. The listed securities traded in on the New York Stock Exchange rose in value $2,200,000,000 in five years

THE OLD GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL

The terminus of the New York Central and the New York, New Haven & Hartford railroads in the days of telegraph poles and horse cars. The restaurant on the left is the site of the present Hotel Belmont

THE RECONSTRUCTED GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL, 1900

All the great railroads of the East (with a single exception) have freight terminals in New York. The *population of New York* is growing at the rate of approximately 135,000 a year and is already larger than that *of the entire* Commonwealth of Australia



THE PRESENT GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL

Erected at a cost of $180,000,000. This station and the Pennsylvania Terminal are considered the finest railroad stations in America. Through them twice daily flows a vast army of commuters

THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD STATION

Formerly the Pennsylvania Railroad made Philadelphia its terminus but later decided to reach New York. To do this they had to tunnel under the Hudson River and spend $150,000,000, but the directors decided that the results *would justify* the expenditure

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THE GHETTO

New York probably contains more Jews than have ever before been assembled in one place in the history of the world. Of the approximately ten million Jews in the world one million reside in New York

this point they have spread all over the city. In 1900, passengers on street cars, except on the East Side, almost never saw a Jewish newspaper; now not infrequently the long-bearded gentleman sitting next to you is poring over a sheet covered with the strange Hebrew characters. Jewish newspapers are now sold at nearly every large news-stand in New York. The Ghetto is no longer limited by the old divisions; the Jews have established another large district in Harlem, north of Central Park, another north of Morningside Heights

THE OLD AND THE NEW

The Singer Building towering above the squalid houses of the lower East Side. Formerly the Jews remained on the East Side in one district but now they have spread all over the city

LOWER FIFTH AVENUE

The one-time aristocratic residential section of the city, now almost entirely occupied by Jewish dry-goods firms. Every fourth person in the Borough of Manhattan is a Jew

vhole Bronx is largely a Jewish pre-
. They have crossed the Manhattan
ge and preëmpted large areas in
klyn. The famous subway crushes,

A GLIMPSE OF FIFTH AVENUE

h Avenue, with its elaborate stores and resi-
, is generally considered more magnificent than
ois de Boulogne of Paris or the Unter den
n of Berlin

UPPER FIFTH AVENUE

Every year sees the residential district moving farther uptown so that now business has encroached as far north as 59th Street, and the residences of New York's wealthy families extend far up into the Nineties

in morning and evening, consist largely of Jews. They have spread out not only in the residential but in the business sections. Twenty years ago the Jewish clothing industry was located on the East Side; the tenement sweatshop was one of the most distressing phases of metropol-

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A SUNDAY CROWD ON FIFTH AVENUE

The population of the Metropolitan District of New York is larger than that of the combined states of
rado, Wyoming, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, Utah, Arizona and one half of Texas.
ntains one thirteenth of the total population of the United States

itan life. This sweat-shop has now disappeared; the Jewish clothing factory has taken its place. To secure quarters for this new business the Jews have reconstructed certain large areas of New York. They have demolished the homes of the Knickerbocker aristocracy on Fifth Avenue, below 23d Street, and replaced them with clothing factories. This part of the city, at the noon hour to-day, looks like the East Side twenty years ago; the street is almost impassably blocked with Jewish workingmen and girls. This industry is rapidly pushing up New York's finest thoroughfare until now it has nearly reached the Waldorf-Astoria. In five years Jewish builders have created a new business section on Fourth Avenue, tearing down the old-fashioned antique shops and hotels and erecting large clothing establishments. The creation of a new shopping district on Fifth Avenue from Thirty-fourth Street north is also largely the work of Jews. Never, since the Romans drove the Jews out of their ancestral home, has Zion had so wonderful an opportunity as that which New York furnishes it now. In New York, not in the ancient land of Palestine, is now arising the new Jerusalem.

THE TALLEST BUILDING IN THE WORLD
The Woolworth Building of fifty-one stories dominates the skyline of New York City

THE LARGEST CITY IN THE WORLD
According to the latest figures the population of New York is larger than that of London and the city therefore ranks as the largest in the world

THE STRATEGY OF THE GREAT WAR

THE ROAD TO EGYPT AND INDIA

STRATEGIC VALUE OF THE POSITION OF THE CENTRAL POWERS—DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES IN THE PATH OF INVASION SOUTHWARD AND EASTWARD FROM ASIA MINOR—THE VALUE OF A THREAT

WHEN the Mississippi River goes on a rampage, everybody from St. Louis to the Gulf gets out and begins pare to strengthen the levees. It hat they know just where the is going to come but that it may nywhere, and so every possible ave- overflow must be guarded. Imagine er to be a living, sentient thing, at simile suggests the strategy of the l Powers as they faced all the points compass from their recently gained al centre on the Bosphorus. The Teutonic Allies were the swelling torrent, just brimming the first line of levees of the Balkans. Below them lay in one direction Egypt, in another Persia, in another India. Where would the flood break over—or would it break at all? That question disturbed Britain and France and Russia. That doubt compelled the defense of all three of the possible avenues of Teutonic advance. For from the Balkans roads radiate in every direction. Some of these roads have been traveled; other roads seem to beckon armies onward. At the beginning of the New Year general attention was focused on the road which with its

HAMAH

e ancient royal city of the Hittites and now an important trade centre on the French railroad con- connecting Damascus with Aleppo, and one of the main feeders of the Bagdad Railway. The city s an elaborate system of aqueducts and water wheels for bringing water from the Orontes River gation

THE NORTHERN ENTRANCE TO THE SUEZ CANAL

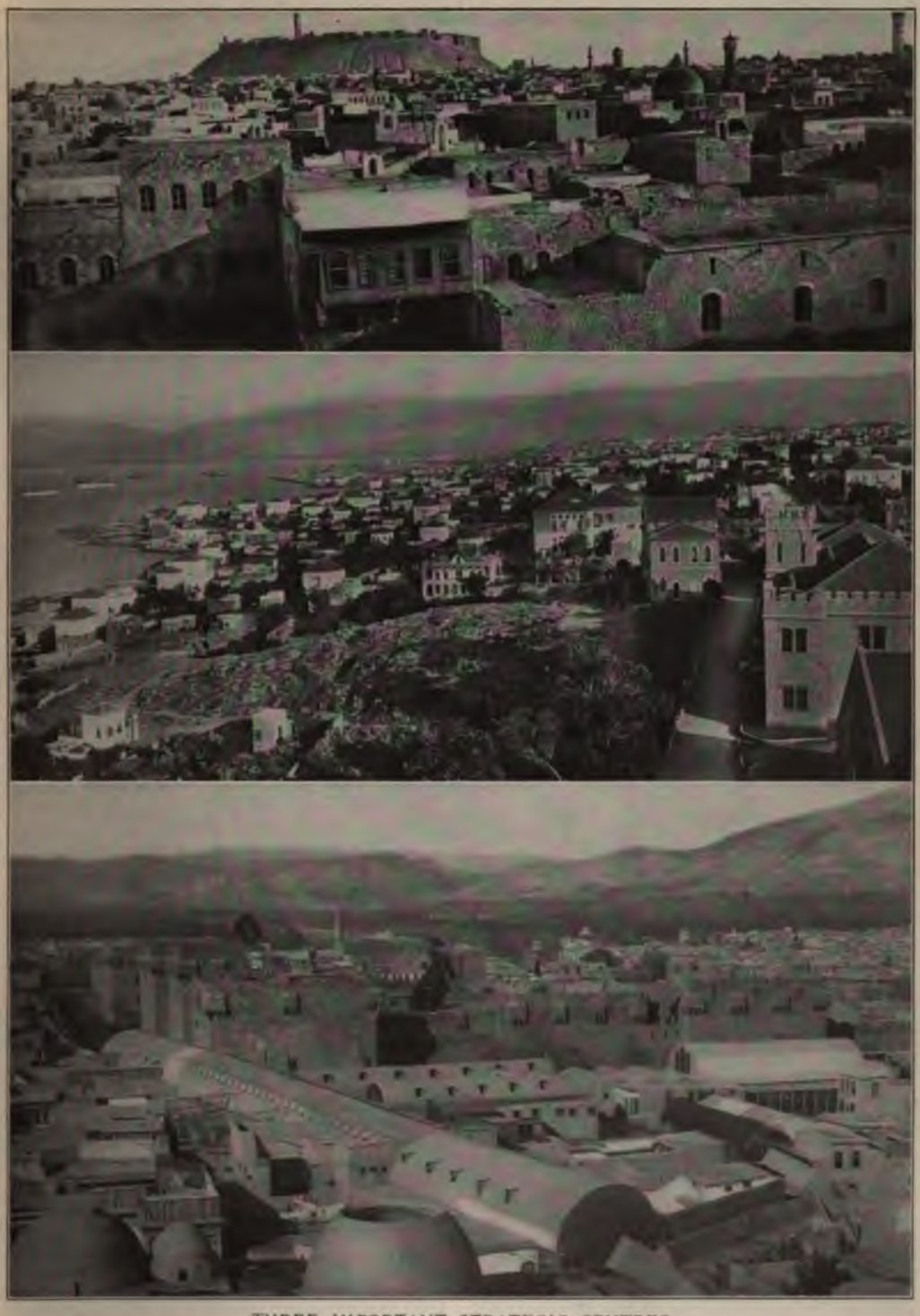
The capture of the Suez Canal is of vital importance to the Central Powers in their campaign to invade Egypt and India. Port Said stands at the northern entrance to the Canal and is connected by railroad with Cairo

branches stretched away across Anatolia and Syria down through the Mesopotamian river valleys across the Arabian desert to Egypt, to Persia—even far away eastward to India.

Politically and in a military sense that branching road was then open. As it had been possible for the generals of Greek antiquity and for Napoleon to follow it, so it was highly possible for some of the permutations and combinations of Bulgarian, Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, and German military organization to march along it in conquest. The question was whether that possibility should be realized in fact or whether it should continue to hang as a perpetual menace over the fortunes of the Entente Allies. Whichever way the die was cast, the mere existence of that unobstructed road constituted a great strategic advantage for the Central Powers. Conceding for the moment that it be no part of the Germanic plan actually to conduct or direct a far-flung determined

THE SOUTHERN ENTRANCE TO THE SUEZ CANAL

The city of Suez is about one hundred miles from Port Said, at the opposite end of the Canal. Although the Turks failed in their first attack on the Canal, in February, 1915, they displayed great military skill at that time in throwing an army of 25,000 across the deserts of the isthmus in about two weeks



THREE IMPORTANT STRATEGIC CENTRES

Above: The city of Aleppo, the junction of the Bagdad Railway and the Damascus line. If Constantinople were evacuated by the Turks, Aleppo would be, probably, the new capital of the Ottoman Empire. Middle picture: The seaport of Beirut on the Mediterranean, the main outlet for the products of Syria. Below: Damascus, chief city and capital of Syria, commanding the railroad from the Bosphorus through Aleppo to the permanent rail head of the Suez Canal near Jadel Harun

BUILDING A RAILROAD

The railroad system of Palestine under Turkish management has been characterized as "the worst run and the worst run-down in the world"

DIGGING A WELL

One of the most important problems in laun a campaign against Egypt or India lies in obta water in the deserts which abound in these cou

offensive thus into the very vitals of the British Empire, what is the value of their situation merely as a threat?

As has been many times repeated in these articles, this war will probably be finally decided, not in Russia nor in the Balkans, much less in the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire, but on the western front. It is not improbable that another Teutonic attempt will be made before the expiration of the sec year of the war to bend back the Fra British line from Nieuport to Arras an seize the Channel ports. From this p of view, then, what is the open roa India and Egypt worth to the Ger General Staff?

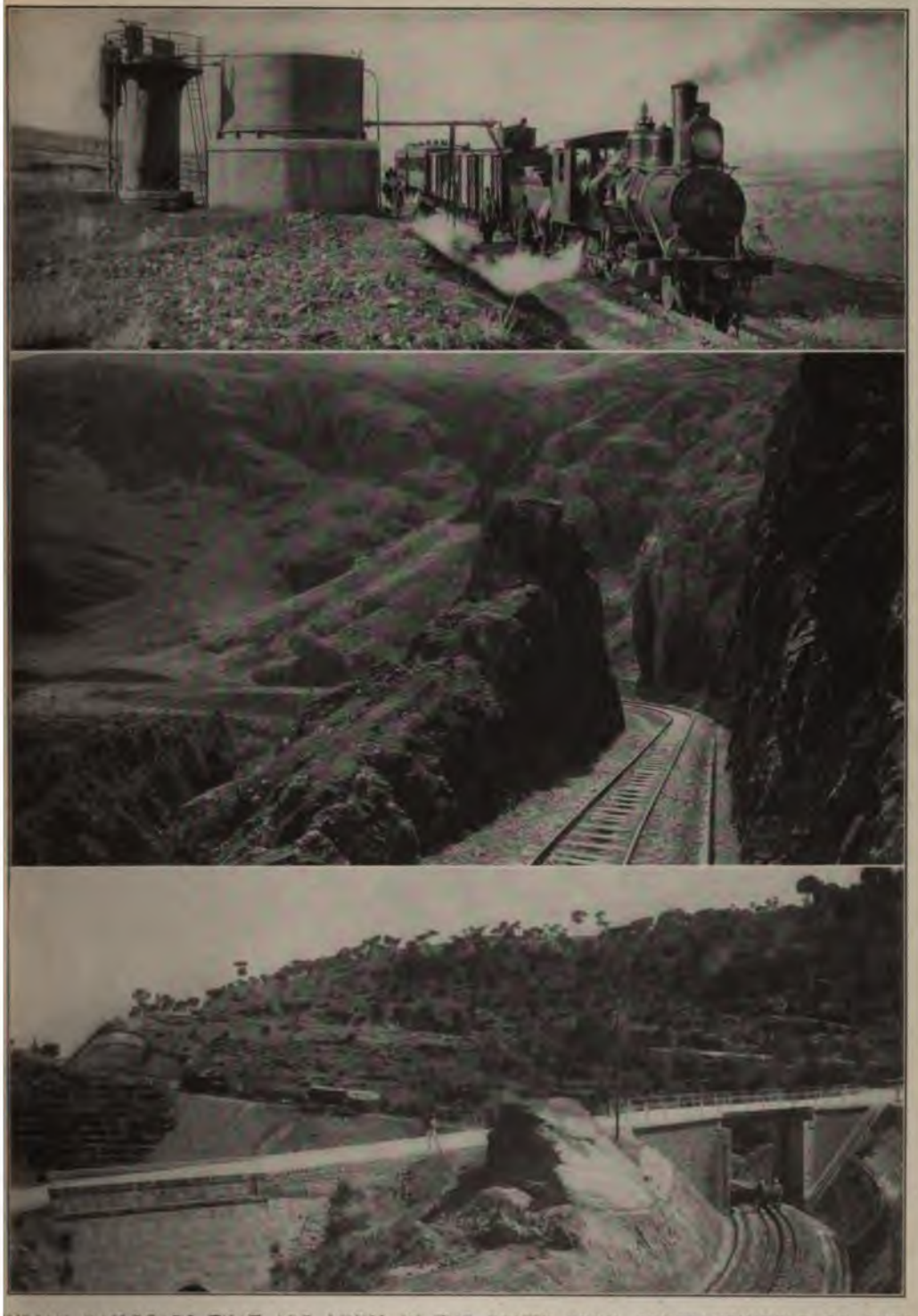
When the Central Empires opened road through Serbia, which in itself nected all the parts of their lines b

AN ANCIENT BRIDGE

Throughout Syria and Palestine remains of Biblical and Roman eras are evident on every hand, showing that the same problems of irrigation and of war ex*isted then as they do* to-day

A MODERN RAILROAD BRIDGE

In the heart of the Lebanon mountains. Fra Germany, Austria, Belgium, and Switzerland fur most of the equipment and rolling-stock of the Sy railroads, which are modern and well maintained



SYRIAN RAILROADS THAT ARE LINKS IN THE ROUTE FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO SUEZ

Above: Throughout the deserts water tanks are stationed at frequent intervals and are carefully guarded. Centre: The railroad from Beirut to Damascus climbs 6,000 feet over the Lebanon mountains and is chiefly a series of tunnels and viaducts. Below: The ascent from Beirut has an average grade of 7 per cent. which is surmounted by means of a system of racks and cogs

THE TOWN OF BUSRA

At the head of the Persian Gulf below the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. It was selected by the English as the base from which to land their troops for the attack on Bagdad, 200 miles away

great central route, only one part of the strategic idea underlying this great operation had been accomplished. What had been done was in itself great—the actual joining of hands of Germany and Austria with Bulgaria and Turkey; but the conception of what lay beyond was far greater. Leaving out of consideration for the moment whatever schemes the Teutonic Powers entertained for territorial acquisition southward and eastward, other positive advantages were at once derived from their successful invasion of Serbia. These may be briefly stated as follows:

In the first place all the troops that formerly were held along the Serbian border and a great number of those that had been necessary for the observation of Rumania were released. They footed up to more than 300,000. In the second place, the Entente Allies were made to concentrate at least 150,000 troops at Saloniki which were there held by Bulgarian forces; 100,000 Entente troops were detained in the Ægean Islands and on the Gallipoli Peninsula, while in Egypt, due to the continuing threat against the Canal, fully 200,000 British troops were stationed

BAGDAD OF THE "ARABIAN NIGHTS"

The strategic point commanding the trade route to India which Germany is trying to control in order to strike at the British Empire in India in her policy of "drift to the East"

Against all these forces, in total number between 450,000 and 500,000, attracted to the east and there held, Germany did not have to use a single army corps. Moreover, in order for the Entente Allies to carry on their operations in this wide area with any air of conviction or hope of success, many more troops would have to be added to those already on the ground. Such troops were on the way in many transports heading for Alexandria, for Saloniki, and other unrevealed bases when still no definite indication had been given as to where or when the next Germanic thrust would be developed. All these troops, it must be remembered, were taken away from a possible reinforcement in the decisive theatre of war in western Europe.

Likewise, the Italians were compelled to send about 60,000 of their troops across the Mediterranean to Tripolitania to meet with the contagion spreading along the northern coast of Africa from the Turco-German threat on Egypt, and about 40,000 more were shipped across the Adriatic into Albania, a total of approximately 100,000 men.

So much for the definition in men of the opening up of communications across Serbia and the Near East. There is a further definition in material. The Bulgarian grain fields with their supply of cereals were hooked up to Austro-German markets, and in addition wheat from Rumania, which had commercially remained neutral, was imported. In Serbia five or six workable copper mines were taken over and those of Asia Minor made potentially available for the use of the Central Empires. At Arghana Maaden, about 150 miles southeast of Erzerum, is one of the largest copper mines in the world.

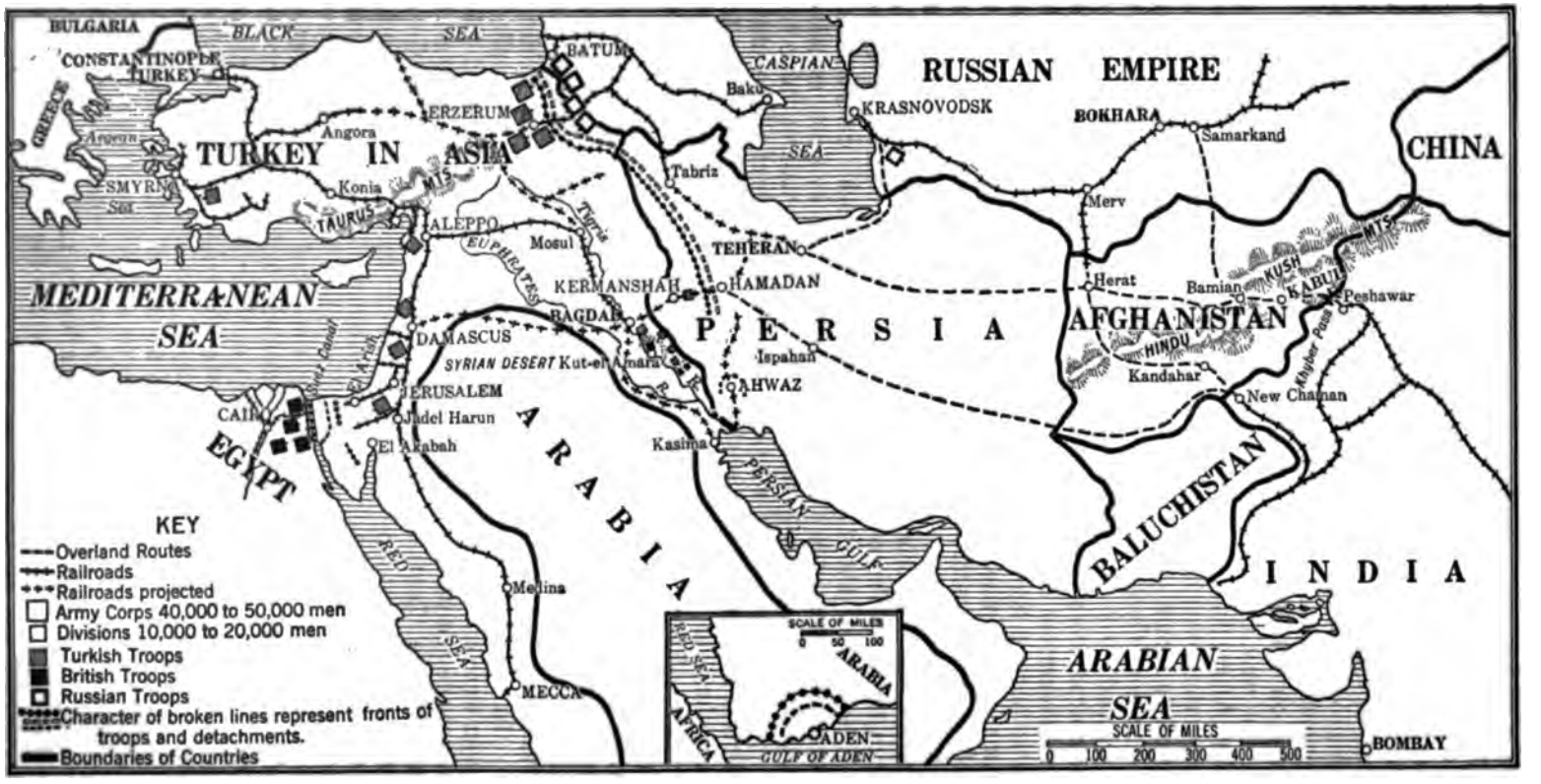
Before they had marched a foot along the open road to India and Egypt, the opening up of that road by the elimination of Serbia provided the Central Empires with the two most important staples, wheat and copper, which they need economically; more than 300,000 troops were liberated for use elsewhere, and more than 500,000 Entente troops were forced to leave other theatres of operations in western Europe and go to the Near East.

But Germanic plans contemplated more than mere threats in January. They involved a conception of an attempt to destroy a great part of the British Empire by an actual attack on Egypt and India, with insurrections incident to such an attack throughout the French and Italian possessions in northern Africa and in the Mohammedan populations of Russian territory bordering on Persia.

In this grand conception there is nothing new. It is merely a reiteration with variations of the central ideas put forward in Napoleon's time; that is to say, in a war between a continental and an insular Power the water must in theory eventually give way to the land because, the land being the productive element, if enough of it is held by the continental Power no sufficient territory will be left the insular Power from which to draw needful supplies and trade. This idea, entirely tenable in theory, is by no means borne out in fact, and it forms only a very small part of the Central Powers' strategic calculations. Still another ingredient in those calculations may be the peace-making value by way of barter and exchange of all the additional territories they may be able to annex before the end of the war. These are the general ideas of an actual offensive along the road to India and Egypt.

Now the agencies through which the attempt will be made to bring these things about hinge principally on Turkey and the Mohammedan world, with the guiding intelligence of technical experts supplied by the Teutonic Empires. Beyond the detailing of such military directorates and organizational bodies, probably few German or Austrian troops will be used. The carrying out of this plan involves an attack on Egypt by a Turkish army marching across the Sinai peninsula directly against Suez Canal looking for, but not dependent upon, Mohammedan insurrections in Egypt and the neighboring territory of Tripolitania, Algeria, and Morocco. At the same time an active military reconnaissance of Persia and Afghanistan for an attack on India has been planned. In these areas, emissaries are and have been busy, just as they were in the Balkans, ever since the war began.

For an actual campaign against Egypt,



THE TURCO-GERMAN THREATS IN THE NEAR EAST

This map illustrates the general plan of the Turco-German operations in the Near East and the lines along which they may attempt to carry them out. The general idea is twofold: to strike at the British Empire in India and Egypt; and also against the Russian Empire in the Caucasus and the Trans-Caspian country, by means of a general rising of Persians and Afghans assisted by Turkish and a few German troops. An element of controlling importance in these plans is the railroad system in Turkey. During the last year an incredible amount of work has been done and now the "Bagdad Railway" is practically a reality as it has been completed to and beyond Mosul on the Tigris River, while work is progressing north from Bagdad. Railroad construction is proceeding east from Angora and in the vicinity of the Suez Canal, while great masses of railroad material of all sorts are being shipped from the Central Empires to Turkey. The map indicates the lines along which the new railroads will be built. The Turkish operations against the Suez Canal are largely in the nature of a threat and whether they are pushed or not will depend on developments in other theatres. To stop the Turkish moves into Persia, the Russians have been hitting hard from the north and the British from the south along the Tigris River toward Bagdad. The Russians during January had some successes in the Caucasus and extended their control over northern Persia. The British attempted to relieve their force at Kut-el-Amara which was cut off by the Turks

Turkey had in January a force of 200,000 first-line troops easily available. The great difficulty confronting such a campaign was not men; it lay in the transportation of men and supplies to the actual theatre of operations in an attack on the Canal itself, a position which had been made one of tremendous strength. It has repeatedly been demonstrated that small forces of from fifteen to thirty thousand men are able to cross the Sinai peninsula from Palestine to Suez. The latest example of this ability of a considerable number of troops to advance rapidly across and to subsist in the desert occurred a year ago, in February, 1915, when the Turks threw a column of about 25,000 men across this desert in a little more than two weeks, carrying bridging material with them for crossing the Canal. And they actually did cross the Canal; they actually did get some hundreds of their Nizams on the south bank, only to have them immediately driven back again.

THE CHARACTER OF THE ROAD

The marching of 200,000 men across this area, however, presents far greater difficulties in transportation of munitions and rations and in the procuring of water. For heavy transportation purposes the railroad from the Bosphorus by way of Konia, Adana, Aleppo, and Damascus to the nearest permanent rail-head north of the Suez Canal, a distance of about 200 miles, near Jadel Harun, is now in working condition, with standard gauge throughout, and, with the recent completion of the great tunnel through the Taurus Mountains, forms a continuous military route.

Across the intervening 200 miles of Sinai peninsula desert, work had been proceeding for more than a year on light military railroads which reached away southward toward the Suez Canal. By the end of January, 1916, more than half of the intervening distance had been traversed. From the Bosphorus to Jadel Harun the rail distance is about 1,200 miles, and over this long line of communications all munitions, military equipment, artillery, most of the men, and a very large proportion of food supplies necessary to an Egyptian expedition will have to be brought. So long as the Mediterranean is dominated by the fleets of the Entente Allies nothing can be brought by sea.

The newly opened country through which these twelve hundred miles of railroad run, however, furnishes a very considerable amount both of food supplies and of the raw products necessary for war-time manufacturing. In Anatolia the Turks raise most of the vegetables and fruits that can be grown in a temperate climate, and farther south their Syrian brothers cultivate a sub-tropical soil very thriftily. In Asia Minor there has often been an overproduction of cereals, and in that territory now more than fourteen million acres are planted in grain. The city of Smyrna has become a great centre for flour mills. The cotton industry, once quite large, but dying out before the war, has been greatly stimulated during the last three years. In 1912 the Cilician plain at the foot of the Taurus Mountains produced 115,000 bales of cotton as against 80,000 bales the year before. In other areas the production of cotton shows gains almost as great. In Palestine, especially among the agricultural colonies of Jews and Germans, agriculture has been almost feverishly developed; about 150,000 acres are now under cultivation, the chief products being cereals, cotton, and fruit. It was, in January, already possible to get copper from the mines at Arghana Maaden, southeast of Erzerum, and oil from Hit, on the Euphrates.

All this added reality and probability to the threat value of the Central Powers' position. There was, and there may continue to be for some months, the general threat southward and eastward from the Bosphorus against all that portion of the British Empire from Port Said to Bombay, which is geographically and politically open to attack. The railroad line from Scutari to Aleppo was the spine of this threat. But there was also in this wide area an interthreatening relationship of lines of communication. The branching of the open road to the East means a close interrelation of widely separated masses of troops which can be rapidly thrown east or west to reinforce one another. It has been said that the failure of a Turkish expedition against Egypt would be fatal to

major Turkish operations during the war. But the Central Powers, even if they would, cannot keep all their eggs in one basket, and most probably they do not wish to do so. Troops used against the Canal could, if need arose, be thrown into the Mesopotamian theatre and, conversely, some of the army corps fighting on the Tigris would be available either for operations in the Caucasus or on the Sinai peninsula. Such is the advantage of interior lines, especially when they are steel lines, German-built, and German administered.

The chart on page 562 will show how this long spine of the continuing threat, beginning in the Haider Pasha station, which you can see across the Bosphorus from Stamboul, winds south through mountainous Anatolia to a point about forty-five miles northeast of Aleppo, where it forks into two branches, one running almost due south and the other straight eastward.

All of this main line worms its way southward across the main plateau of Anatolia. Nearly all the way the German engineers were successful in dodging, by the use of detours and grades, the mountains which traverse Asiatic Turkey, but they ran into the Taurus range which cuts squarely across any railroad survey from Constantinople to the Egyptian frontier and rises to an altitude of from seven to ten thousand feet. It is through this range that so much labor and time have been expended in the completion of a tunnel, which, according to very recent information, was finally opened in January. Since that time it has been no longer necessary to break bulk and portage over the snowy passes of the Taurus.

About 175 miles from Scutari a branch feeder of this main Bagdad line runs off eastward beyond Angora, a total distance of about 140 miles along the surveyed line which is eventually intended to connect the Bosphorus with the northeastern part of Asiatic Turkey. In that region is situated Erzerum, the great central Turkish depot of supplies for Ottoman armies operating against the Russian invasion.

Fifty miles south of the great Taurus tunnel the main line of the railroad approaches the Mediterranean as closely as *twenty miles* at Adana, and branches connect it with the coast at Mersina and kanderun, on the Gulf of Alexandr The Turks have always anticipate landing by the French and English in region with the object of cutting t rail communications and consequ maintained there a full army corps.

A WELL PROTECTED RAILROAD

South of the Taurus range the mount divide. The westward chain rims Mediterranean until it grades down the hills and sands of the Sinai penin and terminates in the mass of Mt. Si on the Gulf of Suez; the eastward ran tumbled peaks throws an enveloping around through Kurdistan and into sia. Like a wedge between these di ging mountain ranges lie the valleys of Tigris and Euphrates and the deserts Syria. The branching railroads w come together near Aleppo outline great wedge; they run under the mount on their inner side, the western bra protected by them as by a rampart.

Unless you use a topographical map do not get the right idea of this Hej railroad, along the main artery of wh through Palestine and Syria, flow the rents of Turkish military life. On west of it the range which includes in north the mountains of Lebanon is cro from east to west by only one pass a able for heavy transport. On the ea it, south of Hamah, which lies midway tween Aleppo and Damascus, another r rises out of the desert to shoulder alon a parallel line. All the way from Al to Jadel Harun, therefore, the Turks' road line of supply is as well covered f attack by the lay of the land as thou was in some titanic trench.

Before the war broke out, this long road, although standard gauge throug and originally well built, had deteriorat great deal. Portions of it were varia administered under German, French, Turkish control. For more than a y however, it has under the supervisio Meissner Pasha, been rebuilt, reorgani and, very recently, reëquipped. It single track line, to be sure, but many m of sidings have been built. Under cap management a single-track railroad

well able to support enormous bodies of troops. The incapably managed single-track Trans-Siberian Railroad kept one million Russians in the Japanese war supplied with munitions and equipment, across a third of Europe and all of Asia.

If the move on Egypt, therefore, is not a threat; if it is to become a deliberately planned subordinate objective of the war, we have got to face the fact that this long line of communications is now open.

The plateau north and east of Aleppo is undulating and well watered. This is the apex of the wedge which, southward of the Bagdad railroad, widens into a scantily watered pastoral district, which gradually merges, in its central portion, into the Syrian Desert.

This is a country of savage summers, of ungoverned floods, of Babylonian and Assyrian memories. Sir William Willcocks, the British engineer, who up to the outbreak of the war was busy reclaiming the valleys of Mesopotamia by irrigation, has criticised Meissner Pasha for the roundabout way in which he has run his eastern railroad down to Bagdad. The chart will show that he has run it straight eastward from Aleppo to Mosul and thence, by the winding of the Tigris, into the city of the "Arabian Nights." But Meissner Pasha, in taking the two sides of the triangle, instead of the hypothenuse down along the more fertile valley of the Euphrates where the irrigation projects are, accomplished two useful ends of German railroad building. He kept his roadbed dry throughout the year by taking it out of the regularly flooded area, and he established a position of great strategic value flanking the Persian frontier. Charts printed before the war began indicate the line from Aleppo to Mosul as "projected." The grading for this road was finished many months ago and bridge material came through in November among the first shipments over the newly opened road through Serbia to the Bosphorus. The great lack in railroad supplies up to December was in rails. By the end of January, nevertheless, the road was open clear into Mosul. Out of Bagdad northward construction had also at that time been completed to a point thirty miles north of Samarra. The same desperate railroad building which blasted a tunnel through the Taurus stretched steel ribbons across Sinai and, before the end of March, if uninterrupted, will have brought the city of Bagdad into direct rail communication with Constantinople.

The base of all this railroad enterprise, the great base depot for the Turkish armies operating toward the Egyptian frontier and in Mesopotamia, is Aleppo. Mosul forms an excellent advance base for operations eastward into Persia.

THE CHANCE AGAINST EGYPT

The troops which constituted the reality of the threat against Egypt and which might deliver the expected drive toward the Canal were quartered in the late autumn and winter all along the Hedjaz railroad from Damascus south. The cities and towns west of the railroad were full of them, Jerusalem being one of the important headquarters. Along the coast supply points were maintained for German and Austrian submarines acting against the Entente shipping which passes through the Suez Canal. It hardly seems possible that all these men with ammunition and supplies, that all this wild railroad building can be devoted merely to a continuing threat, even though that threat maintains two or three hundred thousand of the enemy in the threatened district, away from other theatres of war.

In the year and a half which they have had to prepare, the British have constructed what seemed to be impregnable defenses along such parts of the Canal as might be subject to direct attack. Although the Canal from Port Said to Suez is 120 miles long, much of that distance lies through lakes and marshes which are regarded as impossible for troops to cross. Not more than half of its total length, then, has to be held strongly. Along the total length of their works the British side of the Canal is paralleled by railroads and a first class railroad connects them with their base at Cairo. Water transportation also is still available and the artificial waterway can itself be used by naval vessels mounting ordnance as heavy, if not heavier, than any of that mounted ashore.

To make sure of firmly holding their sixty miles of canal front about 200,000 men were necessary on the British lines in Egypt. Lord Kitchener has provided rather more than that number. For the Turks to force a crossing of the waterway and invade Egypt against such an adequate defense is a task of the utmost difficulty. To interrupt traffic through the Canal is, however, as already said, a matter of much less difficulty because if heavy artillery can be placed and maintained within six or seven miles of the Canal itself the waterway may be controlled by its fire. And once the commercial and military use of the Canal as an open highway is seriously interfered with, its immediate value, even though still held by the British, is almost entirely lost.

Therefore, once a campaign against this vital link in the Empire is actually launched, the British forces will have to take and maintain positions well in advance of the Canal properly to cover it and insure its function. Stopping traffic through the Canal means that all shipping between India, Australasia, and the Far East and the Entente home ports would be forced to go around the Cape of Good Hope or through the Panama Canal, a detour which would respectively double or triple the present distance.

There was, however, another ingredient in the strategic conception of an attack on Egypt. The Turks for many months had done their utmost to stir up the Mohammedans on the Egyptian-Tripolitanian frontier. Their propaganda was furthered through a religious-military order known as the Senussi, which is especially strong in Tripoli. It was in Tripoli, during the Italian war, that Enver Pasha, then Enver Bey, the war lord of Turkey, began the organization of the desert hordes and enlisted their allegiance. The chief flaw in this scheme is the present lack of heavy war material, particularly field artillery, available to these comparatively disorganized allies and the extreme difficulty of getting munitions and equipment to them. Nevertheless, these tribesmen had succeeded in January in driving the second or third line Italian troops back to the coast and had even gone so far as to make tentative incursions into Egypt. Considerable quantities of small arms and ammunition have been carried across to them by sailing vessels which run the blockade.

Up to the end of January no actual Turkish advance had taken place toward the Suez line. Up to that time, therefore, Turkish operations in that theatre constituted nothing more than a well sustained strategic threat.

THE ROAD INTO INDIA

There seems to have been something more than dissatisfaction behind the transfer of the Grand Duke Nicholas from the Polish front to the Caucasus. Up to January the campaign in the Caucasus had been, for the last ten months, a stand-off. First one side and then the other drove its opponent back for a few miles. But with the new year the Russians began to have a little the better of the argument in the region east of Erzerum and south-east of Lake Van. Fighting east and west was still very close to the political boundary, but soon after the Grand Duke took command the Russian forces gradually extended their strategic left flank, thrusting it deep down into Persia. In this direction not only have they occupied a great deal of territory; they have also established themselves on the flank of a Turkish line of march from Bagdad toward Teheran, and, across the desolate mountains, they stretched out their hands toward the British forces operating up the Tigris River against Bagdad. At the end of January, only 200 miles as the aeroplane flies separated the British at Kut-el-Amara from the extreme Russian left on the Bagdad-Teheran road at Hamadan. That is rather less than the distance between New York and Washington. Against this far-flung Russian line the Turks were deployed all the way from the north of Erzerum way down to the city of Kermanshah, the capital of the Persian province of the same name, which they held.

Offhand, one is tempted to compare this situation of the long line of contact and the Turkish salient into Persia with that which existed in western Poland early in the war. Change the Russian Nicholas to Hindenburg and the English

ner to Mackensen and why are the ıtions not strategically similar? There :xcellent reasons why they are not.

ı the first place, it will be remembered the Austro-German deployment nst Poland, when Poland lay like a :r U in its grip, was like a great hand ıated by such a complete network ıilroad sinews and nerves as to make it ible for the Teutons to shift their :s along exterior lines faster than the sians could make a corresponding sposition on interior lines. The exact 'erse of this relationship confronts us ıis Turkish theatre we are considering. Turks, because of the railroad building ıdy described, could shift their troops h faster against either Russian or ish attack than enemy troops could ibly be moved against them. On the h Russian supply by rail through the casus came south only to the vicinity abriz, 325 miles north by their railroad 'ey from their extreme left at Ham-ı, and even to that point it was ex-ıely uncertain. This long line of com-ıications the Russians had to guard fully, whereas the Turks and their s were operating in a friendly country. n the south the British, operating up Tigris through an alien country, were tically entirely dependent upon river sport, but Duke Nicholas himself erstood this situation perfectly. That hy in January he was making his main t through the snows against Erzerum south of Van. He understood the l necessity of bending back the Otto-armies from those advanced positions, only as an offensive measure but also defensive means of keeping his lines ı into Persia and closing the open l toward India.

BLOCKING THE INDIA ROAD

the converging British and Russian :s can once meet across the 200 miles :h separated them in January they block the road to India before it can be eled. The British came very near mplishing their share in this operation lovember, when they got within ten s of Bagdad, only to be driven back Kut-el-Amara, about 100 miles down-stream on the Tigris River. At this point, through December and January, a part of the expeditionary force, not more than 15,000 men, made a plucky stand in positions which had previously been prepared at that place. The rest of the force kept on down the river fifty miles further, where they were met by reinforcements, among which appeared the British Indian army corps which had been sent from France for a more appropriate service in the Mesopotamian river valleys.

The Turks, following hard upon the British withdrawal, succeeded in the latter part of December in completely investing Kut-el-Amara, where they made their own positions so strong that they were able to hold at bay the British relieving force which pushed its way north into contact with the besiegers with admirable precision. On the 20th of January, less than ten miles intervened between the British forces beleaguered at Kut-el-Amara and the relieving army.

The British object in this area is to capture Bagdad and from that base, at the head of navigation, to dominate the roads running eastward into Persia, thus not only preventing Turkish troops from traveling the Persian highways but also stopping the further organization of the Mohammedan population. The German field marshal, Von Sanders, is advising the Turks in their operations in Mesopotamia. The chart will show how long is the line of British communications. In estimating this situation, therefore, we must bear in mind the relative advantage of the Turks' inner lines as opposed, on the one hand, to those along the Tigris River to the Persian Gulf and, on the other hand, to the attenuated lines of the Russians northward into the Caucasus.

The Russian forces operating in northern Persia are supplied by the Alexandrapol-Erivan-Morand railroad, which comes down now a few miles north of Tabriz and which the Russians intend eventually to extend to Teheran; thence, this Slavic pacific penetration is projected eastward to Herat, in Afghanistan, at which place it will connect with their Trans-Caspian Railway from the Afghanistan border to Merv. All this region bears somewhat the

same relation to its environment that Bulgaria did six months ago to the Balkans, and here both sides have been tirelessly busy ever since the war began, on the one hand, to hold Persia safe; on the other hand, to bring its Mohammedan population, potentially sympathetic, into active coöperation with the cause of Turkey and her Teutonic allies. As German emissaries were practically and, from some points of view, unscrupulously active in Bulgaria, so Turkish and German emissaries have been intensely active in Persia. Some visible success has attended their efforts.

This important Persian stepping stone on the road to India has a population of about nine and a half millions. Mentally and physically, the Persians are a virile people, but the ruling classes have fallen into decay and exert but little influence over the country, which has been for two generations dominated, in the north, by Russia and, in the south, by Great Britain. There are, however, in Persia the makings of a very important military asset. The regular military forces of the nation consist of an army organized, recruited, armed, and instructed in a very desultory manner. These troops are organized in 79 battalions of infantry and 23 batteries of field artillery, their numbers swelled by irregular or tribal troops to the estimated additional number of about 50,000 men. The military value of these forces is at present very small, except in the case of a kind of Pretorian Guard of 2,000 men which, organized and trained by Russian officers, has been maintained at Teheran.

In addition to this nominal army, in its present condition practically worthless, there is a much more vertebrate gendarmerie consisting of about 6,000 men organized into six regiments, well equipped and armed with Mauser rifles. This efficient force has been stationed in time of peace at Teheran, Kasbin, and Hamadan, their principal work being to guard the roads through Persia. For many years their efficiency, as well as all other departments of Persian Government activity, has been greatly handicapped by the financial chaos which has existed in Persia.

Strategically, the important thing to *realize in this situation* is that most of this potential strength has been won over and organized with extraordinary rapidity by the Turks and Germans, the Turks enlisting the religious patriotism of the people, and the Germans organizing them into useful units. Persian regiments were, in January, fighting with the Turks against the Russians near Hamadan and the governors-general in several of the central and southwestern provinces had then already declared for the Turkish cause. All of this situation added interest to this part of the great eastern threat; if no actual offensive was contemplated across Persia the unrest there could not alone well attain very serious proportions, but, once a determined advance was decided upon, the chances were that the roads of Persia would be cleared.

Now as to these actual roads. The main path to India lies out through Ispahan and thence across to Kandahar, in unruly Afghanistan, where it hits the British rail-head thrown up as a long tentacle of dominion from Bombay, Haiderabad, and the rich valley of the Indus. It is a long, long way to India by this path; by the shortest reckoning, 1,400 miles. But Alexander made it with 60,000 men more than 2,200 years ago. Across a hostile or even an apathetic intervening territory, in the year 1916, it would be an impossible road for Turco-German aggression; with something like a prairie fire of defection burning ahead of the invading forces it would become a very possible road. In recent years a great deal of work has been done on the highways themselves, notably on that leading from Kermanshah to Teheran, which would be the first stage in the invading journey. The country is rich in minerals, has plenty of timber in the northwest portion and enough agricultural land to enable an expedition partially to subsist from it.

AFGHANISTAN, THE KEY TO INDIA

The same kind of Turco-German propaganda which has been preparing the way in Persia has also been going forward in Afghanistan, also a Mohammedan country containing about 6,000,000 sturdy, warlike, and ungovernable people. The region they inhabit is extremely mountainous and difficult for any kind of trans-

port. Most of it is too dry and rocky for successful agriculture, although many fertile valleys yield sufficient crops to justify export. During the last three years a good deal of work has been done on a few principal roads which, as it happens, will particularly facilitate any movement of troops coming from what has hitherto been considered by the lords of India a comparatively safe West.

Afghanistan is the iron gate to India. England, safe on all its wide sea roads, has long looked with very anxious eyes up the open land "road to India" which runs through the iron gate. Because of its wonderfully strong military position in tumbled, lofty mountains, the Afghans have been able to maintain their independence to a greater extent than has Persia, although England maintains a resident commissioner in Kabul, the capital.

Here again, as in Persia, the strategic situation is emphasized by the Mohammedan fuel and the Turco-German fuses which have been laid into it. Just north of the Afghanistan border, the vast country east of the Caspian Sea is peopled by 5,000,000 additional Mohammedans who have been restive under Russian subjection since 1884. These tribes, with the unconvinced, unruly Afghan mountaineers, emphasize the latent threat on the last stage of the road to India. With the exception of Turkey and Persia, Afghanistan is the only independent or semi-independent Mohammedan country now in existence, and through it the Turco-German fuse of propaganda has been widely spread, extending thence even into India, where it has already started small fires of local uprisings. The Afghans have an arsenal for making small arms at Kabul and also possess a small number of modern Krupp field guns. They had sufficient small arms at the beginning of the year to equip about 100,000 men, although what they call their army consists of 50,000 men. Several years ago, Turkish officers began the organization and instruction of this body, but, due to a very understandable pressure from outside, these propagandists were dismissed in 1912.

We have called Afghanistan the gate to India. It is in reality a double gate. One swings open through the Khyber Pass on a line from the Hindu Kush Mountains, across the Indus River, into northern India. Through that gate roared the invasion of Genghis Khan in the thirteenth century B. C. and through it, 900 years later, Alexander the Great made his disciplined way. The other door opens southwestward from Kandahar on the line from Herat, in northern Afghanistan, which "turns" the Hindu Kush Mountains.

To close both these doors into India, England has built strategic railroads: opposite the Khyber Pass to Peshawar, and opposite Kandahar to Chaman, where this second railroad is closely supported by the British fortifications at Quetta, on the frontier of Baluchistan. With a loyal India behind them, this first-rate rail transportation would make the British defensive position against any invasion through Afghanistan exceedingly strong. That loyalty thus far has been one of the fine things of the war; it has made it possible for England to use Indian troops in European theatres and it ought therefore to stand the strain at home. One accomplished fact and one possibility jeopardized that loyalty. The possibility is that of Turkish success in western Persia, which would go far toward shaking the grip of the British Empire. The accomplished fact is the failure of the British operations at the Dardanelles, the by-products of which have been inevitably a loss to British prestige and a corresponding gain to a traditional but almost forgotten Mohammedan military glory.

Here, then, lies the road to India, one end of it on the banks of the Danube, the other end fading into the sunrise, into the heart of the inscrutable East. One third of it is matter of fact; two thirds of it is a matter of continuing threat.

WHY NOT BE WELL?

SIMPLE, CHEAP, AND EASY WAYS TO CONSERVE VITALITY AND PROLONG LI
HOW SOME DISTINGUISHED MEN HAVE "COME BACK" FROM PHYSICAL BREAKDOWN TO ABOUNDING HEALTH—AVOIDING THE PERILS OF THE FATAL FORTIES

BY

HENRY WYSHAM LANIER

PERHAPS you think you are perfectly well? I haven't the pleasure of your acquaintance, but the chances are about 100 to 1 that you are not as well as you might be—haven't as much working power, aren't making as much money, or getting as much fun out of life.

Or you may be one of the millions who know this from irresistible internal evidence, but have concluded it's not worth while to try to do anything about it.

In either case, let me tell you a story—several stories—mostly of people you know about, and who occupy large space in "Who's Who."

The first of these is "The Wrinkle in the Professor's Vest:"

In 1898 there was at one of our great universities a young man of thirty-one, who had just been advanced to the chair of political economy after distinguishing himself by eight years of striking work in mathematics and economics. He was already the author of books on the Infinitesimal Calculus and geometry which had been translated into Japanese, German, and Italian, and a brilliant career clearly lay before him.

Then came the thunderbolt. He was informed by his doctor that he had a well-developed case of tuberculosis. And, after the belief of those days, his one chance for his life was to give up his work and go to the altitudes of Colorado.

He went. Using one of the first outdoor sleeping tents and following the regimen carefully for seven months, he was pronounced cured. But to his dismay he presently found that he was not regaining his strength or working power.

So he tried California, and for more than two years he suffered all the ag of an active-minded man longing to back to the life work which absorbed thoughts, but forced him to live in e without even the satisfaction of kno what was wrong. The results were pain obvious and incapacitating, but the ph cians seemed at a loss to locate the ca

At length he could stand the life longer. Determining that it was be to "burn out than rust out," he retur to his university chair. Anything preferable to the purposeless waiting.

The change was bad enough, even w the work to occupy his mind. He fo himself unable to walk half a mile with sitting down to rest. In his lectures, seemed to be working against resistan and sometimes felt he could not go on all. He had no power of memory; the flowing ideas were dull and stagnant.

Thinking his diet might be at fault, went systematically to work to disco the facts. He consulted one of the fi most authorities, studied the problem a it were a mathematical one, set him like a trained scientist, first to dem strate, then to act; and with quiet cour and persistence he investigated and perimented in the light of all the f knowledge he could secure.

At the end of three rather miser years he was only slightly better. On when he went to Chicago to preside a meeting of a national scientific asso tion, he almost fainted in the chair.

In desperation he resolved to con a doctor whom he had often heard ca a fakir, but who he understood had a markable record of repairing brok down human machines.

He went to this man and told hi

he had been doing. Prejudiced as as, he fully expected to have the doc- leclare that he must stop everything ad been eating and use only some of wn patent health foods.

his surprise, the doctor remarked, he had finished his account:

Vell, Professor, I think you're doing y well: you've corrected through your experience some of your specialist d's food errors. But I don't think trouble is mainly one of diet."

ter years of concentrated effort on this was somewhat disconcerting.

n Heaven's name, what is it, then?"

Vhy, there's a wrinkle in your vest."

ıe professor was a dignified man. this was a life-and-death matter for

His first prejudice grew more acute. rest *was* wrinkled, but—

What's that got to do with it?" he ınded.

f I were to examine you, I'd find a de underneath in your abdomen."

Vell, what of it?"

Moreover, I could put my finger right ur sensitive spots on your spine."

his is pretty big talk," thought the ssor, more and more convinced that ad made a mistake in coming at all. ever, he consented to an examination.

don't know yet," he confessed after- , "whether all the gentleman told me correct or not. But I'll swear to one : he did find three sore spots on my which I didn't know about. There no mistake about those, the instant uched them."

'our liver is enormously enlarged rked the doctor, as he "tapped out" organ. "It's pretty clear what your trouble is."

BAD POSTURE, BAD LIVER

went on to explain that the portal lation—the great vein and its system carries blood between liver and ach—is capable of holding practically ıe blood in the body. When a man himself erect there is a steady pres- of the flat abdominal muscles on these vessels which prevents them from up too much with blood, thus auto- ally controlling this reservoir; but the posture that produces a wrinkle in the vest causes such a strain when these dilators and contractors are called upon for their work that after a time they may relax. The result may be a tremendous settling of blood in this whole region, giving rise to a condition when tuberculosis and many other ills find a field prepared for them.

"All your symptoms," said the doctor, "can be explained by the fact that too much of the blood in your body was down there. You can't wonder your brain refused to work when it wasn't getting enough blood supply."

He manipulated the professor a few minutes, and then "tapped out" the offending organ again. "I've reduced your liver half an inch," he announced. "You should wear a belt I'll give you for a while, and then there are some exercises which will straighten matters out, till you learn how to stand and sit once more."

All this seemed a bit cocksure and sudden to the professor. After that black six years it was too much like a get-rich-quick scheme.

REBORN IN A WEEK

"See here, Doctor," said he, "suppose I do all you tell me: how long ought it to be before I see signs of improvement?"

"Oh, you ought to feel a lot better in ten days," returned the other casually. "And in six or eight weeks you should be able to do twice as much work as you've been doing."

There was a gleam in the professor's eye. "I'll try it out," said he. At least this was one of the humbugs that could be "nailed" at comparatively small cost of time or money.

He went home. He followed instructions exactly, finding little relief from the belt, but much from the pressure and gravity treatment and the strengthening exercises. In a single week he felt literally as if he had been reborn. He kept at his schedule. In a month he looked back and found he was doing double the amount of work through which he had been painfully dragging—and doing it easily.

That was ten years ago. The professor became what my friend Dave calls a "bug"

on hygienic living: he found out by careful tests on himself a great many things about food, air, exercise, and "poisons." He declares that as a result his capacity for work has steadily increased throughout this decade. He has been writing an important book a year in his own special line, besides dozens of articles, monographs, and pamphlets; he is an active member of a score of learned societies, and the moving spirit in any number of public health efforts. Indeed, it is said that most of the important health work in America centres in his library through his connections, influence, and enthusiasm. Certainly all the facts pass over his desk, either before, or as soon as, they are facts.

Yet you may spend a whole day with him and talk of many absorbing things without detecting the least sign of strain or hurry. He is handling this large and complicated network of interests without any wear of the bodily or mental machine.

All because he made one previously neglected adjustment of the bodily mechanism and stood up straight!

Here's another, about "The District Attorney Who Came Back."

There is a physical director in charge of one of the big city Y. M. C. A.'s whose special job has become to repair manhandled human machines. Some years ago he had a call from a famous district attorney. The man was in the clutches of neurasthenia. From the brilliant, dashing lawyer who had made a national reputation, he had dropped to a nervous invalid, afraid of everything, ready to quit.

"Doctor, I'm through," he said. "Is there any hope for me?"

Anybody who knew the man in the least needed nothing but this question to comprehend what he had been through.

The director questioned him, examined him, cheered him up, got him enough encouraged to make an effort.

THE VIRTUES OF PERSPIRATION

He started in on a schedule of half time at his office, the rest at a system of carefully planned exercises. It had probably been years since that man had been in a good healthy sweat from muscular exertion. He had perspired only in Turkish baths, which have their virtues, bu leave one weaker, not stronger. T tor began work on the primitive of the trunk, legs, and shoulders- ming, slow running, medicine ba an hour a day a companion, a fellow," joked and encouraged, ' horse" as boys play who feel their

The D. A. was accustomed to good living—and innumerable ci lighting one after another with t vous haste which is far more a trouble than the cause of it. cigarettes were stopped and h down to one cigar after lunch more after dinner.

Presently he was started at goli two months he began to take handball competitions with as m for the game and for winning a shown in his political career.

And at the end of three month in better physical trim than he in thirty years, as full of fight a as ever and so well launched on habit of life that no further sp was needed.

I have an idea there are at leas men in the cities of the United day who could take some of tha tion with advantage.

CURED BY COURAGE

In those already prehistoric the New York subway was b there was a young fellow whose collect money for the Y. M. C. A a good collector, energetic and e

There was an epidemic of typ about that time in the sectio which the subway ran, and a some distinguished members of Hundred, young E. contracted t

It was a bad case. When he there was only half of him left— 155 pounds had dropped off alon nails and such accessories. The looked like a feebly animated sl

Neither his strength nor his we back. For a whole year his te stayed above 100, his pulse at went away for a short while, but good. One doctor after anothe he had tuberculosis and his one

et to a sanitarium: he kept on till he
d a doctor who said he didn't have it
d decided he'd believe that one.
e tried all sorts of wild things—in-
ing a hydropathic cure in which he took
aths in mountain streams, but temper-
e and pulse continued their abnormal
e. Indeed, he became such an inter-
g "case" that at one time he had three
our doctors taking daily records of
e matters. "But," says he, "it made
so nervous after a while to see that
ator in the bulb jump up that I cut
hat out."
resently neuritis set in, with that tor-
g pain which it produces. It started
is neck. After a while it went to his
: that arm became useless. It dropped
s foot: he couldn't walk.
e consulted a famous specialist. He
ted the truth.
Well," said the doctor, "there's just
thing certain: you can't live if you
in New York. There may be a
ce for you if you go to Nassau, in the
t Indies."
here wasn't any neuritis in the young-
s grit.
I'm not going to Nassau," he declared.
I going to stay in New York. And
not going to die, either."
he doctor hadn't stopped being a man
I he became a great specialist. "By
!" said he. "If that's the way you
it, stay—and come to me any time,
t or day, and I'll see you through.

IMAGINARY CANCER

e needed all he had, and his doctor
d, too, during the ensuing year. The
itis jumped to his side, and all the
rances he could get couldn't convince
that he didn't have cancer. Then
day he met a former friend in the
t. Struck by his haggard looks, E.
d what was wrong.
've got cancer," whispered the other
ily. "The doctors all tell me it's only
itis, but I know they're just trying to
eal the truth from me."
walked on. "Thunderation!" he
imed to himself. "You're not going
like *that*, are you?"
he faced the pain manfully; faced,
too, the many Job's comforters who felt it their duty to warn him against the fatal optimism which hid from him the fact that he was dying of consumption; and in his dispiriting boarding-house he decided that, just as far as he could, he was going to live a normal life.

Each day he would make an effort to go to work. Sometimes he'd get to the office, sometimes not; but always next morning he'd start at least. Some days he'd work a couple of hours; occasionally he'd be able to put in almost a full day.

The other men in the office admired his pluck, helped where they could, cheered him on; and he stuck grimly to his job.

He had no theories of diet, but selected what food he found agreed with him from the boarding house table; he took no exercise except his walking about; he found a doctor who told him that any man who would be hurt by a couple of cigars a day was hardly worth keeping alive anyhow, so he held to this moderate tobacco comfort; he slept with his windows wide open; he had never used alcohol in any form.

"I just used a little horse sense, and made up my mind I would get well, and meanwhile did my work."

It was slow: for years he suffered from drenching night-sweats, never going to bed without two hot-water bottles, and with codein tablets beside him.

Then one day he ran across a book called "The Efficient Life." "I got another slogan from that book: 'Pick out the important things and let the rest slide.'"

So he set out to do one really important thing every day, or every week, as he was able, and to think of that alone, and get the satisfaction of it.

This proved a rock foundation for his daily life: it gave him hope and that proper pride in accomplished work without which mental health is not.

All these years he had a perfect obsession that if he could only gain weight (he had finally come back to 110 pounds) he'd be all right again. His dieting produced no special results, but at the end of three years he found himself gaining in strength a little. There followed a period almost more trying than the first black days, for each slight improvement would be fol-

o his former weakness. The intervals of betterment grew longer and longer, however, and his courage was by this time proof against anything.

At the end of six years E. found himself a well man once more. That was ten years ago. He has been doing a full man's work happily ever since, and his confident power as he tells the story is a striking object lesson of the fact that makes most difficult the adequate use of what science has learned about health, namely, that a man's physical welfare is largely in his own hands.

SOME BIG MEN WHO RECOVERED

I could go on indefinitely with these tales. There's the case of two of the best known business men in the United States, conducting vast manufacturing and advertising campaigns, who came to a sanitarium in a pitiable state of nervous prostration—and found that all they needed was rational food and exercise; the manager of one of the largest New York clubs who has worked out a scheme of life that takes care of these necessities while keeping his place in the city rush; the proprietor of one of the biggest hotels in Atlantic City, who takes his vacation each year by spending several months with the man who first showed him how to live; the ex-President who lost eighty superfluous pounds by diet and exercise, to the prodigious increase of his working powers; and so on, longer than you would read.

Diseases of the digestion, of the circulation, and of the respiratory system are responsible for more than four times as many deaths as tuberculosis of the lungs. And these are mainly the results of wrong living habits, of maltreatment of the bodily machine. Indeed, the life insurance companies have recently shown that the death rate from diseases of the heart, arteries, and kidneys have almost doubled in fifteen American cities during the last thirty years. The increase in the total registration area between 1900 and 1910 was 19 per cent. Arterio-sclerosis eased 250 per cent. in ten years, r cent. in the same period. ıe period this rate has lining in most coun-

Although we have enormously i the chance of life in infancy an the man of 40 or 50 has to-day fe to live than his father had, ar fewer than his grandfather.

MORE CHILDREN, FEWER GRAN

Chronic diseases, which are, as Kellogg says, "a home product," 600,000 people every year in th States—and though wonderful being done by government, state, health boards in controlling the eases, these largely preventable necessary results of wrong livin creasing steadily. A recent care too, of conditions in New Jersey belief that mental defectives doubled in number in the last g And it has been repeatedly pointe along with other highly civilized our proportion of centenarians decreasing from the former 1 in which is only one eighth as large garia, for instance. At the oth the age scale, although impro milk supplies has reduced infant by one third, there seem to be children born with innate defe stitution as there were half a ce Witness the remarkable figures by Dr. Thomas D. Wood, of University, showing that of the children in the public schools:

One million have flat fe curvature, or other deformities grave to interfere with health.

One million have defective h

Five million have defective v

Six million suffer from malnu

Ten million have defective te

Six million have adenoids, tonsils, or cervical glands n tention.

Fifteen million children hav defects sufficiently grave to req tion and seriously to threat usefulness, or even life in later y

THE PENALTIES OF SI

The meaning of this is, of cour have radically altered our livi the last century. We are pa of one-sided fast living, of

ies and minds without adjusting them
:he increased strain on the one hand,
the lack of proper activity on the other.
sensible person expects Society to go
kward; but it would seem like common
:e to know enough about a mechanism
it it to the demands upon it. One ex-
: figures that 60 per cent. of the people
\merica whose ancestors were engaged
)utdoor work, or in work calling for
:cular effort, are now indoors and work-
day after day without enough physical
vity to put them into a perspiration.
n the mechanic watches a machine,
trainman's brakes are set by air, the
ıer rides a sulky plow, everybody tele-
nes or takes a trolley. And at the
e time the ends of the earth are scoured
new foods, all the resources of science
drawn upon to put before us a table of
ıries such as our forefathers never
ımed of.

ıst consider the simplicity of the meth-
which changed the men spoken of
ve from hopelessness to health: no sur-
l operating, no drugs, nothing but the
c of hygienic living.

ne trouble is, of course, what a famous
ienist calls the "low ideal of health"
:h satisfies the average man's ignor-
:. "I have a very intimate friend,"
he, "who is suffering from diabetes,"
ich by the way kills almost as many
)le as typhoid fever). "I've fre-
ıtly seen him when his hand trembled
hat he couldn't raise a cup of coffee
ıout spilling it: he'd have to bend over
drink it from the cup in the saucer.
when I was telling him my experi-
: at the sanitarium, he remarked:
;, Blank's a good man and that's
)nderful plant he has. If there was
thing the matter with me, I'd go
e quick.'"

ıost people who come back from a
th or two in the woods realize that
' do not know ordinarily what it is to
vell, to have real control of their vital
:s. And because the human body is
most adaptable and long-suffering
hanism of which we have knowledge,
' get along somehow and are content
it is no worse.

)nsider the situation one moment: Here you are in supreme control of what has well been called an "industrial plant," a congeries of elaborate mechanisms, employing subtle mechanical, chemical, and electrical processes, all working together to produce that complex miracle of human life. Have you ever spent an hour finding out whether you are running this delicate machinery intelligently? What would happen to a motor-car or a lawn-mower that was handled as most human machinery is? Yet a type-setter or a steam hammer or the most intricate mechanism used by man is simplicity itself compared to the human body.

Take just one point: it would be a stupid motor-car owner who waited till something went radically wrong before having adjustments and circulation and valves looked over. But it is only comparatively recently that the idea has been applied of examining a human being before he shows signs of trouble. Probably, too, not one out of a hundred readers of this ever heard of the first organized effort along these lines, the Life Extension Institute. This movement is aimed primarily at the individual: it offers him, first of all, for a small fee, the facts about himself; and then the laws of hygiene as formulated by a Reference Board of a hundred of the most distinguished physicians and sanitarium and laboratory workers. Ex-President Taft is the chairman of the board of directors, Prof. Irving Fisher heads the Reference Board, and General Gorgas is the consultant in sanitation.

We have all learned of late years that it pays to go to a dentist once or twice a year, before a tooth begins to ache; how much more worth while to use the blood pressure, auscultatory, and other tests devised by modern science to find out in advance the tendencies or weaknesses which may cause trouble later! For it is possible nowadays to detect hardening of the arteries, Bright's disease, diabetes, and so on, months or years before they manifest themselves to the individual affected; and the chances of cure or amelioration are, of course, immeasurably increased by this advance knowledge.

This is the big new principle of health: *find out your sickness before it happens.*

EXPORTING AFTER THE WAR

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

ONE of the chief questions which seems to bother embryo exporters is that of retaining export trade after the war ceases. This is a fundamental point and one that every prospective exporter should look into.

Now export trade, like every other form of business, is conducted solely for profit, and unless the business that is secured leads to an acquisition of customers—not merely one-time purchasers—the exporting endeavor may be considered a failure.

The real struggle to retain trade will come with those goods which are neither novelties nor yet staples which can be manufactured at low cost in any country. I make these two exceptions because, first, the American novelty has never been successfully imitated by any foreign competitor, and second, no American would endeavor to compete abroad with staple products which can be manufactured in the consumer's country more cheaply than in the United States. In the sale of all other goods than those just excepted, the American manufacturer must show himself a better source of supply than that which existed before his advent into the sphere of such a customer, or he must expect that the only customers which he will keep will be those whose inertia will sooner or later prove them to be undesirable from their lack of capability to conduct their own business successfully. Furthermore, very little trade will be retained by manufacturers who have made no provision for earning the retention of foreign patronage. And unless the manufacturer has a real and earnest desire to sell goods abroad which enables him to appreciate the fine points of the game and to feel chagrined over any mistakes which may occur, he has not even a fair chance of success in foreign trade.

One obvious way to analyze our ability to hold trade secured in foreign markets the war is to compare it with a domestic trade secured under conditions. Let us take "A," a soaps in the United States wh competitor, "B," is forced for of several years to retire from the market. Under what conditio worth while for "A" to endeavor the trade formerly the property The answer is simple: "A" sh attempt it unless he feels that hold the field against the retur and unless he is confident tha "B's" absence he can overcom and hold the business gained d very active and constant efforts

Now what is there in mere to modify this situation? Tra the lines of propinquity or whether it be the corner drug st kosh or the firm of many million Aires. Europe is no closer to the world than the United Preference comes from appreci surely, in offering us greater op to bring our goods to the attenti whose appreciation makes them we are merely capitalizing an op for us exactly similar to that w seeking to make and then cap at home. In competition with had built up a nucleus for a trade before the war started. that, we had increased our sa the great majority of cases, ou had won favor and purchasers.

With this as a matter of r realizing that human nature is the world over, why should we f control of foreign markets an very tangible asset to those of ou prices, and policies? It is th who must produce credent coming the source of supply burden of proof on Europe. produce more than the a was we who used to serve yo

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

AN AËRO-SLED

THE use of an aërial propeller to drive rowboats, canoes, and bicycles has been frequently resorted to, and lately it has been used to drive a sled.

The aëro-sled, which will accommodate two persons, runs over smooth, clear ice at high speed and is easy to operate.

AN ELECTRIC TOY RANGE

A MINIATURE electric range that is in reality more than a toy and on which an actual meal can be cooked by electricity is a device that cannot fail to appeal to the housekeeper.

The little range is rated at 460 watts power and has one oven and six hot plates. A meal consisting of 5 pounds of roast beef, small baked and boiled potatoes, macaroni, apple sauce, stewed tomatoes, biscuits, baked custard, two kinds of cake, and two 3¼-inch diameter apple pies was recently cooked on this little range at a total cost for electrical energy of less than twelve cents. It can be readily understood that this little electric range can be extremely useful at times for heating small quantities of food or for warming meals in a hurry.

A PRACTICAL TOY RANGE
That will cook a meal for five persons at a cost of twelve cents for electrical energy

AN EXHILARATING SPORT
By means of the aërial propeller the sled skims along the frozen surface of rivers or lakes at a high speed

CONSTRUCTING A FACTORY IN ONE MONTH

Above: The start of the construction work on a factory, on October 22, 1915. Centre: The in the factory on November 22, 1915. Below: The completed exterior of the factory. A new m standardization of construction makes possible the rapid completion of the work

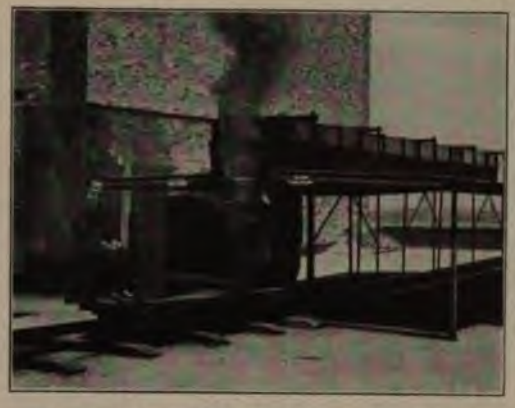
STANDARDIZING CONSTRUCTION

SELECTING factories and dwellings from a catalogue and buying them by the yard would seem an absurd idea, and yet that is virtually what a firm of contractors in Cleveland is doing and saving time and labor thereby.

In all modern industry wherever the demand is for large production at low cost and in short time the inevitable trend is toward standardization. Each automobile, each piece of furniture, shoes, and even clothes is the result of a series of standard operations, but this idea has never until recently been applied to building. If a man wants a building he has to call in an architect and an engineer who set to work and draw up plans for the building. The greater part of this work has probably been done, with the exception of some details, many times before. Then the plans have to be figured on and estimated, and finally the building is put up. But there are many parts that are essential to every building: there must be a roof, walls, windows, and floors, so that if the specifications for these were worked out beforehand a great deal of unnecessary work would be eliminated.

It was with this idea of standardization in mind that the firm in Cleveland determined to carry out their building operations and to usher in a new era in construction work. Instead of an owner having to have a building designed especially for him and instead of having contractors bidding against one another and, possibly, substituting inferior materials so as to be able to quote lower prices, he will now get in touch with various building firms, each of which has developed a series of standard types. That is a simple matter. Here is a standard building, plans ready, steel roof trusses ready, steel sashes ready, and the roofing and flooring materials accessible if desired. The building can be put up, practically in any desired size, in thirty working days. The shop of such a factory-construction company is ready with the materials, building units, and the operators and trained construction crews, directed by experienced engineers.

It is not so long ago that many articles now bought as standards were especially made to meet individual needs. A generation, or less, ago most shoes were made to order. Ready-made clothing was looked at askance and is really a development of the last two decades. Standardization has reformed every industrial activity and improved most of them. What this theory will do on a large scale in the building field is yet to be seen, but it is an idea big with possibilities.



I. FOR SMOKELESS RAILROAD SHEDS
A test locomotive entering "the smokeless station"

SMOKE REMOVER FOR TRAIN SHEDS

THE suction duct for the removal of locomotive smoke is designed to make possible the building of an entire train shed as a solid, one-story, enclosed

II. FOR SMOKELESS RAILROAD SHEDS
The same station after the locomotive has entered, with the smoke dispelled by suction

structure, above which may be built a number of floors or stories for office or manufacturing purposes, thus utilizing valuable space that is now wasted. The result would be a skyscraper or office building, with the trains running into the basement.

The illustrations are of a demonstration plant which shows the effect under actual working conditions. The locomotive used in this demonstration is driven by an electric motor, receiving its current through a third rail. Smoke is made of tar paper burned over a grate area of about ten square feet or more.

A strong blast, furnished by a high-pressure blower, forces the smoke up the stack at a velocity of approximately 3,000 feet a minute. The stack is equipped with an automatically operated shut-off gate so as to give intermittent puffs of smoke similar to that of a locomotive when in operation. Suction is maintained in the overhead duct by a suction blower. On the locomotive stack is a shoe which slides against an elongated roller, so as to avoid friction, and raises, one at a time, a series of shutters in the bottom of the duct to a sufficient height to permit the taking up of all smoke and steam ejected by the smokestack. The smoke, drawn through the overhead duct by suction, is discharged into a chimney which carries it to the open air above the top of the building, whence it is dispelled as from any ordinary chimney.

AN ELECTRIC MOUNTAIN RAILROAD

ABOUT 440 miles of railroad, in mountains between Harlo Mont., and Avery, Ida., on one o great Western railroad systems has electrified. Electric locomotives, n bling two large mail cars coupled toge weighing 260 tons each, and capab hauling 2,500-ton loads over one per grades at an average speed of sixteen an hour, receive their power from mou waterfalls.

The electric locomotives used are structed with direct-current motors are designed to carry a potential of volts. Similar locomotives geared varying speeds will haul 800-ton passe trains at a speed of sixty miles an These locomotives are more than hundred feet long, and are built to track wear and tear, minimizing the tical and horizontal blows of the dr through the use of a separate motor, t geared to each of eight pairs of dri wheels.

There are fourteen electric substa between Harlowton and Avery. T substations contain high tension elect transformers which receive their p from the waterfalls in an alternating rent of 100,000 volts, and turn it o the feed lines of the system in a 3,000 direct current.

FOUR HUNDRED MILES OF ELECTRIFIED MOUNTAIN RAILROAD

One of the great Western railroad systems has electrified one of its lines for 440 miles through the Mountains obtaining power from the mountain waterfalls

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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THE
WORLD'S WORK

APRIL, 1916

VOLUME XXXI NUMBER 6

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE German Government, after the sinking of the *Arabic*, pledged that its submarines would not sink merchant vessels without warning, and that the passengers and crews should be saved unless the ships resisted or fled. Herr von Jagow himself admitted that before these pledges were given he knew that British merchantmen were armed, as according to law and usage they have a right to be, for defense; and we have always admitted that vessels otherwise armed are properly subject to attack.

Germany's order that after March 1st its submarines would sink without warning vessels armed for defense is in violation of the earlier pledge. That pledge was but a recognition of international law which Germany had violated in killing the American passengers on the *Lusitania* and *Arabic*. The order to sink ships with defensive armament violates international law, German pledges, and our rights.

This is the "scrap of paper" theory, not against Belgium's neutrality but against ours. [illegible] it is backed by the policy of [illegible] inst us as it was against [illegible] *Lusitania* was sunk despite [illegible] e should hold the [illegible] e for such acts to a [illegible] The sinking of the [illegible] the pledges given after that sinking are now modified to suit Germany's convenience. German political propaganda has been pushed here to overawe our Government, and our factories and docks have been blown up to further German ends. This is the policy of frightfulness as applied to us, and when the peace people and pro-Germans in Congress wished to pass a resolution to warn Americans from taking passage on merchant ships armed for defense and gave as their reason that they were afraid that if we did not give up our rights in this way and allow Germany to violate its pledges and our neutrality there would be war, Germany hailed it as a proof of the effectiveness of the policy of frightfulness—rejoiced that its political propaganda and its threats against our rights could start a panic in our national legislature.

But that panic served Germany little. It aroused the President to force those afraid of and those over-friendly to Germany to show their numbers in public and to prove how weak their disaffection was. It aroused the President to take with vigor the leadership from the wobbling, meddling hands of Congress and to stand firm for American rights; and in this course, to whatever ends it leads, the people will support him. The United States is a nation. It has rights, convictions, and the courage to maintain them.

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MAKING MEXICO UNDERSTAND

WHEN Francisco Villa and his outlaw band crossed on to American soil and suddenly attacked Columbus, N. M., killing civilians and soldiers alike, he ushered in a new phase of the Mexican problem.

There have been several stages in Mexican relations with the United States since Porfirio Diaz went away from Mexico City and Madero took his place in the national palace on the Zocalo. The first period, the provisional presidency of Madero, came to an end with his assassination. The United States had recognized the Madero Government. As a nation we sympathized with the Mexican people's desire to achieve a larger measure of popular rule than Don Porfirio judged advisable for his people, and the Madero Government was generally accepted here as a sincere if not particularly effective attempt toward liberalization. There were then, however, as there are now, many Americans who did not sympathize with the revolution because they agreed with President Diaz's disbelief in the Mexicans' capabilities for self-government.

When Huerta took the Government of Mexico as a result of the murder of Madero he was not recognized by the United States. The American Government took a hostile attitude toward Huerta's dictatorship because to recognize the government of a man who achieved power by assassination is repugnant to any civilized nation, and, moreover, it would put a premium on that method of political preferment in Mexico. And there was yet another reason. There seemed to be a grave danger that under Huerta Mexico would make financial arrangements with foreigners likely to embarrass the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. A close study of the events leading up to our recent intervention in Haiti makes plain enough the possible international dangers in Mexico.

The unfriendly attitude of the United States finally forced Huerta out. The occupation of Vera Cruz was the most tangible and effective evidence of that attitude. But the expedition to Vera Cruz was not sent to f[illegible] at least it was not so stated. It was sent to force an apologetic salute to our flag. Neither from Huerta nor Carranza did we get either the apology or the salute. On the contrary, the correspondence of both was far from apologetic, despite the fact that many Americans were killed in Mexico and much American property destroyed. Nor were the special emissaries who were sent to Mexico any more effective than our correspondence. Consequently our desire to be patient with Mexico because of its internal difficulties began to take on an aspect of impotence and vacillation. Instead of appearing as a strong and forbearing neighbor helping a weak brother to self-mastery, we appeared somewhat as a bungling busybody who was forced to put up with a good deal of insult and injury without having the intelligence or courage to resent it.

This unfavorable aspect of our conduct arose from the mishandling of a fundamentally wise and sound policy—a policy more far-seeing than most of the critics of our Mexican relations could have conceived. The President's policy that Mexico should be given every possible opportunity and help to govern itself is in strict accord with our better feelings toward our neighbors; it furnishes a convincing and needed proof of the disinterestedness of our Monroe Doctrine—a policy of mutual advantage to us and to Mexico and of advantage to Pan-American relations in general.

But the bungling execution of the policy tended to obscure its real meaning from the Mexicans perhaps more than from any other people. The recognition of Carranza, after we had seemed to favor Villa and after Carranza's very pugnacious notes to us, seemed to fit in with the picture of the United States as a vacillating meddler.

Out of this situation Villa emerged to attack a town on American soil guarded by United States soldiers. Villa did not so much lack respect for American troops as he evidently counted on the continuance of their orders to stay on their own side of the border. He evidently wa[illegible]ed between what our policy [illegible]e from its execution [illegible]nd His confus[illegible]

THE MEXICAN FRONTIER

VILLA'S RAID WAS MADE AT COLUMBUS, N. M., EARLY IN THE MORNING OF MARCH 9TH, AND HE AND HIS BAND RETREATED SOUTHWARD AND WESTWARD INTO THE MOUNTAINS OF CHIHUAHUA AND SONORA. UNITED STATES TROOPS HAVE BEEN GUARDING THE WHOLE BOUNDARY FOR MANY MONTHS, OPERATING FROM THE BORDER TOWNS INDICATED ON THIS MAP

When this chapter is concluded it is to be hoped that our fundamental aim will be just as it was—to be a forbearing neighbor trying to help Mexico find itself—and that this policy will be better understood here and in Mexico.

It is fortunate that, as we have to send troops after Villa, there is precedent for such an expedition, legalized by old agreements between the two countries that troops of either can cross the border after bandits. For this precedent could make it easier for the Mexicans to accept the situation without admitting any impairment of Mexican sovereignty. This should be useful, for it must be kept constantly in mind that the main end for which we are striving is to make Mexican sovereignty worthy of the pride which the Mexicans take in it. We have not been helping toward that end in allowing them to harbor serious misconceptions about the rights of foreigners in Mexico or about the sacredness of life and the rights of property. We have not helped if we have encouraged them to mistake friendly toleration for weakness. Therefore if we do our full duty by Francisco Villa we shall be serving Mexico in two ways—in ridding the country of a disturbing character and in making our own motives and intentions clearer than they have been. Moreover, there is every reason for the Mexicans to facilitate our efforts because, as disorder continues in Mexico, more and more Americans take the view that Mexico cannot govern itself and that we might as well intervene.

The possibility of intervention has long hung over the relations between the American Government and the governments of Mexico, for the Mexican problem is not a problem of months or even years, but of decades. The progress of civilization is slow. The art of self-government is not learned quickly. It is well for every one to have an accurate understanding of our policy, for in the years to come, as Mexico tries to work out its problems, that policy will in all probability be severely tried on many occasions. In the last analysis the success of our efforts of friendly helpfulness does not rest with us but with the Mexicans. Events have tended to suggest that the progress toward self-government in Mexico might cost more than it was worth and intervention become necessary.

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"DEAD OR ALIVE"

"PANCHO" VILLA, CATTLE THIEF, HIGHWAYMAN, AND WHOLESALE ASSASSIN, WHOSE RAID ON AMERICAN SOIL AT COLUMBUS, N. M., ON MARCH 9TH, WHEN HE AND HIS MEN KILLED A SCORE OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS, CAUSED PRESIDENT WILSON TO ORDER A LARGE FORCE OF UNITED STATES TROOPS OVER THE BORDER WITH ORDERS TO CAPTURE HIM DEAD OR ALIVE

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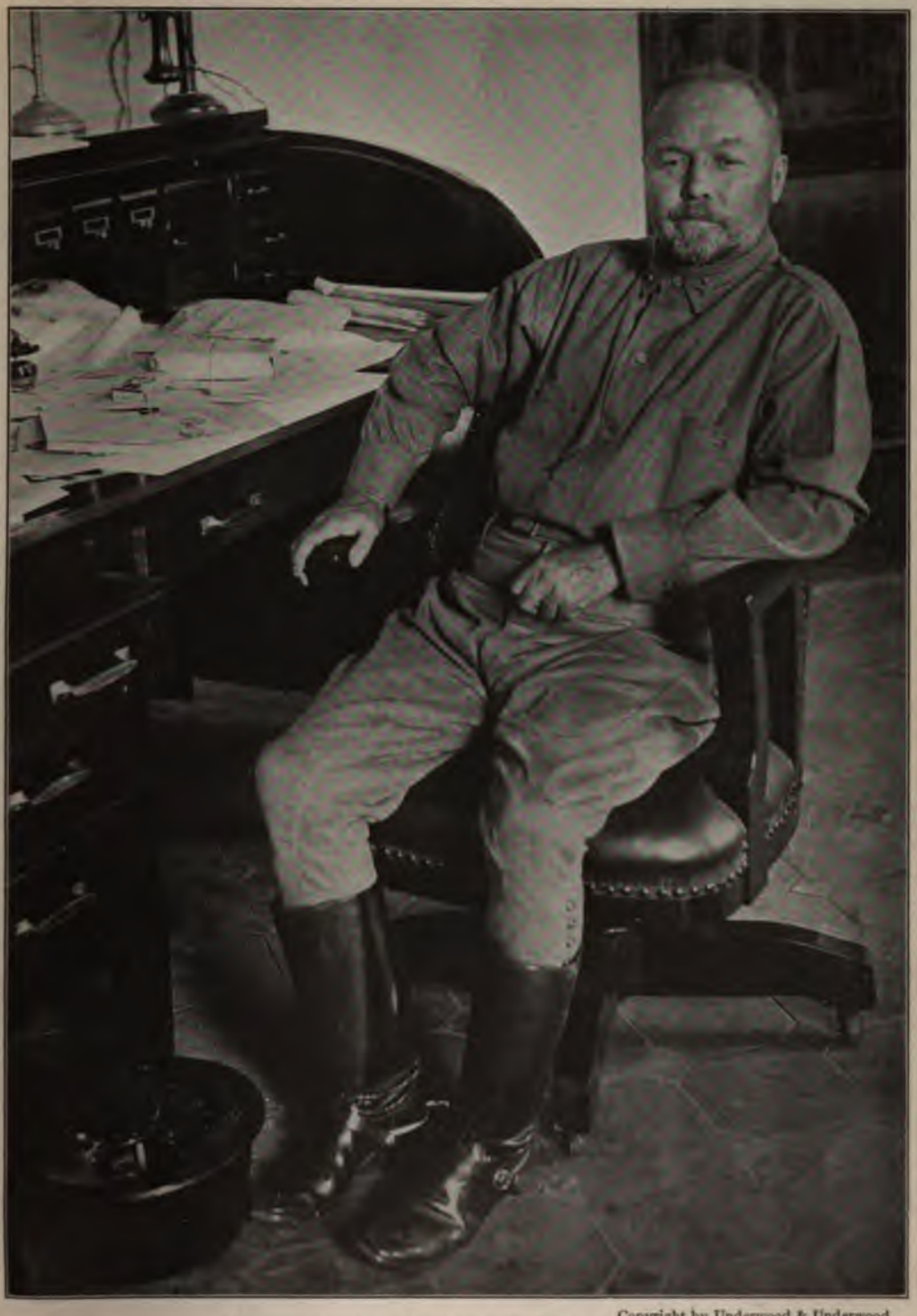
THE CHIEF OF STAFF AND THE SECRETARY OF WAR

OFFICIAL CONFERENCES BETWEEN THEM; ALMOST



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MAJOR-GENERAL FREDERICK FUNSTON

COMMANDER OF ALL THE AMERICAN TROOPS THAT HAVE PATROLLED THE MEXICAN BORDER FOR THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF FROM BROWNSVILLE, TEX., TO SAN DIEGO, CAL.; AND IN CHARGE OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE CAPTURE OF VILLA AND HIS MEN

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

COMMANDER OF THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION INTO MEXICO, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF GENERAL FUNSTON, TO CAPTURE VILLA; AND ESPECIALLY FITTED FOR THIS TASK BY HIS EXPERIENCE IN GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

SETTLEMENTS OF MORMONS IN THE STATE OF CHIHUAHUA, MEXICO

WHOSE PROPERTY AROUSED THE GREED OF VILLA AND WHO WERE REPORTED TO HAVE EEN AMONG THE FIRST OBJECTS OF HIS CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE TO FORCE THE UNITED TATES TO INTERVENE IN MEXICO. THESE MORMONS MIGRATED FROM UTAH TO ESCAPE THE "PERSECUTION" THEY SUFFERED UNDER PRESIDENT CLEVELAND FOR THEIR REFUSAL TO BANDON THE PRACTICE OF POLYGAMY, AND THEY HAVE BEEN CHARACTERISTICALLY THRIFTY ND PROSPEROUS IN THEIR MEXICAN HAVEN

A MEXICAN "ARMY" NEAR THE AMERICAN BORDER

THE MEXICAN SOLDIERS PERFORCE ECONOMIZE ON UNIFORMS, SHOES, AND PROVISIONS, BUT THEY ARE ALMOST ALWAYS ARMED WITH THE BEST MODERN RIFLES AND SUPPLIED WITH PLENTY OF AMMUNITION

AN ARMY BIPLANE, OF THE SERVICE NOW IN MEXICO

ONE OF THE FIRST ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ARMY'S PLANS FOR HANDLING THE MEXICAN SITUATION WAS THAT AN AEROPLANE SQUADRON WOULD BE SENT WITH THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION *BOTH FOR* ITS IMMEDIATE VALUE FOR SCOUTING AND FOR THE TRAINING OF THE AIRMEN *UNDER SERVICE CONDITIONS*

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UNITED STATES REGULARS AT THE MEXICAN BOUNDARY

PRACTISING A CHARGE DURING THE LONG PERIOD OF PATROL SERVICE BEFORE THE ATTACK BY VILLA FORCED THIS GOVERNMENT TO TURN THEIR ENERGIES INTO THE SERIOUS BUSINESS OF ACTUAL CONFLICT ON MEXICAN SOIL

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UNITED STATES CAVALRY OF THE MEXICAN BORDER PATROL

THE SEVERAL THOUSAND REGULAR TROOPS THAT HAVE BEEN GUARDING THE NEUTRALITY OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE INTERNAL DISORDERS IN MEXICO HAVE INCLUDED ALL ARMS OF THE SERVICE AND HAVE GAINED USEFUL TRAINING FOR THE SOLDIERS AND VALUABLE FIELD EXPERIENCE FOR THE OFFICERS

THE STATUS OF OUR NAVY

THERE has been much testimony before the naval committees in Congress concerning the present state of the fleet, and it has seemed largely contradictory. Yet it is possible to make out two vital facts very clearly:

1. Judged by dreadnaughts and battle-cruisers, our Navy is not a third as strong as England's, just about half as strong as Germany's, perhaps on a parity with France's, and stronger than Japan's.

2. In cruisers, auxiliaries, aeroplanes, and submarines we fall far short of adequate equipment for our present battleship fleet, and its efficiency as compared with the fleets of other nations is thereby considerably lowered.

There are other lesser considerations which throw light upon the situation:

We are relatively poorly supplied with yards, either public or private, for the building and repairing of ships.

The Navy is short of officers and men.

We have about thirty-seven submarines, less than half as many as Germany has lost, with about as many more building.

We have no battle-cruisers.

We have a very inadequate naval aeroplane service.

It is hardly worth while to discuss how this situation came to be. Mr. Meyer criticises Mr. Daniels, and Mr. Daniels retorts that he has gotten more ships authorized than Mr. Meyer did in an equal time. The fundamental cause is that the American people have not taken national defense very seriously. Since Mr. Roosevelt left office our Navy has steadily sunk in comparison with those of England, France, Germany, and Japan.

If we are to change our relative position in any great degree, we shall have to get into an entirely new mental attitude about naval expenditures. We shall not only have to keep relatively abreast of the building programmes of the other nations, but we shall have to make up the tonnage which we have lost in the last seven years. If we are even to approximate the President's idea of a Navy second to none, we shall have to build not one or two but *five or six first*-line ships a year besides cruisers, auxiliaries, and submarines in far greater numbers than ever before.

This is a very large task to fall on the President's shoulders, but next to the immediate handling of our foreign relations it is the most important thing before the National Government.

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

WHEN the Gore resolution and the McLemore resolution were presented to the Senate and the House respectively—resolutions designed to abandon the essentials of the position which the American Government had been upholding for nearly a year—the fact that such resolutions could be presented and the confusion which they caused gave proof again that we need a responsible government—a government in which the President and Congress shall work together and in which the President in law and custom shall be the leader.

The present Democratic majority in Congress is particularly without leadership. Mr. Kitchin, Mr. Flood, Speaker Clark, Senator Stone, Senator Kern—these men are neither national figures nor effective leaders of Congress. Without the President's dominating direction Congress is an irresponsible body. And it fights against his domination. It is jealous of its power, afraid of executive encroachment on its prerogatives.

Perhaps it was this feeling which prompted the President to cease leading Congress during the last winter in the manner he led it during the first two years of his administration. Perhaps Congress was recalcitrant and would not be led. At all events, the President did not lead the legislative branch as he had led it before; and, as it was particularly without leadership within itself, our Government has floundered pitifully before the country and before the world.

This floundering makes increasingly plain that the country must be assured of Mr. Wilson's leadership of the Democratic Party or else it must look to some other party, for there is little public confidence in the leadership of the Democratic majority in Congress.

The task of guiding the actions of the Government, of leading and crystallizing public opinion, and of putting it into force rests primarily upon the President of the United States.

Mr. Wilson described that office himself in his book, "Constitutional Government in the United States," published some time before he was in politics:

"The President is the political leader of the Nation or has it in his choice to be. The Nation as a whole has chosen him and is conscious that it has no other political spokesman. His is the only national voice in affairs. Let him once win the admiration and confidence of the country, and no other single force can withstand him, no combination of forces will easily overpower him. His position takes the imagination of the country. He is the representative of no constituency, but of the whole people. When he speaks in his true character, he speaks for no special interest. If he rightly interpret the national thought and boldly insist upon it, he is irresistible; and the country never feels the zest of action so much as when its President is of such insight and calibre. Its instinct is for unified action and it craves a single leader. It is for this reason that it will often prefer to choose a man rather than a party. A President whom it trusts can not only lead it but form it to his own views.

"It is the extraordinary isolation imposed upon the President by our system that makes the character and opportunity of his office so extraordinary. In him are centred both opinion and party. He may stand, if he will, a little outside party and insist as if it were upon the general opinion.

"The President may also, if he will, stand within the party counsels and use the advantage of his power and personal force to control its actual programmes. He may be both the leader of his party and the leader of the Nation, or he may be one or the other. If he lead the Nation, his party can hardly resist him. His office i ing he has the sagacity and the for- make it. The President is at berty law and conscience, to be i he can. His capacity will set the limit; and if Congress be overborne by him, it will be no fault of the makers of the Constitution—it will be from no lack of constitutional powers on its part, but only because the President has the Nation behind him, and Congress has not. He has no means of compelling Congress except through public opinion."

Under the system as it stands now he has not. And the frequent breakdowns of efficiency under the present system call loudly for the organization of responsible government under Presidential leadership.

TANGIBLE TREATIES

WHILE nearly every one was looking the other way, the Senate, late in February, ratified two treaties with foreign nations. The trouble in Europe is so gigantic that it either throws into shadow all other foreign affairs or involves them, and so in these instances of enduring compacts with Haiti and Nicaragua there was little comment at the time the treaties were under consideration.

But these treaties are important links in our actual interpretation of our responsibilities under the Monroe Doctrine. Each is signed with a small nation: the one with a Negro republic occupying one third of the West Indian Island of Santo Domingo, the other with one of the six small independent territories which, all together, make up what we call Central America. Haiti is about the size of Vermont; and almost as many people as the last census gave to Chicago inhabit it —88 per cent. of them illiterate. Nicaragua, not counting its great lakes of fresh water, covers about as much ground as Louisiana, and its population is about that of Baltimore.

These are two small nations, but they are of particular importance in the building up of the foreign policy of the United States. We have leased from Nicaragua, practically perpetually, naval bases—on the Pacific shore at Fonseca Bay and at the Corn Islands in the Caribbean—and we have obtained the rights to a strip along the undug Nicaraguan canal. We are in Haiti for a minimum of ten years.

In both cases the treaties are the direct

result of armed intervention. In both cases they have been received with favor by the majority of the literate population affected. Both were ratified by a non-partisan vote in an intensely partisan Senate. In neither case are they resented or regarded apprehensively by neighboring nations. They are two solid stepping-stones in the path of Pan-Americanism.

These two new foreign pacts, however, must be differentiated, the one from the other, and both from the treaty with Colombia. In Nicaragua as well as in Haiti the true conception of the new relationship places our duties higher than our rights. For three million dollars we have secured the right in perpetuity to build another canal across Nicaraguan territory in the only other possible place where an interoceanic canal can be dug, and we have secured from Nicaragua on renewable leases of ninety-nine years the two best sites for naval bases dominating both the actual and the possible canals within a radius of 600 miles of their Pacific and Atlantic termini. Nothing but war can take these rights away from us now, and their chief value to us, as well as to the nations of Central America, is in this, that they are the best safeguards against a war of conquest. The integrity of Nicaragua as an independent State is conserved, as are the independence and integrity of the neighboring republics of Honduras, Salvador, and Costa Rica.

The treaty with Haiti gives us little except solid duty without much of anything in the way of compensating right or profit. We are simply going in there for ten years to help our black brother put his disorderly house in order and to make it our particular business to see that he prospers. The treaty in this case has made a protectorate of Haiti; its independence is not in jeopardy, it is simply in abeyance. We have undertaken to collect Haiti's revenues and with them to pay its debts and the expenses of its government, including the salaries of a financial adviser and the customs collectors appointed by the President of the United States. We have undertaken to maintain good order in the Island by means of a native constabulary officered *for the present* by citizens of the United States. And all this trouble we take for the sake of those who live in Haiti and so that the United States can have the satisfaction of knowing that no European nation can now take advantage of disorder in the Black Republic to obtain a further foothold in the West Indies.

And how do the foreign nations most immediately concerned regard these stepping-stones in our foreign policy? For they are in another sense stepping-stones, adding to our strategic position around the Caribbean. Along the northern side of this central sea, like a great breakwater, lies the Island of Cuba, liberated, cleaned up, and set on its feet by this Government. Extending eastward and part of the same geological formation is the Island of Santo Domingo, made up of two republics, for both of which we are now by mutual agreement guarantors and trustees. On beyond, across the Mona Passage, our own territory of Porto Rico, seventeen times more prosperous now than under Spain, completes the northern bulwark. In the extreme west we now have our new Nicaraguan protection for the canal; south and in the extreme east we still need the good-will of two other nations: we need the good-will of Colombia, which we may gain by a recognition of that country's just claims, and we may buy from Denmark her West Indian islands lying in a clump thirty miles east of Porto Rico.

Curiously enough, the foreign nations most concerned do not regard this firmer policy of ours in the West Indies askance. We have the good-will of Europe in these firm steps. They are of very little consequence to Europe now, after all, and all that we shall find of unfavorable opinion is doubt as to whether we are competent to deal with our new responsibilities. In that doubt, Cuba counts for us: Mexico counts against us.

A PROPER HELP TO COMMERCE

THE Department of Commerce l opened a hardware exhibitio New York which is a very tan evidence of its efforts to help Ame- inuf- -ers to

ibition consists of samples of hardware ıse in various parts of the world where ericans might sell but do not. The ernment's commercial attachés col- ed the samples and the data concern- prices, transportation, freights, etc., ch goes with them. They also made ailed reports which are being published the Department of Commerce. After r months in New York the exhibition be sent on a tour to the other hardware tres of the country. The exhibition the accompanying data will serve ıy hardware manufacturers whose out- is not large enough to bear the cost of stigating markets, and it will stir the ginations of many to the possibilities of ign trade.

t is indeed an enterprising and a use- campaign which the Department of nmerce has inaugurated—for the hard- e exhibit is only a beginning. Samples ı other trades are being collected and r exhibitions are to follow.

Ir. Perry J. Stevenson, in charge of hardware exhibit, said on the day of opening:

The Department of Commerce is thor- hly permeated with the idea that it is ɔe of service to the American manu- urer. And this is only one of the first s in the development of a system of ernment coöperation with industry, which Germany and England have n the way."

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST PELLAGRA

EVIDENTLY American medical sci- ence has scored another victory in the recent pellagra investiga- s of the United States Public Health ice. Dr. Goldberger's work is de- ɔed in detail elsewhere in this maga- . Dr. Heiser's success in the treatment eprosy was also recently described. erican work in Cuba, Panama, and the ippine Islands has given our medical ers the foremost rank as sanitarians, indeed, the influence of American icine now extends throughout the d. China, under the tutelage of ericans, is about to begin the rather discouraging task of nation-wide sanitation. American dental surgery is now repairing the faces of thousands of European soldiers who, but for its ministrations, would go through life hideously deformed. The splint that binds the shattered limbs of thousands of others is the invention of Dr. Joseph A. Blake, who is himself the head of one of the largest war hospitals in France. The foremost ambulance in France is that at Compiègne, presided over by Dr. Alexis Carrel and jointly supported by the French Government and the Rockefeller Institute of New York City.

However, Americans do not have to go abroad to discover medical tasks. They can find plenty right at home. One of the severest, as Dr. Goldberger's work shows, is this new scourge which is sweeping through the Southern states. The Health Service has demonstrated experimentally that a varied and balanced diet can cure and prevent pellagra, and that the absence of such a diet probably caused it. Pellagra, contrary to current impressions, is caused, not by what we eat, but by what we do not eat. At first this information rather discourages one. The chief trouble is evidently economic. The poor people of the South have this disease because they cannot afford more expensive foods. A recent paper published by Dr. Charles T. Nesbitt, health officer of Wilmington, N. C., makes this relation entirely clear. For several years Hanover County, N. C., has been engaging in a general cleaning up process. It has been building sewers, establishing water supplies, inspecting food, and in other ways promoting the general health. These public works usually accomplish wonders in freeing a community from infectious diseases—typhoid, enterocolitis, and the like. They have had this result under Dr. Nesbitt's jurisdiction. In five years he has reduced the death rate in communicable diseases from 54.16 per 100,000 to 30.20. The significant thing is that all this improved sanitation has apparently had no influence upon pellagra. This disease has increased in just about the same ratio that the death rate from communicable diseases has decreased. In

1911, the rate of pellagra deaths in this district was 38.53 and, in 1915, it was 64.6.

These figures clearly show that bad water, bad milk, infected food, and bad sewage systems have practically nothing to do with this disease. They powerfully reinforce Dr. Goldberger's idea that an unbalanced nutrition produces it.

Mississippi, which suffers greatly from pellagra, is taking steps to protect its people. The proposed programme indicates the line of defense that will have to be followed everywhere. As in the fight against hookworm, that twin evil of the South, popular education must play the leading part. The State Board of Health proposes that the legislature establish a board of pellagra physicians who shall canvass particular districts house to house, discuss family dietaries with housewives, and advise on the foods that will prevent the disease. Large quantities of printed matter are to be provided for distribution in the rural sections. The State Department of Education is called upon to make the cure and prevention of pellagra part of the every-day instruction in the public schools. The Department of Agriculture is to teach the wisdom of keeping cows, raising chickens, and growing beans and peas—all food materials that contain the substance which destroys pellagra. Finally the state is called upon to establish a series of pellagrasariums or camps for the treatment of pellagrins, precisely as many states now have sanitariums for tuberculosis patients.

The South clearly faces a difficult problem. The fact that we now know how to treat the disease, however, has greatly cleared the atmosphere.

MORE TRADE WITH RUSSIA

ALMOST without exception, Americans who have traveled in Russia believe that that country is one of the most promising markets in the world for American goods. There is a nation of 170 million people, rich in undeveloped resources, rich, too, in undeveloped minds that are just awakening to the allurements of modern life. Their economic life has *been stifled* both by governmental restrictions and by the competition of their German neighbors. But they have made some progress, and recent travelers see signs that they are on the verge of a great expansion of their commercial efforts. And, as this expansion comes, a mighty new purchasing power will be added to the field of the manufacturing nations.

Under ante-bellum conditions, Germany was almost certain to get the benefits of this awakening. It was the nearest neighbor, a great manufacturer, and it had carried on a campaign of "peaceful penetration" by which a large share of Russia's internal commerce was in the hands of Germans living in Russia. The war seems likely to change this condition.

The German influence in Russia cannot be again soon what it was before the war. Not only the hostility of the conflict will tend to prevent this for a while, but the conviction in Russian minds that industrial and commercial dependence on a none-too-friendly neighbor is unwise.

There seems, then, a good opportunity in Russia to follow our war orders with a more permanent trade without having to gain ground against so well intrenched a competitor as Germany was before the war.

Commercial relations between the United States and Russia based on treaties was interrupted five years ago as our protest against the Russian treatment of the Jews. But the breach was more a formal than a practical one. Nor is there any reason why it should continue. We can properly protest against inhumanity anywhere in the world—to Russia in behalf of the Jews, to Turkey in behalf of the Armenians, to Germany in behalf of the Belgians, and to Belgium in behalf of the Negroes of the Congo. Some of these protests we made and some we did not. But whether we protested or not there is no reason to end our commercial treaties with Russia, Germany, Belgium, Turkey, or other countries that have been guilty of violent race prejudices or other inhumanity toward a weaker people.

Perhaps the new American-Russian Chamber of Commerce may help renew the treaty with Russia and be of much other use besides. This Chamber will collect and disseminate Russian business

to its members, who are American ıess men of wide influence. It was ıized largely at the suggestion of ian business men who wish to have dealings with a country that is free :eep its business activities entirely t from its political ambitions. Russia d like to have American capital ıted in factories in Russia. Alto- ɛr, a fair prospect arises that we may there another outlet for our expand- oreign trade.

:NEWING OUR COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE

HE dislocation of the old channels in trade, manufacturing, commerce, and finance has furnished the necessity for invention and for ıioneering spirit in almost every occu- n in the United States.

ïair example is the plight of the manu- ırers and users of commercial fertilizer, h is composed of potash and phos- ɛ and nitrogen. Before the war the ızer manufacturers got their potash ly from the German potash syndicate. nitrogen came in large measure from Chilean nitrate beds.

ɛ war, of course, interrupted the sh shipments from Germany. The n freight rates and the demand for tes for powder manufacture has ıed the supply of them for fertilizer. is the condition. The human re- n on this condition is more interesting. ɛ day the papers announce that a) of Americans, chemical engineers, ızer manufacturers, mining experts, bankers have formed a company to : potash from the mineral alunite as ıly as the Germans can get it from potash deposits. And while this company is liberating potash from te it also gets aluminum. Another the papers tell of the operation of an ical plant for obtaining nitrogen from to take the place of the nitrates. ıot a new process, but the war its immediate usefulness here. ve found that we can make man- as any one and that in high-speed steel we can achieve more than we ever thought it was possible for us to achieve.

The significance of the whole situation is that we do not need to give to foreign manufacturers as much as we have given, and that the pressure of necessity and profits will always develop new abilities here at home which we have not used because there have been so many old ways of making a living or getting rich fairly easily as compared to other countries.

The dye business furnishes another example of the same thing. We accepted the German monopoly in dyestuffs because Germany felt the necessity of having the dye industry on a tremendous scale not only for foreign trade but for war, for the basis of dyes and high explosives is the same. But now it appears that we can profitably start dye-works with the assurance that they will survive German competition after the war.

As a nation we have become adept at the organization of business and manufacture, adept also in many selling methods; but we have long neglected the chemistry that underlies manufacture.

In a most interesting book, "The Chemistry of Commerce," written some years ago, Prof. Robert Kennedy Duncan describes another American industry in this way:

"The great financial success of American glass manufactures during the past few years is in despite of ignorance, and is due to the hungry demands of a growing and prosperous population, to expert office management, to combinations of capital, to the extraordinary advantages in cheap fuel and raw material, and to the protection of a prohibitory tariff. Its actual manufacture is a story of confusion and waste."

Not only in glass but in most other commodities we have become a great manufacturing nation on this unscientific basis, but to be a successful competitor in the world's markets, where, without any advantages, we will have to meet other countries, we must add a widespread use of chemistry to our other commercial accomplishments. There are many signs that the war has awakened us to its possibilities and our own.

AS OTHERS SEE US

THE United States is disposed to believe that it stands for humanity, freedom, and altruism more than do the countries of the old world. Most of our public speakers take these qualities of the American nation for granted. The assumption is based upon several things —the vast sums we have spent in relief overseas, the return of the Boxer indemnity, the liberation of Cuba, etc.

There is cause for satisfaction in these things. But we have several other actions on our records which to the skeptical-minded foreigner appear very differently. When we acquired Porto Rico and the Philippines we did improve the government and business of the islands. And the people who did this work were largely disinterested. But the people who arranged a tariff wall around the islands so that we might increase our trade there to the exclusion of other nations and at increased prices to the Filipino were not disinterested. That is the tribute which the Islands pay for our conquest, and we exacted it from Cuba which we liberated as well as from Porto Rico and the Philippines which we held. When the world from the outside looks upon us it does not perhaps altogether understand the liberation of Cuba, but it understands the military conquest of trading privileges with defenseless peoples. It is the game which brought Russia and Japan in conflict in Manchuria; which brought France and Germany to the verge of war in Morocco. It is the same game that we condemn as it is now being played by Japan in China.

We are not in a good position to criticise other nations for sending their battleships and bayonets after more or less exclusive rights to exploit backward peoples commercially if we maintain such rights ourselves after our fleet and army have given us the power to do so, even though that was not the motive for which we went to war with Spain.

But whether we take a little profit with our altruism, as most nations do, or, in complete altruism, give Manila the advantages of a free port, in neither case is there *any warrant* or reason for turning over to the Filipino people the carrying out of the pledge we gave Spain when we took over the Islands—namely, a pledge to maintain order, to protect property, and to guarantee religious liberty.

It is true that it has for many years been a tenet of Mr. Bryan and his followers to free the Filipinos and try to escape our own responsibilities.

Perhaps the Senate's action on the Philippine matter was another case of nerves such as attacked Congress later on another one of Mr. Bryan's policies—the abandonment of American rights at sea when they seem to involve national responsibilities.

EDUCATING THE IMMIGRANTS

THE Bureau of Naturalization [of the United States Department of Labor] has secured the coöperation of the public schools in forty-four states of the Union—approximately 600 cities and towns—and has sent the names of 130,000 candidates for citizenship and of their wives to the public schools since the first of last October. It has also sent personal letters to each of these to induce them to enter the public schools, and has developed a system by which a personal invitation to do so will be given to each candidate. It has prepared an Outline Course in Citizenship, thousands of copies of which have been distributed to the public school teachers in the night classes for adult foreigners and in the day high schools and upper-graded schools."

"The application of the Course to the public day schools is urged in order to afford a training for the candidate for citizenship of native as well as of foreign birth. The Secretary of the Navy, at his request, has been furnished with hundreds of copies of this Course for use in citizenship training in the Navy.

"The Bureau has also prepared a Syllabus of the Naturalization Law, which it is sending out with copies of preliminary naturalization forms to the public school teachers for the instruction and aid of those foreigners who may desire to declare their intention or petition for naturalization. This use of the preliminary forms is intended to remove the unsuspecting

ner from the reach of his unscrup-
fellow-countrymen or American
ls who, at charges ranging up to $25,
been rendering such aid which the
c school teachers are now giving
ut charge."

e foregoing is part of a statement,
d by the United States Commissioner
aturalization, and it tells the story
worthy effort to cure one of the worst
in American life. As Mr. Guy W.
onnell points out in his article in this
of the WORLD'S WORK, the ignorance
migrants, with all that that ignor-
implies of inefficient living, is at the
of the chronic labor troubles in the
fields. It is likewise at the root of
ar troubles in New England, New
, and Colorado.

e plan of the Bureau of Naturaliza-
is a constructive plan to better a bad
tion. But this remedy and all the
s now in operation have not been
to the task. We have taken in more
nity than we have been able properly
similate.

ice in the last six years Congress has
d a law restricting immigration
y by a literacy test. President Taft
President Wilson vetoed these bills.

ce these occurrences the war has
it plain that a considerable portion
e German immigration to this coun-
which had been generally highly con-
d, remained more German than
ican and that it is organized to use
olitical power for German and not
ican ends. For many years the
an Government has encouraged the
ization of German-Americans, and
s lately become painfully apparent
it counts on these organizations—
ot in vain—to aid it in browbeating
merican Government.

is adds a new complication to the
gration situation; one which would
questionable the desirability of a
German immigration after the war.
the other hand, the peoples who have
considered less desirable immigrants
Greeks, Southern Italians, Southern
ians, and Russian Jews—have no or-
d disloyalty to the United States
e the recent blundering attempts of
the Austrian Embassy here to create an Austrian disaffection.

But the old reasons for believing that many of these people who came to our shores were undesirable citizens still stand. These people are not particularly successful and enlightened in the countries from which they come, and when large numbers in a backward condition land upon our shores it overtaxes our abilities to turn them into citizens who can take care of themselves. We have on our hands undigested masses of more or less helpless humanity. In this state they are exploited and abused, as most helpless peoples are everywhere. Seemingly the obvious way to correct this evil is to forbid the abuses by law, and this we are busy doing most of the time. But this of itself is only a palliative. We weaken the country whenever we take into it any large number of people who need special protection. No people can be properly protected who do not in large measure protect themselves.

The sentimentalists who ask whether we should close the doors of hope that were open to our fathers are overlooking the fact that the early comers to this country took care of themselves. They were a charge on no one. They needed no special treatment. We can take as many such now as will come, but there is a limit to the number of the somewhat helpless folk that we can decently attend to, and to take more is neither to their advantage nor ours.

AN ENLIGHTENING PROTEST

THE series of articles on the "pork barrel" and its remedy, "responsible government," which Mr. Burton J. Hendrick has been writing for this magazine has received much commendation from disinterested people and much condemnation by people and places interested in and benefited by the pork barrel system.

There has come to this office also one distinctive protest—a letter from Representative William Kent, of California, in which he objects in picturesque language "to being butchered in the house of his friends." We are very glad to print his letter because we do not wish to do Mr. Kent any injustice and also because the

letter gives a very clear picture of the extent, the wastefulness, and the insidiousness of the pork barrel:

Editor, THE WORLD'S WORK,
DEAR SIR:

I was somewhat surprised to find my picture in the WORLD'S WORK of February as a pork barrel artist in connection with the post office building at Willows, California.

Mr. Hendrick, who is ordinarily careful, did me a gross injustice.

I wish, at the beginning, to state that ever since I have been in Congress I have been opposed to this parceling out of buildings amongst the Congressional districts.

When the building bill came up, in 1912, I went to some of the Democrats who were shrieking most loudly for economy and stated that if they would assist me, a comparatively new man, I would go in with them to beat the whole bill and break down the system. They informed me that such a thing was impossible and that they would not undertake it.

I then realized, as every one must realize, that if I did not secure Government appropriation for my district when every other district was getting such appropriation, I would be justly considered as delinquent in looking after local affairs, so I went before the Committee on Buildings.

The town of Willows, although small, is the centre of an important and rapidly growing community on the west side of the Sacramento Valley. It has a station for the Forest Service and for the Bureau of Animal Industry. I made statement to this effect to the Committee on Buildings, and was told that, on the basis of postal receipts and these other uses, the town was entitled to an appropriation of $100,000. I considered this more than was justified, and asked for $60,000. The Building Committee informed me that $60,000 was inadequate for the purposes mentioned, so I raised the request to $75,000, which was authorized in the bill of March 4, 1913.

I next informed the people of Willows that I believed we could get quicker action and get the building completed some years earlier and get a better building if they, on their part, would donate a lot. They had the usual wrangle over which lot should be selected, and finally a Government inspector was sent who selected the best lot in town, whereupon I told the people of Willows that I was tired of this wrangle and that they had better unite and purchase the lot selected by the Government inspector. They did so, at a cost of some $9,000, and presented it to the Government. This certainly does not *sound like pork.*

To recognize their public spirit, the Treasury Department, through Mr. Byron R. Newton, whom you praise so highly and who deserves your commendation, stated that although plans must ostensibly be made in the Government plan mill, in consideration of this gift he would advocate permitting plans to be drawn up by outside architects and submitted for correction to the Government architects.

Having gotten matters started and having told my people that their gift would be recognized, I next found myself under the necessity of paying for these plans out of my own pocket. I secured the services of one of the best firms of architects, not only in California, but in the country, . . . had them draw plans and submit them for correction to the Treasury Department, and it is my expectation that the building will be under way in the spring.

The building was recommended by the Treasury Department for an appropriation ahead of other buildings where donations of land and plans had not been made, which led to a bitter fight in the House. The *Congressional Record* of February 8, 1915, will show what opposition I had in having an appropriation recognized. Indeed, it was defeated in the House simply because, as was expressed by Mr. Cantrill, of Kentucky, and others, rich people like those of Willows and opulent Congressmen like myself ought not to be able by donations to get ahead of districts that were poor and had Congressmen without surplus funds.

I secured the adoption of an amendment in the Senate for $20,000 to be used to start the work, which was accepted by the House conferees.

Mr. Fitzgerald, a much respected friend, in his anxiety to prevent the erection of buildings until the mill of the Government architects' office should grind out the plans, took pains to fight and criticise my building, a criticism which Mr. Hendrick has heedlessly reiterated.

I ask you in fairness to verify these statements and then to publish in your magazine the facts as you find them, so that I may be exonerated from such implications as have gone out all over the country.

I stood alone on the Republican side against the amended Sherwood pension law.

I have never asked anything of the Rivers and Harbors Committee except where I required cooperation of the local communities, which procedure I was informed at the beginning of my career in Congress would establish a bad precedent.

It becomes a little hard to be butchered in the house of my friends.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate the statement that this is a general Government building

ot simply a post office building, as it will the Forestry Service and the Bureau of al Industry. Furthermore, I have stipu- that the architects must keep the building lown to, at most, $65,000, so there will be any chance for extras, and I shall fol- his matter through the Treasury Depart-

Yours truly,
ington, D. C. (Signed) WILLIAM KENT.

DISTINCTION OF HOQUIAM

THE New York *Sun* recently printed the following editorial about an American town which deserves the e, respect, and emulation of the rest of ountry:

quiam, Chehalis County, Wash., is a town 71 inhabitants, according to the census of Some cartographers ignore it entirely, thers begrudge it the mere speck which indicates its position, eighteen miles west of Montesano, on the Northern Pacific Railway. Hoquiam deserves better treatment.

Representative Albert Johnson introduced in the Congress recently a bill to appropriate $125,000 for the purchase of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Hoquiam. The news had hardly reached home when the Congressman received this telegram, signed by representative Hoquiamites:

"Fifty thousand dollars for public building and site would be ample and sufficient for Hoquiam. Any more than that sum would be pork. We urge you to advocate action on above basis."

The gazeteer devotes only three lines to the virtues of which this happy Chehalis County community has boasted. It has a shipyard and is a shipping point for lumber, fish, and furs. The town should have a whole page in future editions; it already has written a new page in United States history.

Hail Hoquiam, the town that eschews pork!

ROOT, ROOSEVELT, AND WILSON

BY

E. S. MARTIN

THERE are two problems in affairs: how to get them done, and how to save them from destruction from overdoing.

There are two problems about ar: how to fight it through, and how o save the pieces after it and provide st having more wars.

n have always been able to do things ld, govern, make cities, accumulate rms of riches—but they have never able to conserve what they got and nue in possession of it. They have s been able to fight—Dr. Osborn, who s about the Stone Age, says there was formidable and persistent fighting in larne country 125,000 years ago—but never have been able to overcome the e habit of war.

folks whose office with affairs is e wisdom of those who rom the ruin of over- like foolishness. To r and whose utmost efforts are engrossed in fighting it through, persons striving to keep out and abate or diminish war seem pusillanimous.

Mr. Root, with all his mental energy, all his training, experience, and patriot fidelity, seems better constituted and practised to get things done than to save them from overdoing. Accomplishment, construction, action, seem to be to him the attractive concerns in life; restraint and avoidance, not so alluring. He seems to like a powerful client whose affairs are big and whose concerns are going. His best remembered clients in recent years have been sundry masters of finance and apparatus—as Mr. Harriman, Mr. Whitney, Mr. Ryan—the United States, the State of New York. He has served them all with great power and distinction and gained both honor and emolument by his labors.

Now it is one end of the great human job to get together an apparatus worth preserving, to be something worth while, and to overcome difficulties and adversaries.

At all that Mr. Root is very good indeed, and great is his reward. But the other end of the job is the more difficult. It is to keep the apparatus from overwhelming its makers; to see persistently that the great valuable is the spirit of man; to keep that from being crushed by the apparatus and to save it alive at any cost.

That is a mighty ticklish employment. It never has been popular. It conflicts with ease, with glory, with riches, with material development; yet it calls to certain people with an irresistible voice, and they work at it according to their abilities, with results that are usually disappointing, making many mistakes, and always with the prospect of ending in more or less poverty or disrepute.

It would seem that it is in this latter employment that Mr. Wilson is enlisted; that his errand and his effort in so far as it concerns affairs is primarily to keep the soul of man on top of them and save them from destruction from overdoing; that so far as concerns war his labor is, with whatever mistakes, to do his share to cure humanity of the evil habit of it. He is by no means so practised a hand as Mr. Root in the management of great affairs; indeed, he seems to grope along among them, stumbling not a little, but it is not at all incredible that he has seen a light to which Mr. Root's acute vision does not penetrate, and that he gropes toward it.

As for Mr. Roosevelt, he is a case of "all thoughts, all passions, all delights." He is our most wonderful brother. No one can be confident that there is any emotion, any thought, any aspiration but he has had it, or that there is any light whose glimmer he has not caught. He is constructive; destructive; a builder-up, a puller-down; a friend of the soul, glorious, rampageous, vastly able. He seems to butt against our whirling earth to keep it in its course. Never such a man, and nowhere quite so striking an antithesis to Mr. Wilson.

But, barring accidents, we are going to have almost a year more of Mr. Wilson's government, and there is no getting away from it. Mr. Root may say it is very bad government, and Mr. Roosevelt may butt dents in it, but no one will start a revolution, and it will go on any way till next March. Before that time we may all know a little better what it is and what it means to us and to the world. And yet again we may not know so soon, for Mr. Wilson seems like a long-distance performer. His reputation as a statesman is still in the balance. Mr. Root has kicked the scales, but he has not upset them. If the affairs of men are to go from age to age as they have always gone, and nations are to rise, culminate, decay, and perish, Mr. Root is the man for us to listen to, for he can help to make our crop for us while our sun still shines. But if there is a new principle in the world by the application of which the old destructive processes may some time be conquered, it is possible that Mr. Wilson may be more serviceable in applying it than Mr. Root.

WHICH KIND OF SAVINGS BANK?

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on experiences with investments and lessons to be drawn therefrom.*

I AM told there are savings banks that pay as much as 5 and 6 per cent. on deposits. Are they safe? And if so, why is it that our local banks pay only 3½ and 4 per cent.?"

These questions were asked a short time ago by a young man in New York *State whom the* WORLD'S WORK had found occasion to advise to put off investing his money in securities of any kind until he had acquired at least a little knowledge of how to discriminate between the sound and the unsound.

He had been given that advice in connection with a warning against a certain tropical land scheme which had all the

ings of a "wild-cat," one of a good
doubtful schemes that have been
enly taken up for active promotion
ig inexperienced investors since the
of prosperity began to multiply
ighout the country a few months ago.
had been told that there were several
mate ways in which he might employ
elatively small savings (as in certain
s of instalment-plan investment or in
urchase of small denomination bonds)
that, in the circumstances, it would be
for him first to acquaint himself with a
of the personal responsibilities accom-
ing direct investment. And it had
pointed out that the best place for
to put his money meanwhile was in the
gs bank.

rtunately, this advice had appealed to
young man's better judgment, but it
also created a new perplexity: There
scores of savings banks; some of them,
is questions indicated, paying higher
est than others. How was he to de-
ine their relative safety?

nilar questions have been asked lately
increasing frequency in the letters
come to this department. It seems
y, therefore, to discuss them briefly in
orm of an article.

e savings banks referred to here do
of course, include those guaranteed by
Jnited States Government—the Postal
gs Banks—which have brought to-
r, chiefly from the foreign popula-
and put into circulation more than
oo,ooo that would otherwise have
hoarded or sent abroad.

THE "MUTUAL" SAVINGS BANK

the other savings banks there are two
whose distinguishing characteristics
t the root of the question of their
y. One type, known as the "mutual"
, is found chiefly in New England and
Eastern states. These banks have no
al stock. They are, in a sense, not
s at all. They are not organized as
aking institutions, their funda-
purpose being the encouragement
and their sole aim the provision of
stments for the money entrusted
care. They are supervised by
who serve without pay; and
after allowing, of course, for the necessary expenses of management and for the maintenance of a surplus or reserve with which to meet contingencies, the earnings all go to depositors in the form of interest on their accounts. "Mutual," as applied to these institutions, therefore, means "co-operative" in the best sense of that term. That is, they are operated for the exclusive benefit of all the savings depositors.

THE "JOINT-STOCK" SAVINGS BANK

The other type is the "joint-stock" savings bank. It predominates throughout the West and South. Banks of this type are organized as money-making institutions. They represent a form of private business enterprise and, therefore, must be operated in such a way as not only to pay interest to depositors, but also to make profits for the shareholders.

These distinctions will help in understanding the development of the different state laws intended to regulate the savings banks. And this is important, because, in the last analysis, the answer to the question whether this or that savings bank is safe depends upon the kind of law to which it is amenable.

The first savings bank was started in this country a hundred years ago, but it is only within comparatively recent years that the grave responsibilities of these institutions, in undertaking to safeguard such large amounts of other people's money, have been recognized by legislators. Indeed, one finds that even now only fifteen or twenty of the states have passed laws of real significance regulating the investments of the funds held in trust by the savings banks. Some of the other states have laws intended to accomplish that purpose, but they are either so indefinite, or framed so clearly in the desire to foster local industries rather than to provide a scientific plan of investment, that they are of little real service. The remaining states leave practically everything to the individual judgment of the directors and bank officials.

In general, it may be said that New England and the East, where prevail the savings banks of the type that, humanly speaking, makes no "inside profits," have

the laws that most completely eliminate the risks. It is fairly obvious that the type of bank which has to serve two masters—the shareholder and the depositor—must have the more latitude in the manner of employing its funds.

SAVINGS BANK INVESTMENT LAWS

It is impracticable to give within the space of these few pages even an abbreviated outline of all these laws. But as a standard for comparison, it will be helpful for the investor to note the different kinds of investments that are denied a savings bank by the New York law, which is typical of the best. These are:

(1) Notes, drafts, bills of exchange, and all personal securities.

(2) Stocks of every kind.

(3) All securities of industrial, manufacturing, or street railway companies.

(4) Railroad bonds that are not secured in whole or in part by first mortgages.

(5) Real estate bonds and mortgages secured by property outside the state.

For the approved types of investments, such as municipal bonds, first morgtage railroad bonds, and first mortgages on real property within the state, the New York law provides certain fixed tests intended to show the exact amount of underlying security, and, in the case of railroad bonds, the degree of prosperity enjoyed by the company issuing them.

Analysis of the several other state laws referred to as being of real significance shows them to differ from the New York law in two essential particulars: first, in fixing standards for judging underlying security that are somewhat less rigid, though probably none the less efficient in the long run; and second, in making eligible for investment under proper standards such securities as public service corporation bonds and mortgages (both farm and city), based on property in *any* locality where values are well established. It shows, also, that these two differences are the principal reasons for any differences in interest rates as between banks in different localities, regulated by different kinds of laws. For the broader range of investments, naturally, and in most circumstances safely, returns a ***higher average yield.***

But as between banks in a given locali operating under the same law, differen in interest rates are not infrequently tra able to situations like the followi described some time since by the compt ler of a large New York City institut

"About twelve or fifteen years ago this state," he said "the average surplus the savings banks was about 17 per ce That is, for every hundred dollars t savings banks owed their depositors, th had one hundred and seventeen dolla worth of securities and cash to pay it wi Three or four years ago, our surplus h shrunk to about seven dollars on the hu dred—from 17 per cent. to 7 per cent.—a at the same time the people had abo twice as much money in the savings ban as when our surplus was high. We did n like to see our surplus grow smaller eve day and our deposits get larger. The was only one sure way to add to our surpl and that was to save something out of o earnings. So the really conservative sa ings banks said to their depositors, 'W will pay you a smaller rate of interest fo while, and add the difference to our surpl If we do that, we are sure we shall be al to pay you the hundred dollars when y want it, whether you want it next year, the year after, or ten years from now.

Therefore, the man who contemplat employing this primary form of investme for his savings will consider first whether lives in a state where the interests of sa ings bank depositors are properly saf guarded by legislation. He will then lo to the surplus accounts of the various i stitutions and banks to which he has co venient access.

If there are no true savings banks in l neighborhood, and he is compelled to to the "savings department" of a nation or state bank or trust company, he w inquire whether the law of the state reco nizes the difference between trading mon and savings, and provides for their segr gation. If it does not, his problem determining the element of safety becom a personal one. For the safety of a ban depends upon the character of its asse which, in such a case, would in turn be d termined by the character of the offic of the institution.

YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE DIVISION OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE

F ALL the Departments of a benevolent Government the Department of Labor is the most apparently benevolent. To a strife-perplexed people aches out a quiet hand and says: ne, let us reason together." And this and attitude, this benevolence of the rnment he represents, is caught up ıe face and figure of the Secretary ıbor as he swings about in his swivel in the Mills Building and muses with pression of wistful good-will down the l reach of Pennsylvania Avenue, past Var Department, to the White House. trikes between labor and capital," the Secretary, in his gentle voice, "are ike wars between nations. They both suffering, privation, and loss not only e belligerents but to the innocent by-lers, the neutrals or the public at large. ıingmen rarely declare the industrial vhich is called a strike unless they have l grievance or unless they find in what out to be an imaginary grievance all orce of temporary reality.

n their side and for similar reasons oyers seldom allow conditions to ap-h a breach of employment relations s they believe that an attempt is being to impose an injustice upon them or some vital principle is involved.

low under such circumstances, how ı better it would be for all parties con-d—and the parties concerned are the oyers and the employees, the innocent ınding public, and the State or Federal rnment—if, instead of allowing the reement to reach the war stage, em-.. and employees could say to each : 'What is the truth of this matter?' emember this distinction and this : Employers and employees have not ical interest, but they do have a nterest in securing the largest possible production for a given amount of labor. The more they jointly produce, the more there is to divide between them. All the trouble comes with the appropriate division of their joint production. When that stage is reached, then, how much simpler and better it would be for both sides, if, instead of strikes and lockouts which cut off all production and leave nothing to divide, the parties in disagreement could sit down together like sensible business men and work out the share that each is entitled to. Think of the enormous saving in wages, profit, and production of material which might thus be made! Every year the loss growing out of industrial disputes amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars, and this is a loss which can never be repaired. It is water that has passed over the national dams, down the rivers of waste, and into the open sea. It can never again be used to turn the wheels of industry.

"To save this waste is the most important function of this Department: it is the function of industrial diplomacy to avoid industrial war just as it is one of the chief functions of international diplomacy to avoid wars between nations. We are not authorized to bring pressure to bear upon either side, nor have we the power to enforce decisions. We are authorized to step into any industrial dispute and offer our good offices. Requests to mediate come from one of three sources: from the employees, from the employers, or from the public immediately affected. We never want to 'butt in' where we are not wanted, but conditions might conceivably arise where butting in might be advisable, where in the judgment of the Secretary, although no request to mediate had been made, the situation would justify the appointment of a commissioner or the establishment of a mediatory body.

"All of this function of the Department of Labor must be clearly distinguished from arbitration. I am not a believer in compulsory arbitration at the present stage of our industrial development. In compulsory arbitration both sides are compelled to abide by the award whether it is satisfactory to them or not. An employer compelled to operate his plant by an award which meant operation at a loss could only run through his entire capital until he was driven out of business. An employee compelled to work against his will by the award of an arbitration would present something like a species of slavery contrary to the spirit of our institutions.

"What we are trying to do is to suggest to either side a possible basis of settlement. It rests with each side to adopt such a suggestion or amend it, to take it or leave it. We have no proposition unalterably our own; no preceding arbitral judgments have put the precedent of one locality on to another. The mediator has neither signed nor accepted anything. He has simply helped to find a basis of settlement which may be mutually satisfactory."

Secretary Wilson approaches the vexed territory of his jurisdiction from the antipodes of experience. More than forty years ago, as a Scotch immigrant boy, he got his first impressions of labor as a miner. From the depths of a bituminous coal mine in Pennsylvania he dimly saw and dreamed of the justice which now he brings to pass from a Cabinet chair at Washington, with three terms in Congress to help him glimpse the other point of view.

The power which this Congressman miner has, or rather the possibilities for human service which he enjoys, are given him by the organic act of March 4, 1913, creating the Department of Labor and expressly declaring that its purpose is "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment."

Ever since 1865, labor organizations had been continuously advocating a Government Department with express jurisdiction over their growing problems, but it *remained for the* Sixty-second Congress in the last hours of its legislative life—in March, 1913—to take away from the Department of Commerce and Labor its latter function and, by associating with it the bureau of Labor Statistics, to establish the new Executive Department of Labor.

The benevolence of this newest of all the Departments is not confined to its mediatory prerogatives in the interests of industrial peace. The Federal Government, through this same Labor agency, runs a great national employment bureau. Citizenship centres in the Mills Building, for there, too, are the bureaus of Immigration and of Naturalization, and there, also, under Miss Julia Lathrop's federally maternal care, the Children's Bureau is growing to ever greater usefulness. But the Secretary has himself said that of all the functions of this very human Government Department the function of industrial peace is of primary importance.

A DOMESTIC STATE DEPARTMENT

During 1915, forty-two industrial disagreements were presented for mediation by this domestic Department of State. Out of those forty-two cases, six held over unfinished into the fourth fiscal year of the Department and must, therefore, go on record in the as yet unpublished report for 1916. Twenty-six strikes were avoided or terminated by satisfactory adjustments made between the parties, and industrial peace thus maintained. In only ten instances out of the forty-two did settlements prove beyond the conciliatory efforts of the mediators.

All kinds of cases of varying degrees of irreconcilability taxed the diplomacy of the Department. Four of them have been railroad cases; two were impending street railway strikes. There were threatened walk-outs of machinists, textile workers, paper mill operatives, and coal miners. In the case of the Derby Silver Company, at Derby, Conn., a settlement was negotiated by the commissioners under which the employees returned to work and endeavored to increase their earnings by greater efficiency for a trial period of two or three weeks. In the case of the necktie cutters of New York City a compromise wage scale was suggested by the mediation

nissioner which was promptly ac-
d by both sides. In a number of
· cases mentioned in the Secretary's
t the evidence shows that one or the
· side, in some instances both sides,
unaware, until mediation began, of
justice of the other's contentions.
r example, in the case of the copper-
ıs working in the shipbuilding yards at
River, Mass., the manager of the cor-
tion expressed surprise at the strike,
ining that his employees were re-
ng more than $30 a week, some of
as high as $50, which comparative
stics proved to be good wages for that
of work. It transpired in the media-
however, that these wages depended
overtime work, including Sundays.
men complained of being worn out
continuous work and urged a flat rate
3.75 for a nine-hour day, this being
ılly 25 cents below the prevailing
s in and about Boston for the same
of labor..

THE POSSIBILITY OF WAR

cretary Wilson is emphatic in the be-
that industrial and commercial su-
acy in the United States is not so much
ndent upon the cheapness of labor in
country as it is dependent upon the
ency of that labor in every field of its
oyment.
f cheap labor were responsible for com-
ial supremacy," he argues, "then
a and India would be the commercial
ers of the world." Moreover, he be-
that you cannot reach the highest
lards of efficiency unless you have a
of coöperation existing between em-
r and employee. And there is no
thing as a real spirit of coöperation
one side endeavors to impose its will
the other without the other's consent
over that other's protest.
e Department of Labor is dedicated to
manent industrial peace. But in this
ation it is opposed to that quality of
-at-any-price to which a recent Secre-
f State strove to dedicate this nation.
trial relations, as in the relations be-
nations, there can be no permanent
at is not based upon justice. There
ial justice as there is an inter-
national justice; the bigotry of nationality makes justice between nations very dim now. Just as hard to discern is industrial justice when obscured by the clouds which come from the bigotry of employer and employee. In both cases disputes can be settled by peace or by war. Secretary Wilson's "one great specific duty," as he expresses it, "is to work out industrial disputes on a basis of industrial peace rather than on a basis of industrial war." "You may look upon it as a dream," he said to the Illinois Bankers' Association in October, "but the dreamer of to-day is the practical man of to-morrow."

As these lines are being written a situation is developing which may test to the uttermost this practical dream of the Department of Labor. The leaders of the train service brotherhoods have demanded an increase in wages which amounts to 100 million dollars a year. They have repeatedly been quoted as saying that their organizations would not submit these demands to arbitration. The increase demanded means a raise in the wages now being paid to engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen of approximately 25 per cent. These employees, constituting only 18 per cent. of the total number of railroad employees, already receive 28 per cent. of the total wages paid. If the other 82 per cent. demanded a corresponding increase the railroads would be confronted with an addition of about 330 million dollars a year to their running expenses.

To meet such enormous increases in wages, so the operators say, would ruin their stockholders unless the advance in wages was offset by an increase in rates. This is where the innocent bystander comes in. The gist of the whole case lies here: that where such great additional burdens are to be imposed, that party, whether it be the railroads or the public, which will have to bear the burden ought to have a chance to argue before some impartial body its imposition before the burden is imposed.

A strike of the proportions involved in this controversy would probably demoralize the business of the country. The Division of Industrial Peace, therefore, could hardly find a greater test of its ability to avoid war than in this case.

THE PRESIDENT AMONG THE PEOPLE

HOW HE HAS DEVELOPED IN THE ARTS OF PERSUASION THROUGH HIS RECENT EXPERIENCES AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF A PROGRAMME OF MILITARY PREPAREDNESS FOR THE NATION

BY

RODNEY BEAN

WHEN President Wilson left the White House on his recent tour of the Middle West in behalf of his preparedness programme, he went forth to meet the issue squarely, selecting as his early battle-grounds the sections where he knew the deepest pitfalls lay. The President was on his mettle from the moment he found that scores of the Democratic Congressmen had refused to support him. When he realized their firmness in the stand they had taken on preparedness, he decided to take his case before the people.

From the time that he made this decision the President was anxious to be off. On the tour he talked and acted like quite another person than the solemn-faced, worried man who spent long hours at the White House studying complicated international relations and wondering if the country would be solidly behind him if a crisis in our foreign relations came.

He went first to New York City on Thursday, January 27th. He looked tired and a bit careworn when he left Washington, but ten minutes after he entered the metropolis the frown had given way to a smile; and the spirit of his campaign for preparedness was reflected in the evening of that day when, in addressing a dinner from which more than 3,000 applicants for tickets had been turned away, he tossed aside his carefully prepared address, which had been sent out to the newspapers in advance, and delivered his first extemporaneous "fighting speech."

Perhaps this enthusiastic prologue had much to do with the fact that the President started for Pittsburg the following *night, on the* first leg of his invasion of the Middle West, with a new light in his eye and a new ring in his voice. I was with Mr. Wilson on some of his trips in the campaign of 1912 when, as governor of New Jersey, he was making his first bid for the Presidency, but he was not the same man then as he is to-day. He reached the high-water mark in his career as a campaigner on this Middle Western tour.

The President's party included Mrs. Wilson, Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty, the President's secretary; Dr. Cary T. Grayson, six secret service men, two stenographers, the White House telegrapher, and twelve newspaper correspondents. The representatives of two moving picture concerns went along also, and at different points on the tour newspapermen from some of the Middle Western cities got aboard for short jumps. The train, which was composed of a diner and three compartment cars, one for the President and Mrs. Wilson, the others for the correspondents and secret service agents, made most of the tour as the second section of fast trains. But one part of the trip, from Pittsburg to Cleveland, was run as a "special movement."

The presence of Mrs. Wilson on the trip attracted the interest of many thousands. She was met by a committee of women at each stop and was escorted by them from train to hotel and from hotel to auditorium. As a rule she occupied a seat on the platform near the President. On a few occasions she was escorted to a box near the platform. The crowds never failed to extend to her a hearty welcome and the President was frankly delighted with the cordial reception she received. He obviously wished to have her share with him the pleasure he found in the plaudits of the throngs that greeted his appearance.

hroughout the trip, except when he being entertained at hotels or was essing meetings, the President kept to elf. Meals which he and Mrs. Wilson n the train were served in the drawing n of their private car. Not once did he ar in the dining car; and though he was ssible to the newspaper correspondents, mber of them long-time friends, he did "mix," and all communication on ial business was through the medium s secretary, Mr. Tumulty. The Presi-, for that matter, has usually re-ed much in seclusion on his trips, ly because he requires time to study subject of his addresses and partly be-e he requires a restful atmosphere in h to combat the effect of the day's ex-nent. But on this last tour there was her reason, and it served to exclude his presence on the train all the politi-eaders who attempted to get aboard g the line. The President was making ppeal on a non-partisan basis, and he strained a point to prevent, as far as as able, the possibility of the charge g made that he was "mixing politics preparedness."

om time to time Mr. Wilson received al messages from the State Depart-, including at least one batch of cor-ndence concerning the negotiations Germany over the sinking of the *tania*. It was under the cloud of such ties that he labored to stir the patriot-f the country and to win supporters is defense plans. The odds he faced, oncern he felt for the country's welfare ed to rouse a new fighting ardor in rather than depress him. The en-asm of his reception unquestionably nuch to do with the new "punch" he nto his address, but it seemed, also, opposition served to stir him to his efforts.

W HIS SPEECHES WERE PREPARED

ough none of his addresses in the le West was prepared or given out in nce for publication, the President de-l much thought to the arguments he d before the people in various sections. s not unusual for him to sit quietly ag for hour after hour, arranging in his mind the subjects which he was to develop. He had before him a pad of paper on which he put down, sometimes in long hand, sometimes in shorthand, the ideas as they presented themselves to his mind. On the other hand, there were moments when the President pushed care aside and sought mental relaxation in the reading of fiction and poetry—the "Jungle Books" of Rudyard Kipling, a cleverly written detective story, or Wordsworth.

HIS DEVELOPMENT AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER

Perhaps the most interesting element of the trip, aside from the development of the sentiment for preparedness, was the steady development of Mr. Wilson as a campaigner. The President has confessed to stage fright when he faces a great crowd. I have watched him closely when he addressed an audience and have noticed that his utterances were not conducive to enthusiasm at first, and that he seemed to be, in a sense, feeling his way. That was just what happened when this tour began. The President was a more finished orator than in 1912, but he did not have the ability to pick up the crowd at the start and carry it along with him. According to a close friend, he admitted his stage fright when he faced the crowd of 15,000 people at St. Louis, where he delivered the last important address on his tour. But it was not a very serious case then. He warmed up to his subject quickly, at any rate, and it was at that meeting he reached his most dramatic climax, many thought, by placing himself on record as an advocate of "incomparably the greatest navy in the world." That statement was the subject of endless talk. Not a few men who thought they knew the President before he started on this tour asked me questions afterward which, summed up, amounted to this: "Do you think he meant it just the way it sounds, or did the enthusiasm of the crowd carry him away?"

The frankly warlike utterances so frequently made by the President came as a great surprise to thousands. But on one occasion, when the President said that "new circumstances" had arisen which made it impossible for him to foretell what the next hour or day might bring forth, his

words started such gloomy forebodings about the *Lusitania* situation that he must have heard them. He was careful the next day to say that he wished to remove a misapprehension and that he had referred to no particular case under consideration.

As the days passed the President found a new power in his possession, the ability to get closer to the people than ever before, and to stir their emotions. This seemed evident to me, and others held the same opinion. As crowd after crowd cheered him in sections where it had been predicted he would face enemies, the President, perhaps unconsciously, gained in confidence. The restraint he had exhibited in his opening remarks—a restraint which many have described to me as a "bucket of cold water"—disappeared. He smiled in a manner that revealed the depth of the pleasure he felt, and he did not turn away from the crowd before the applause subsided, a thing I had seen him do many times before.

He even dropped into slang on a few occasions, a concession on his part which caused much comment and won him popularity. Congress, he said, would "deliver the goods," and another new utterance was "to the Queen's taste." "Get up on your hind legs and talk," he told one audience and thereby won applause and heard himself hailed as, "Oh you Woody!" "The troublemakers have shot their bolt" was another phrase he used.

NO HYPHENATED PATRIOTISM

One of the strongest influences in the development of Mr. Wilson on this tour as a campaigner of the first rank was the incontrovertible evidence supplied to him in every section he visited, especially in Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Louis, that patriotism which would bring men to shed their blood for their country if the call came was to be found in quantities that overwhelmed all other sentiments. Few people doubt that disloyalty has made its nest in different parts of the country and that there are men of foreign birth, and even American citizens of foreign birth, who would think first of their native land and perhaps forget America entirely in such a situation. ***But at no city or section visited by the*** Presidential party were such classes found in such strength as to mar the loyal sentiments of the great majority.

There was no open anti-Wilson or anti-American demonstration. No meeting was interrupted by a discordant note. There was every evidence of patriotism and not a sign of disloyalty. If "hyphenated Americans" were growling, they growled in the quiet of their wine cellars or their homes, either because they lacked numbers or by mutual agreement.

This discovery acted like a tonic on the President. I heard him described as a "boy with a new toy," and his buoyancy was reflected in his speeches.

At Pittsburg, where the President made his first address of the Middle Western tour on January 29th, he found a city that agreed with him concerning preparedness, though its desire for a protective tariff may have tempered the enthusiasm of the reception. At Cleveland, where he spoke on the evening of the same day, there was a great demonstration which gave the President an inkling of what was to come. I was told by a prominent political leader, before the meeting, that 60 per cent. of the Germans there would cast their lot with the Fatherland if war came; but there was no outward evidence of such a feeling. The President was obviously elated by his reception. The first words of his speech here had that strange effect of quieting rather than rousing the crowd, a thing which has been noticeable in Pittsburg. But he soon had the people roused to a responsive mood, especially when he declared that he might not be able to keep the country out of war and maintain its honor; that this task, imposed upon him by the people, might prove an impossible one; and again, when he asserted that "the real man believes his honor is dearer than his life."

Big crowds at Waukegan, Ill., Kenosha, Wis., Racine, Wis., and other towns where the President's train stopped on the way to Milwaukee served to relieve some of the anxiety which had been felt about pro-German sentiment to be faced in the latter city, and the President showed the effects of the warm receptions. His platform campaigns at these towns were a surprise, even to those who accompanied him, in the

quickness with which he captured the goodwill of the people. Mrs. Wilson appeared on the train platform to greet the crowds when her name was called. The President introduced her as "one more beautiful than I." The President is modest enough on all occasions about his looks, as when I heard him tell one audience: "You did not come here to see the President of the United States for he is not very much to look at."

The splendid reception given by Milwaukee and the lack of outward evidence of the reported pro-German sentiment put new life in Mr. Wilson. Mayor Bading was quoted as saying it was Milwaukee's answer to the charge of disloyalty, and the President showed a keen appreciation of the opportunity such a demonstration afforded. He talked straight Americanism to the thousands who packed the auditorium. He told them he had never doubted that all would stand with him to uphold the honor of the country. His words were warlike at times, but through them all was carried the message that it was peace he sought and "with God's

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OPENING THE CAMPAIGN FOR PREPAREDNESS

Shortly before starting on his tour of the Middle West President Wilson visited New York and made a stirring address for an adequate national defense before the Railway Business Association which contained the basis of his speeches delivered on the trip

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THE NATION BESET BY DANGERS

"We are daily treading amid the most intricate dangers," said the President at Cleveland, "dangers o of our making and . . . not under our control. . . . No man knows what . . . a single da may bring forth. These are solemn things to say, but I would be unworthy of my office if I did not tell yo . . . what I understand the situation to be"

help" it was peace that he would preserve. And in closing he delivered a peroration, one of the most impressive bits of oratory I have ever heard, and which will long be remembered by those who were within reach of his voice. Pointing to the Stars and Stripes, flung above his head, he said:

> God forbid that we should have to use the blood of America to freshen the colors of that flag. But if it should ever be necessary again to assert the majesty and integrity of those ancient and honorable principles, that flag will be colored once more and in being colored will be glorified and purified.

Men told me as they left the meeting that it was the most impressive moment in their lives. The President had reached the people and had stirred their deepest emotions. That night the President told a big audience in the Auditorium at Chicago that the Navy had been made ready "for immediate war." It was a term, I believe, used more for the purpose of what it suggested to the minds of his hearers than as a warning of approaching danger, but it stirred his audience profoundly.

The day after the Chicago meeting carried the President as far as Des Moines, Ia., where Mr. William Jennings Bryan once had a firm grip on the affections of the *people. He* was greeted here with the same enthusiasm and patriotic ardor th earlier crowds had shown. Half a doze speeches had been on the schedule that da yet the President never appeared in bett physical condition than upon his entry int Des Moines. His physician said that th generous receptions and the evidence o loyalty and affection extended by the me and women of the Middle West had drive off fatigue and taken the place of medicine The President made no complaint abou the zero weather in that section; indeed, h seemed to enjoy it.

"Do you want the situation to be suc that all your President can do is to writ messages and utter words of protest?" h asked the patriotic assemblage which ha pledged its support amid applause. "Why to ask the question is to answer it."

And for the moment, at least, De Moines forgot Bryan and another idol Roosevelt, and cheered for Wilson.

The most unusual situation was foun at Topeka, Kan., where the President elated over his reception in Des Moines arrived on the morning of February 2d. He found there outspoken hostility to his pro gramme of preparedness, with the governo opposed to his defense plans and unwillin to be convinced.

And then the President gave the bes

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AT CHICAGO

"It is a very terrible thing . . . to have the honor of the United States intrusted to your keeping. a great honor, that honor of the United States. In it runs the blood of generations of men who have up ideals and institutions *intended* to regenerate mankind"

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CLOSING THE CAMPAIGN AT ST. LOUIS

Looking into the future after the war is ended, the President in an address before the Business Men's League of St. Louis said: "Not only is it necessary that we . . . mobilize the forces of the Nation . . . *for defense* . . . but it is also necessary to mobilize the economic forces of this country better *than they have ever* been mobilized before for the service of the world after this great war is over."

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SPEAKING FROM THE REAR OF HIS TRAIN AT WAUKEGAN, ILL.

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WAITING FOR THE PRESIDENT'S TRAIN

ughout the trip crowds lined the tracks where the President's train was scheduled to stop and waited ntly for hours at a stretch in all weathers to catch a glimpse of and to cheer the Nation's Chief Executive.

THE GREAT PROCESSION THAT ESCORTED THE PRESIDENT AT MILWAUKEE

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A COSMOPOLITAN AUDIENCE

Typical of the various nationalities that go to make up the population of many mid-Western cities. In an address at Milwaukee President Wilson said: "We cannot forget our forebears . . . and at the outset *of the war it did look* as if there were a division of public sentiment. But I believe that that danger is past"

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FUTURE CITIZENS WAITING TO GREET THE PRESIDENT

PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSING AN AUDIENCE

Of 8,000 persons in the Auditorium at Milwaukee. Pointing to the American flag, the President said: "The lines of red are lines of blood, nobly and unselfishly shed by men who loved the liberty of their fellowmen more than they loved their own lives and fortunes. God forbid that we should have to use the blood of America to freshen the color of that flag. But if it should ever be necessary . . . that flag will be colored once more, and in being colored will be glorified and purified"

evidence of the fight that is in him when odds are faced. Opposition seemed to act upon him here as applause had acted in other cities. He met the farmers in frank debate. The applause was not as spontaneous as it had been in other cities, but he came out of the battle smiling and confident; and it was noteworthy that the applause which he heard as the train pulled out of the station was much more enthusiastic than that which had greeted him upon his arrival.

In the evening, the President spoke at Kansas City, Mo. If he felt fatigue he did not show it, and the demonstration there was the most enthusiastic and spectacular of the trip—not omitting that in St. Louis. As he stepped upon the platform of Convention Hall and heard the great outburst of applause from 18,000 throats the President, I thought, looked startled. He hesitated as if the stage fright he feared had overtaken him in its worst form. Smiling, he looked out over the throng and then abruptly sat down. The applause was redoubled in volume and he rose, bowed again, turned to the chairman, and then back to the crowd.

"I have been thrilled by the experiences of these few days and I shall go back to Washington and smile at anybody who says the United States is not wide awake," the President said.

The next morning, as his train entered St. Louis, the President could see the throng about the station, and he smiled. The Presidential salute of twenty-one guns was fired by a company of artillery as he stepped from the train into an automobile. St. Louis outdid Milwaukee in the effort to prove its patriotism, and again not a discordant note was heard. The President's address at St. Louis reflected his emotions and was considered by many the most effective of the tour. Some questioned the sincerity of such a demonstration in a city where there is a large proportion of foreign-born citizens, but it was evident that the President did not share such a belief. The great crowds in the streets and at the station cheered frantically as Mr. Wilson departed. His last glimpse of St. Louis, alleged hotbed of hyphenism, was a multi*tude of faces* that seemed to bear no trace of malice. The President returning to Washington had gained weight and health. His voice was strong and his smile hearty. And so enthusiastic a campaigner had he become that, after days of fighting, he insisted on making platform speeches on the way home to crowds which collected at stations where his train was not even scheduled to stop.

"FELLOW CITIZENS!"

"As I came along the line of the railway was touched to observe that everywhere, railway station, upon every house, where be procured, some temporary standar raised from which there floated the Star

KEEPING CITY TRAFFIC MOVING

ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT OF ALL CITY PROBLEMS, AND THE NEW METHODS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVISED TO SOLVE IT—ACCIDENTS, HOW THEY OCCUR, AND HOW THEY MAY BE AVOIDED—THE PATERNAL PATIENCE OF THE POLICE—HOW THE EBB AND FLOW OF HUMAN TIDES MAY BE REGULATED IN ALL AMERICAN CITIES

BY

ARTHUR WOODS

(POLICE COMMISSIONER OF NEW YORK CITY)

A FEW years ago, a traffic policeman was a curiosity, even in New York. To-day, scarcely a village of 5,000 inhabitants but has at least one; and in cities they are as familiar as they are indispensable. Where a few years ago pedestrians heard the warning clatter of slow-moving, horse-drawn vehicles, now a new type of wagon, shod in noiseless rubber, rushes down upon them with no warning save the honk of a horn, and this too often drowned in the roar and rattle of trucks, trolley cars, and delivery carts. Street accidents have jumped from a few score to hundreds and thousands per year, until at the middle of last summer it was estimated more persons were killed in

A MASTER STATION IN TRAFFIC CONTROL

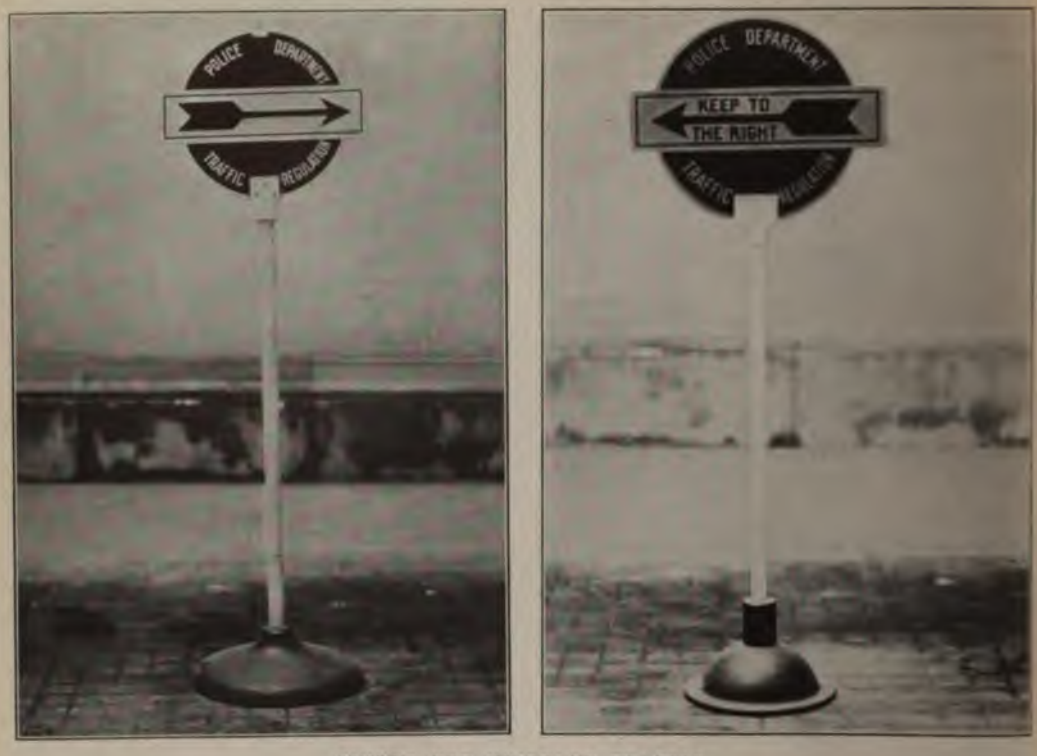
The stopping and starting of the streams of vehicles and pedestrians at a main intersection like 42d Street and Fifth Avenue in New York City affects the traffic for several adjacent blocks in all four directions

THE PROBLEM

A view of the traffic which the policemen on Fifth Avenue have to contend with in the most congested city in the world

GUIDES FOR PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC
Two types of guide-posts that preach the gospel of "safety first"

CHILDREN FIRST
A policeman holding up wheeled traffic while he safely convoys a party of school children across a busy avenue at their noonday recess



GUIDES FOR WHEELED TRAFFIC

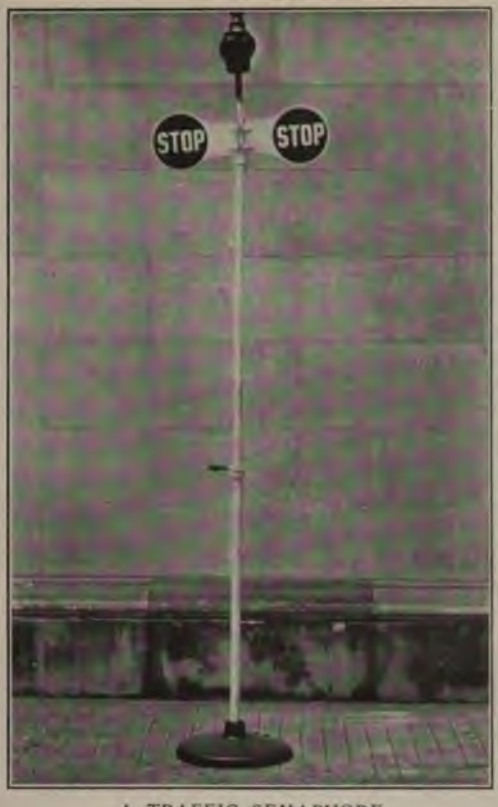
Two types of guide-posts that enable drivers of vehicles to understand traffic regulations

THE CAUSE OF MANY ACCIDENTS

Women shoppers in such a hurry that they race across Fifth Avenue in front of the fast-moving automobiles

one month trying to cross the streets in New York City than were lost in one year crossing the plains to the gold fields of California. In that city between January 1 and November 1, 1915, 567 persons were killed from street accidents, and 20,003 injured. About one-half, if not more, of these were children.

The traffic problem of New York—the control of the vehicles and the reduction of this roll of accidents—is the problem of all our cities. Los Angeles feels it; it is an acute issue in Chicago; both are simply representative of dozens of other cities in which congestion, narrow streets, and automobiles have created a situation that requires a drastic remedy even beyond mere police regulation, efficient as that is, for example, in New York.

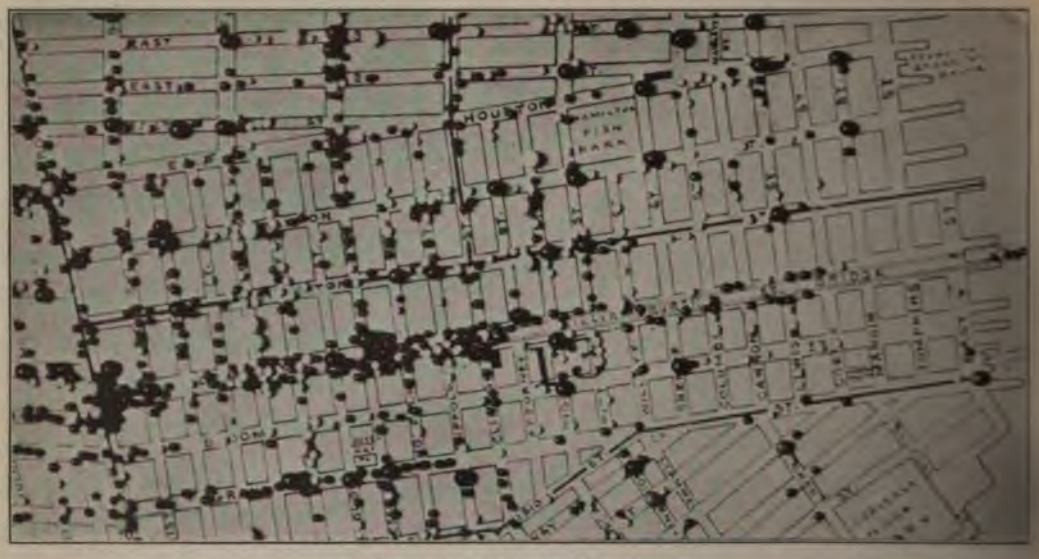


A TRAFFIC SEMAPHORE

During ten hours each day, armies as big as the populations of the largest inland cities move up and down and across Manhattan and Brooklyn—horse-drawn vehicles, motor trucks, automobiles, motor-cycles, street cars, and pedestrians. The policemen keep the lines moving from sunrise to sunset and late into the night.

NO SYSTEM IS FOOL-PROOF

Pedestrians ignoring traffic policeman and semaphore at Thirty-sixth Street and Fifth Avenue in New York City. They are continuing to cross the avenue after the policeman has signalled with his semaphore for north- and south-bound traffic to "go"



WHERE THE ACCIDENTS HAPPEN

A small section of the street-accident map of the Borough of Manhattan, showing fatal (white pins) and non-fatal accidents (black pins) for eight months only in the Thirteenth Police Precinct of New York City

HOW CHILDREN ARE KILLED AND INJURED

One of many posed photographs, showing how accidents occur to children while at play in the streets, used by the policemen while instructing their small wards how to avoid danger

SILENT PATROLMEN

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

traffic squad anticipates accidents by instructing children in the crowded East Side streets of New y. The inspectors give lectures on street crossing in the schools and the patrolmen back them up by nsel out-of-doors

IN WINTER UNIFORM

IN SUMMER UNIFORM

At Fulton Street and Broadway, Manhattan, in early November, the vehicular traffic was 10,300 for ten hours, and the pedestrians 223,000. Along Park Row, near the Brooklyn Bridge entrance, 296,500 pedestrians and 6,700 vehicles

AN EFFICIENT CAVALRY FORCE

Seven troops of the New York mounted police parading for drill and instruction under their Chief Inspector. The efficiency of the mounted force is partially accounted for by the inclusion among them of many ex-United States cavalrymen

passed Frankfort Street during that time. Farther uptown on Fifth Avenue, 25,580 vehicles and 142,230 pedestrians crossed 34th Street, and 9,645 vehicles and 158,260 pedestrians crossed 23d Street during the same time. To-day the figures will run even higher. In other words, the equivalent of the population of cities of the size of Rochester, St. Paul, Denver, Seattle, and Louisville is daily passing many different street crossings in Manhattan.

These figures show that many corners in New York City see more vehicles pass daily than any other street corners in the world. According to the report of the London Traffic Branch of the Board of Trade, the busiest corner in London is on Piccadilly, by the Ritz Hotel, where 28,735 vehicles pass by, yet a comparison of the two busiest corners in London with the two busiest in New York shows that more traffic passes the latter places in less time. The London totals are from 8 A. M. to 8 P. M., whereas the New York totals are from 8:30 A. M. to 6:30 P. M. only, a day of twelve hours as contrasted with a day of ten:

LONDON

Piccadilly, Ritz Hotel	28,735
Gray's Inn, Holborn	18,858

NEW YORK

Columbus Circle	39,210
Broadway and 42d Street . . .	19,650

THE ELEMENTS OF THE TRAFFIC PROBLEM

This immense number of moving vehicles is what constitutes a large part of the traffic problem. For it must be remembered that in many of our American cities, notably in New York, the growth has been more upward than spreading out: buildings have mounted twenty, thirty, forty stories into the air, and each of these floors is occupied by human beings. The streets, however, remain the same width. It is as if several cities were piled one on top of the other and yet were forced to depend for the movement of vehicular traffic upon the same size of street as twenty years ago.

Another new element that has projected itself into the question is the growth in speed and size of vehicles driven by motors. This has created a situation that resembles far more the grade crossings of railroads than the old quiet street crossing where pedestrians had nothing faster to look out for than a pair of high-stepping bays, and nothing larger, or moving with more momentum, than a big dray pulled by a couple of teams of Percherons.

Boiled down, the function of traffic control resolves itself into two objects: to keep things moving and to prevent accidents.

An efficient traffic control abhors a snarl. It must be untangled at once, and the smooth, easy, free movement of people, both afoot and in vehicles, must be resumed at the earliest possible moment. The business of a large city suffers perceptibly if traffic arrangements slow things up. I have often been struck in London with the way in which the first object of a traffic policeman seems to be to keep things moving. In other cities it sometimes seems as if the first object of the policeman were to hold things up. This difference in mental attitude of regulating officers means a difference of a good many minutes at a corner during the course of a day.

THE ROTARY SYSTEM

There are many different ways of regulating traffic, and it is a mistake to feel that any one of them is a solution for all conditions. Different cities and different corners in the same city offer different problems, each of which must be treated so as to bring the best solution to that particular place. At a place like Columbus Circle, in New York City, for instance, which is the intersection of several streets, and which is very wide and spacious, we are getting excellent results from a so-called rotary system. This does not necessitate the stopping of vehicles at all. They weave themselves in around a circle, always going. This can be done where the space is large enough and where the circle presents itself as a sufficient obstruction to force all vehicles coming in from the streets to slow up. On Fifth Avenue we have had no success in trying this same system, however. The crossings are so narrow that a circle cannot be placed at the intersection of the streets and leave sufficient room for vehicles to drive round it.

On Fifth Avenue we have been trying

a system such as is being used in other cities, of using tall stanchions as signs to drivers when to proceed and when to stop. The object is to use this system in a new way so that several blocks shall be worked as units; when a vehicle starts north, say at 32d Street, it keeps going on until it has gone at least five or six blocks. This system has worked in the main well, but nothing can work satisfactorily on a street like Fifth Avenue, for the trouble is not that a wrong system is used, but that there is too much traffic for that size of street.

In some places isles of safety are very helpful. But where traffic is congested enough to necessitate the stationing of policemen at corners, I believe that it is unwise and serves only to increase the danger of accidents if safety isles are used. The reason for this is that pedestrians are much more likely to wait for the policeman's signal if they have the whole street to cross than they are if an inviting safety isle tempts them half way across the street. And the chances they take to get to the safety isle have resulted, in our experience here in New York, in increasing the number of accidents at such corners.

"SAFETY ZONES" FOR PEDESTRIANS

Zones where people may stand safely while waiting for street cars, such as are used in Detroit, New York, and many other cities, have proved very useful in regulating traffic and in cutting down the number of accidents. And the strict enforcement of the regulation that no vehicle shall proceed within eight feet of a street car which is stopped to take on or let off passengers has been directly responsible for preventing a large number of accidents.

In different cities there are varying regulations as to speed. I do not know that this has been worked out satisfactorily anywhere. It is hard to say that one rate of miles an hour is dangerous whereas another is not. Much depends upon the driver, much depends upon the mechanical condition of the car, and, more perhaps than these, much depends upon the movement and carefulness of persons crossing the streets. I suppose the ideal law would be one that stated that reckless driving was *illegal, irrespective* of speed, but such a regulation would be most difficult to enforce, for who is to define what constitutes reckless driving, and how is a magistrate to decide from statements of the facts by police officer and by defendant whether it was reckless or not? In New York a speed of twenty miles an hour in the congested parts of the city, and twenty-five in the less built up parts, is considered presumptive evidence of recklessness.

The New York law specifies also that on rounding corners vehicles shall not go more than four miles an hour. This is most important, because a great class of accidents would be wholly avoided if pedestrians would cross the streets at crossings and nowhere else. And if we are to develop this habit of using crossings exclusively, we must make them safe.

A TRAFFIC COURT FOR NEW YORK

Indignant citizens often object when served with summonses for violating traffic rules, not on the ground that they were not violating the rule, but because others were also violating it and did not get caught. In the eye of the law their point is not well taken. The point of view is, however, very human. We should aim at developing a system of vehicular control so that it shall be perfectly clear to every one who drives a vehicle just what he may and may not do. To further this, a special Traffic Court is being instituted in New York, to which all traffic cases shall be taken, and which will deal with no other cases. The same magistrate will sit in this court day after day, and his interpretation of the law will govern.

Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, former Commissioner of Accounts of New York, who made a study of European police departments three years ago, has pointed out the large powers the London police head has compared to the powers of the police in American cities. Mr. Fosdick tells us that Scotland Yard requires the would-be driver of an automobile not only to pass a written examination but to demonstrate his ability on the street as well, under actual traffic conditions. Only if he passes this does he get a license, which is good until the police commissioner revokes it. The applicant, moreover, is fingerprinted so

that if for any reason he happens to get to court the fact is at once reported to the Police Department. If he drives his motor while drunk his license is revoked; if he is up for intoxication three times, even though off his driver's seat at the time, he automatically loses his license. Any license in London is revocable by the commissioner when, in his opinion, the driver shows that he is unable to drive his car without danger to the public.

The vehicles themselves are subjected to close supervision by the police in London; brakes are constantly tested by a squad who jump aboard passing cabs, automobiles, and trucks without warning, and make a quick test of the mechanism, and a driver who permits his brakes to become ineffective may expect to hear from the commissioner.

In New York City the police commissioner has no such power. In New Jersey the law provides that no person under the age of sixteen years shall be licensed to drive automobiles, and no person shall be licensed until he shall have passed a satisfactory examination as to his ability as an operator. It is lawful for a magistrate in New Jersey to revoke the license of any person who drives a motor vehicle when that person shall have been guilty of such wilful violation as shall, in the discretion of the magistrate, justify such revocation. The Court of Common Pleas on appeal has power to void such revocation.

In Connecticut, even wider power of suspension of licenses is vested in the Secretary of State, who may take the license away from any "improper or incompetent person."

In New York there is no such provision for safety as exists in New Jersey and Connecticut. For several years an effort has been made to have a law passed requiring all persons who operate motor vehicles to be licensed and to pass an examination as to their qualifications. This would include not only chauffeurs, but also owners who
[illegible] and other persons who may be
owners to operate their cars.
[illegible]n strenuously and
[illegible]he public pays for
During the year

1915, in New York City, 283 people were killed in the streets by motor vehicles, and 6,380 injured. While it cannot be said that the drivers were solely responsible for all these deaths and accidents, since it takes two to cause an accident, it is clear that reckless driving was solely responsible for many of them.

THE TOLL OF ACCIDENTS IN NEW YORK

The total number of street accidents in New York City during 1915 was 22,540. In these accidents the number of individuals injured or killed was 23,980.

One person was killed every 13¼ hours, and a person injured every 22 minutes.

As 80 per cent. of the accidents take place during the thirteen busy hours of the day, it follows that during such hours one person was injured every 15 minutes.

There were two and one half times as many persons killed in street accidents in New York during 1915 as were murdered—659 killed in street accidents and 260 murdered.

Twenty-one per cent. of street accidents befell persons who were in the street at some other place than the cross-walk. This is 3 out of 14. Two out of every 7 persons injured in vehicular accidents were in the street at some other place than the street crossing.

The most tragic element of the whole accident problem is the number of children that are victims. During the year, 290 children were killed, and 7,386 injured. This means that every 69 minutes a New York child is hurt in the streets.

Out of every 100 persons killed, 44 were children under 16 years of age. Out of every 100 injured, 32 were children, a proportion of almost one third. And 73 per cent. of all deaths in street accidents were caused by vehicles striking persons. These were vehicles of all classes, but those driven by motors are by far the greatest offenders; 27 per cent. of the persons killed in street accidents were struck by passenger automobiles, and 16 per cent. by motor trucks.

The motor truck is built now in such huge bulk that it gets tremendous momentum and is correspondingly unmanageable. We have tried in New York to get legisla-

tion limiting the size of such trucks and prescribing a speed limit of ten miles an hour, with the requirement that governors be part of the mechanism so that it shall be impossible for an operator to exceed the legal speed limit. We have been unsuccessful in accomplishing such legislation.

WHEN ACCIDENTS OCCUR

During the fall months of 1915 the greatest number of street accidents to children occurred between 4 and 7 o'clock in the afternoon; to adults between 5 and 7 o'clock. In the one case it was after school closed, and in the other it was when people were hurrying home from their work, and drivers of vehicles were eager to deliver their last package and be done.

In the month of October there were 20 school days and 11 holidays. On the school days 338 children of school age were injured, while on the holidays 244 were injured; in other words, an average of 17 per day were injured on school days, against 22 per day on holidays. Keeping the children at school reduced accidents 23 per cent. a day.

A large number of the children injured are knocked down while playing in the streets. But children must play; and those who live in New York, as things are now, must play mostly in the streets.

More care can, of course, be taken even by children, and to accomplish this we have sent police sergeants to all the public schools in the city to lecture on the subject of street accidents and how children should avoid them. This, incidentally, accomplishes the double purpose of helping children to avoid accidents and of helping policemen to gain the confidence and friendships of the boys and girls to whom traditionally the policeman has stood as an enemy and oppressor.

We also try to get the coöperation of parents. For instance, the police seldom arrest children nowadays for reckless playing in the streets, stealing rides, etc. Instead, they talk to the child and take its name and address. That night the captain of the precinct either personally visits the parents or writes them a letter explaining the chances their child has been [illegible] out to them how they can coöperate to try to avoid trouble. At the time the public schools opened last fall these warnings were being given at the rate of more than 2,000 a month.

During the summers of last year and the year before we set aside twenty-five or thirty blocks from which vehicular traffic was excluded, to be used by children for play. Each of these blocks was conducted in coöperation with some civic organization, which furnished a play leader. These blocks in a way supplemented the regular park system of the city. But all together they are not much more than a drop in a bucket. In the first place, there are not enough parks or playground streets to accommodate anything like the number of children that have to be in the city in the summer. In the second place, children will not go far from home to play. Day after day we see in New York plenty of room in parks, but children continue to play two or three blocks away in crowded streets in front of their own homes.

THE PLAYGROUND PROBLEM

I believe that the next move must be made in the direction of making other spaces available for play purposes, and the places that seem most promising are the roofs of houses and the back-yard space between rows of houses. In a great many instances a little leveling off of roofs of different houses and a small amount of money expended for protective fencing would make roof spaces available to the children for play.

But perhaps more promising than this is the great waste of back-yard space. In the crowded parts of the city an investigation recently made by the Police Department showed an aggregate of more than ninety acres of space available for playgrounds, which is now cut up in small patch-work back yards and practically useless. If these back-yard fences could be razed, and the space that they now ruin be thrown open in one large area for the children of the adjoining houses to play in, it would not merely afford adequate space for play, but would give it in a location where there was no danger of accident and the children [illegible] the [illegible]

THE MASTERY OF PELLAGRA

THE MYSTERIOUS DISEASE, ALMOST UNKNOWN IN THIS COUNTRY FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, THAT NOW CLAIMS 7,500 VICTIMS A YEAR AND IS SPREADING RAPIDLY —HOW THE DOCTORS OF THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE HAVE FOUND A WAY OF CURING AND PREVENTING IT

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

SEVERAL years ago an English scientist, learning that pellagra had broken out in the United States, remarked: "I am sorry—I am also glad, for the Americans will certainly discover the cause of this disease."

European scientists had struggled with pellagra for nearly two centuries, and had produced only a mass of sharply controverted theories. Americans have now been studying the disease for eight or nine years. While opinions differ as to whether they have discovered its cause, so high an authority as the *Journal* of the American Medical Association evidently believes that they have made great progress. The experiments recently conducted by the United States Public Health Service, under the direction of Dr. Joseph Goldberger, demonstrate, says the *Journal*, "that pellagra is a nutritional disease . . . Judging by the advancements recently made, the problem will eventually be solved. In the meantime there is available a practical means of prevention and cure and to Goldberger and his associates great credit is due for their work. In view of the increasing prevalence of pellagra and the fact that more than 7,500 people in the United States will die of the disease in the present calendar year, the value of their studies from both public health and economic standpoints may be compared to those of the relation of diet to beriberi and the mosquito to the transmission of yellow fever."

There are more than even chances, ap- we now know the cause of : of this, we have in- ore practical impor- ' to cure and how to prevent it. Pellagra is no longer a horrible mystery in the sense that its extension over the greater part of the United States is inevitable. If it does overwhelm the whole Nation, it will be the Nation's fault. Such a calamity can be forestalled.

Pellagra forms probably the most dramatic episode in American medical history. This Italian word even now conveys no meaning to many million Americans. When an American magazine, a few years ago, published the first popular article on this disease, most people treated the performance as a joke. What was this new medical terror that threatened to destroy the American people? Few American doctors had ever seen the disease, and thousands had never even heard of it. Only those who had an academic interest in their science knew anything about pellagra; these had read in the text-books of a peculiar malady, supposed to be caused by eating moldy Indian corn, which widely prevailed in certain parts of Italy, France, Spain, Austria, the Balkan States, Egypt, and other countries, whose chief manifestations were eruptions on the back of the hand, the feet, the neck, and other exposed surfaces, and whose most distressing consequence was the insanity which so frequently marked its terminal stage.

But American doctors had to read about it; they never met pellagra in their practice. It was an exotic scourge, like beriberi or the sleeping sickness. The medical authorities always noted our immunity from this affliction. In 1907, Sir Patrick Manson, the man who first propounded the idea that the mosquito transmitted malaria, wrote an article opposing the Italian idea that Indian corn caused pellagra. The United States furnished him his clinching

argument. "There are vast regions in which maize is extensively cultivated and much eaten," he said, "but in which pellagra is absolutely unknown. A most convincing example is that of the United States of America." Sir William Osler, writing in 1906, noted that "pellagra has not been observed in the United States." Lombroso, who established his scientific reputation by identifying maize as the cause of the disease—a "discovery" now entirely discredited—also found no traces of it in this country. Pellagra, he believed, would exterminate the Italian peasants; nothing could be done in Italy to save them. Their only salvation, he said, was a wholesale emigration to North America.

THE RAPID INCREASE OF PELLAGRA

Only ten years ago, so far as American physicians and scientific medicine knew, there was no pellagra in the United States. Doubtless cases had existed here unsuspected for many years; antiquarian research has recently uncovered unmistakable traces of it. The disease did not prevail in the United States, however, on any large scale. Yet the *Journal* of the American Medical Association, as already quoted, says that 7,500 Americans will die of this disease in the current year! This is nearly half as many as will die of typhoid fever and about three fourths of the mortality from diphtheria. Nearly 1,600 people died of pellagra in Mississippi last year; more people die annually from pellagra in South Carolina than from any other disease except tuberculosis. In 1909, according to an estimate made by Dr. J. W. Babcock, one of the first to discover pellagra in this country, we had 1,000 cases in sixteen states; in 1912—only three years later—we had from 25,000 to 30,000 in thirty-nine states. Many people regard these estimates as extremely conservative, Dr. H. C. Harris, health officer of the Georgia State Board of Health, going so far as to declare that, in 1912, there were 50,000 cases in his state alone. Whatever the figures may be, the disease is not only maintaining its virulence, but it is extending its area. Half a dozen years ago, certain Southern states, especially North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, apparently furnished this disease its friendliest soil. Now Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas regard pellagra as one of their greatest problems. Though the Southern states, where pellagra made its first appearance in this country, still have the great majority of cases, it breaks out sporadically elsewhere. An occasional pellagrin appears in New York City; in the two largest cities of Illinois, Chicago and Peoria, the disease has become so common that the state recently organized a special commission to investigate it.

Imagine that, in the next ten years, the United States should develop 20,000 or 30,000 cases of leprosy. The development would be no more astounding than this sudden breaking out of pellagra.

What are we going to do about it? The Federal Government maintains a Public Health Service whose business it is to answer questions like this. In the last three years its investigation has produced valuable and tangible results.

A MUCH DISCUSSED DISEASE

Dr. Goldberger and his associates found an immense amount of pellagra literature ready accumulated to their hands. Europe, in nearly two centuries, had produced a mountainous array of books, pamphlets, reports of pellagra societies, results of governmental investigations and anti-pellagra campaigns. Scores of eminent experts had experimented on animals, isolated all kinds of causative bacteria, and incriminated any number of transmitting insects and worms. No disease, unless it is cancer, had given rise to such varied and acrimonious discussion. In Europe, two great sets of thinkers, rather formidably known as zeists and anti-zeists, had quarreled for several years. The zeists believed that eating Indian corn caused the disease; the anti-zeists controverted this hypothesis. As Sambon, a caustic English investigator, said, these philosophers studied mainly not pellagra but Indian corn. The theory was that moldy maize, upon which the peasants of Northern Italy largely lived, had tilled certain poisons which caused the disease. The other explanation gained the wide

heir work the maize theory had al-
received a good many substantial
s, for the doctors had had no diffi-
in finding patients who never ate corn,
or wholesome. Only last year a
York actress, who had lived for many
upon a strict Broadway diet—in
lobsters and sweetbreads play a
conspicuous rôle than corn mush or
ta—died of pellagra. As to infection,
lea was attractive and plausible, but
e had yet discovered any microscopic
that could cause the disease.

A DISEASE OF POVERTY

us, though the Americans found
of suggestions, their very abundance
complexity only intensified the prob-
On only one point did the authori-
gree. Pellagra, like tuberculosis, is a
e of poverty. Though millionaires
ot exempt—well-to-do people not in-
ently contract it—it mainly flourishes
poverty and unhygienic conditions
il. In Italy, the half-starved peas-
chiefly suffer; in this country, the
s that suffer from hookworm also
most from pellagra. The Illinois
ra commission, which particularly
d the disease in the hospitals for the
e, recorded one significant fact: that
hat an improvement in diet exercised
eficial effect. The dietaries of the
is hospitals were not deficient in
y or quantity, but they were low in
l protein. The inmates, that is, ate
meat, eggs, milk, or fish. Though the
ission said that the relation might be
accidental, the fact remained that
rous patients whose dietary had been
rced by animal food improved. In-
ng the amount of meat at the institu-
at Peoria and Dunning had decreased
umber of pellagrins, while decreasing
at Elgin had apparently had the
of increasing pellagra. The com-
n did not lay particular stress upon
developments. Pellagra, it con-
is an infectious disease, to which
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orly fed more easily falls a
ivading organism, precisely
ugh admittedly caused
by a micro-organism, attacked mainly people with weakened constitutions.

In 1912, the Thompson-McFadden Commission, organized and privately endowed for the study of pellagra, brought fourteen pellagrins from Spartanburg County, S. C., to New York. They were all bad cases—so hopeless that, before agreeing to come North, they made the doctors promise to send their bodies back home. Evidently these unfortunates had not the slightest expectation of ever returning alive. Yet they all went back, in good condition and apparently well. What had produced this unexpected transformation? The New York physicians had had no specific treatment; the curative result had been achieved by nothing more revolutionary than a complete change in environment and in diet. Dr. W. J. MacNeal, of the Thompson-McFadden Commission, simply had these patients under his complete control. They had plenty of rest and a splendid variety of wholesome food, and, under these circumstances, their pellagrous manifestations rapidly disappeared. After a few months, they returned home, began living again in the old environment and began eating once more their old familiar diet of sow-belly, corn meal, and molasses. Eight promptly showed their old manifestations, three in aggravated form, while three have remained free from the disease.

A careful study of the literature of pellagra revealed certain striking facts. Like beriberi, scurvy, typhus, and other diseases, pellagra especially flourishes in institutions. Insane asylums, orphanages, and other places of like character are frequently the headquarters of the disease in endemic form. Inasmuch as here we have people living in close association, this fact would indicate, at least superficially, that the disease is contagious. But, says Dr. Goldberger, a study of institutions always presented one mysterious fact. Why did the attendants never acquire it? In all asylums there were two distinct classes of inhabitants: the patients or dependents themselves and the people who cared for them. Both came usually from about the same grade of Society. The two classes lived in constant daily association. The nurses slept in rooms immediately near their

charges; they had precisely the same sanitary accommodations; they breathed the same air and—at least so the institutional régime indicated—they ate precisely the same food. Yet, except in extremely rare instances, they did not contract pellagra, although the disease was flourishing all around them. Nurses and doctors in leper colonies frequently contract leprosy, but nurses and attendants giving all their time to the care of pellagrins almost never contract pellagra. Would they not occasionally do so if the disease were transmissible through infection? Dr. Goldberger minutely studied the environment and habits of these two classes to discover any difference that might satisfactorily explain the susceptibility of the one and the freedom of the other.

PELLAGRA NOT INFECTIOUS?

At first he had no success. All external circumstances seemed the same. He asked about diet. "Both nurses and patients," he was informed, "eat the same food." The institutions investigated presented menus to prove the point. These dietaries showed a fair variety—they contained biscuits, corn meal, grits, other food popular in the region; but they also contained a certain proportion of meat and vegetables. The nurses and patients ate this diet in the same room, though at different tables. The patients had a large proportion of pellagrins—the nurses had not a single one. But an intensive study of a meal in operation immediately cleared up the mystery. The food was brought in on trays and the attendants had the first choice. After they had helped themselves, the inmates had to take what was left. These trays, when brought in, contained large quantities of corn products and small quantities of meat. The attendants, having their first choice, naturally took the more attractive foods. This left very little meat, milk, eggs, and other protein foods for the unhappy lunatics. Thus a number of inmates had no "varied diet," but ate, monotonously, day after day, the cheap foods that are consumed so largely by the poor people of the South. These were the individuals who developed pellagra.

...nation of food conditions at an orphanage in Mississippi disclosed the same relation of food to pellagra, though in different form. Here, although the disease prevailed on an extensive scale, one fact stood out above all others: Nearly all the children who had the disease ranged from six to twelve years old. The wards containing children under six had practically no cases—although pellagra is by no means uncommon among small children, even among nursing infants; the boys and girls above twelve also had some strange immunity. What explained these discrepancies? Again, close scrutiny disclosed a difference in diet. The nurses regarded the children under six as babies, and gave them babies' food; that is, each one had a cup of fresh milk three times a day. At about the age of six, however, this milk ration was cut down or entirely shut off. The inmates more than twelve were regarded as "workers," and given a ration, in which animal food occupied a more conspicuous part, regarded as necessary for workers. But the children who came between lived mainly on the established biscuit, corn meal, grits, syrup, and the like, with little meat.

A "DEFICIENCY DISEASE"

These facts apparently disclosed some relation between food and pellagra. The relation, it is true, was obscure. There was no indication that corn products caused the disease, as the Italians believed; there was no certain sign that protein food necessarily prevented it. These details had to be worked out later; what was apparent was that people who ate certain combinations of food contracted the disease and that others who ate other combinations escaped it. But these observations would probably have had no result except for a new development in medical science. A new class of human plagues was appearing about this time on the horizon, known as "deficiency diseases." These afflictions, the best known of which are beriberi and scurvy, have not a positive but a negative cause. The victims eat certain foods that are deficient in particular substances, the precise nature of which is essen-

that the excessive eating of polished rice, unsupported by other foods, causes beriberi, forms one of the most brilliant episodes in recent medical work. Like pellagra, beriberi flourished extensively in jails and other public institutions. It resembled pellagra in a dozen different ways; in particular it has that same peculiar habit of subsiding in the late summer and fall and breaking out again in the spring and early summer. Millions of people have died of this disease never knowing that a simple expedient—merely eating unpolished rice—would have restored them to health. When the Americans began their health work in the Philippines, beriberi raged in all the jails; acting on this discovery, Dr. Heiser and his associates have exterminated it. Clearly polished rice did not cause pellagra, for Americans eat little of it; was it unlikely, however, that this Southern dietary similarly lacked some essential to our physical chemistry and that this "deficiency" or "fault" explained this strange disease? Was it not likely that maize, as Lombroso thought, did cause pellagra—but in a way in which he had never dreamed? His idea was that it contained a destructive poison. Was it not conceivable that it lacked a substance necessary to health? As northern Italian peasants eat very little except polenta, the analogy of rice and beriberi and corn products and pellagra seems emphatic.

DR. GOLDBERGER'S EXPERIMENTS

These observations suggested an obvious experiment. Why not take a group of pellagrins, feed them upon a varied, nutritious diet, and see what happened? The South, in its charitable institutions, furnished an abundance of experimental material. Dr. Goldberger selected two orphanages near Jackson, Miss., in both of which the disease had existed in endemic form for many years. I have already referred to the fact that this disease, like scurvy and beriberi, breaks out in the spring and early summer. A person first assailed usually shows the manifestations at this time of the year. As the fall season approaches the eruptions commonly diminish—at tin ly vanish entirely, only to reappear, usually in aggravated form, in the spring. For many years pellagra had run this usual course in these Mississippi orphanages. If Dr. Goldberger's theory were correct, he could prove it by changing the diet of these pellagrous children in the fall and winter—and so fortify them against their annual spring recurrences. If the manifestations did not follow the usual cycle, he could fairly conclude that the changed diet had prevented them. This was precisely what he did. He took all precautions to change not a single detail of the children's routine except their diet. The sanitary surroundings, which were far from ideal, were purposely left uncorrected; the children occupied the same rooms, had the same drinking water, pursued their old familiar order of existence. In their food, however, a radical change was made. Their milk supply was greatly increased. Every child under twelve years had a cup of seven ounces at least twice a day. They had at least one egg at every breakfast—a luxury to which they had been entirely unaccustomed. Until the Goldberger experiments they had had meat only once a week; now they had it three or four times, their dietaries containing such unaccustomed dainties as roast beef, frankfurters, and hash. Beans and peas, which the children had previously had only in the summer and fall, now formed part of the mid-day meal at all seasons. Corn, in itself, evidently had no terrors for the experimenters, for they served it frequently, not making it, however, the staple diet.

The only change that came into the lives of these pellagrous children was the fact that now, probably for the first time, they had a mixed dietary, of precisely the same kind as millions of their more fortunate brothers and sisters enjoy normally. And the results were fairly astounding. "Pellagra has disappeared from these orphanages," an observer remarked, "like snow before the sun." The institutions that for several years had had scores of cases every spring and summer now do not have it at all. In the first of these orphanages there were 79 cases in the spring and summer of 1914. In the spring of 1915—the diet having been changed meanwhile—

there was not a single case. Had it not been for a few pellagrous children who entered in 1915—entered, that is, already sick with pellagra—the disease would have been entirely unknown. In the second orphanage there had been 130 cases in 1914. Of these only one recurred. Grouping these two institutions, we have 209 cases of pellagra, which, submitted to a nutritious diet, developed only one recurrence. Statistics show that at least 50 per cent. of pellagrins—people, that is, who have had one attack of the disease—develop it in the succeeding year. Normally, therefore, the orphanages should have had 104 cases. In reality, as already said, they had only one!

Precisely the same experiment was tried upon 72 adult insane pellagrins at the Georgia State Sanitarium, the largest in the South. The disease vanished under a varied diet precisely as it had disappeared in the orphanages. Not a single one of the 72, after exchanging their corn meal, syrup, and grits for a diet in which milk, meat, eggs, beans, and peas played an important, if a modest, rôle, showed any symptoms of a recurrence.

PELLAGRA IS PREVENTABLE

Clearly, a well balanced diet can cure and prevent pellagra; however, does this prove that the absence of such a diet causes the disease? Not necessarily. The ancient Peruvians observed that individuals who chewed Peruvian bark never had the ague. This did not prove, however, that a failure to chew this bark caused the disease. There are still physicians who deny that eating an exclusive diet of polished rice causes beriberi, although they freely grant that eating unpolished rice will cure it. The theory is that the lack of substantial food weakens the system and so lowers its resistance to disease that it gives way at the first onslaught. Similarly, when the body is afflicted, good food strengthens the organism and so permits it to throw off the affliction. Tuberculosis is the favorite illustration of this point.

But Dr. Goldberger's next series of experiments—experiments which are among the most sensational ever performed in *this country*—have apparently settled this *estion.* There is, of course, only one way of determining whether an unbalanced diet causes pellagra—that is by experimenting on human beings. But human experiments involve certain embarrassments, as pellagra is a dangerous and frequently a fatal disease. Governor Brewer, of Mississippi, however, had been greatly impressed by Dr. Goldberger's work at the Mississippi orphanages. As Mississippi suffers acutely from this disease, he had every reason for desiring to settle the problem. The farm of the Mississippi State Penitentiary, which was located eight miles from Jackson, had the usual assortment of prisoners—murderers, burglars, and other amiable characters. Governor Brewer informed these people that he would like a dozen or so convicts for a series of pellagra experiments. Twelve men were easily secured on the promise that they would be given a free pardon for their devotion to science.

"What are you going to feed us on?" they asked. The prospective menus, containing corn meal, biscuits, mush, grits, turnip tops, syrup, sweet potatoes, coffee—no meat, eggs, beans, or peas—was submitted to them.

"Oh, we can stand that," they assented.

No pellagra had ever visited this convict farm. The twelve convicts—later reduced to eleven, as one withdrew owing to a serious affliction, in no way related to pellagra—had never had the disease. For the first ten weeks—from February 4 to April 19, 1915—no change was made in their diet. Then, at high noon, the whole squad began eating the food that makes up the spring and winter dietary of millions of people in the South. The rest of the convict camp, comprising about sixty men, were kept upon the usual prison food. These served as "controls" in the experiment. Both classes lived in the same hygienic conditions and both did the same kind of labor. The only difference was that one group ate the experimental food while the other had the usual prison fare. Any change that might be noted in their health, therefore, could be attributed to this one distinguishing fact.

The course of pella
unmistakable.
nervous or

a ringing in the ears. Then
: dyspeptic disturbances and
Afterward come the inevitable
the signs that have given the dis-
ame (*Pellagra*, Italian for *rough*
red eruptions on the skin, sugges-
sipelas.

he eleven convicts developed all
ptoms of pellagra; the convicts
ormal" food showed no change.
us and digestive manifestations,
oldberger in his scientific report,
ild, but distinct." The skin
nformed to the classical descrip-
e disease. Two had them on the
he hands; one on the back of the
n some part of the body. There
nce, of course, that Dr. Goldber-
is associates might be deceived,
the things that they were eager
he thing to do, therefore, was to
ntlemen who handled pellagra
y day.

recaution Dr. Goldberger took.
Stewart, formerly superintendent
sissippi State Hospital for the In-
has had the widest possible ex-
vith the disease, examined all the
made a diagnosis of pellagra.
Galloway, secretary of the Mis-
tate Board of Health, concurred
inion. There was left the slight-
e that even these experienced
ad been deceived and that the
ight be suffering from some other
ase. Dr. Martin F. Engman,
of dermatology in Washington
Medical School of St. Louis—
he greatest authorities in the
tates—and Dr. Marcus Haase,
of dermatology at the University
see, examined the men and ruled
ossibility.

T, A CAUSE AND A CURE

ne United States Public Health
aims to have done three things.
e cured pellagra, they have pre-
they have caused it. What more,
is necessary to show the relation
his disease and an unbalanced
ere are those, of course, who re-
ccept their conclusions. Many
e authorities still insist that
pellagra is an infectious disease, for which the communicating organism will some day be discovered. Though these convict experiments have aroused wide discussion, everybody agrees that the orphanage experiences have the greatest practical significance. Whether or not Dr. Goldberger has shown that a wretched dietary causes the disease, he certainly has shown that a varied diet can cure and prevent it. Most writers on the subject have noted the beneficial effect of nutritious food. Many Southern physicians have obtained cures by wholesome feeding; several years ago Dr. C. S. Pixley, of Winnsboro, S. C., reported the successful treatment of pellagra by using a varied dietary. Dr. Goldberger's accomplishment is a scientific and conclusive demonstration of a fact that had hitherto been understood in a hazy, undefined, hypothetical fashion. Dr. Goldberger has devoted all his attention to the question of nutrition and has apparently proved his point.

A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEM

As in the case of so many other diseases, pellagra is fundamentally a social and an economic problem. Its final cause is exceedingly obscure; the popular diet of the poor people in the South lacks some chemical, some recondite substance that is essential to health and life. These people can still eat corn, mush, grits, and sowbelly. But they must eat something else—lean meat, milk, eggs, beans, peas, and other legumes. We can all eat polished rice—most of us do—without getting beriberi. But that is because we eat so many other things that contain this unknown substance which polished rice lacks. People who, like so many Asiatics, eat practically nothing but polished rice suffer terribly from this disease. And the situation in pellagra is evidently the same. There are rare cases of apparently well nourished people who do have pellagra, just as individuals who never eat rice of any kind get beriberi. But these are the eccentricities of the disease, which more detailed experience will probably explain. For practical purposes, the Southern states now have the control of this disease in their own hands.

THE ARMORIES OF THE NATIONS

FIVE PRINTS

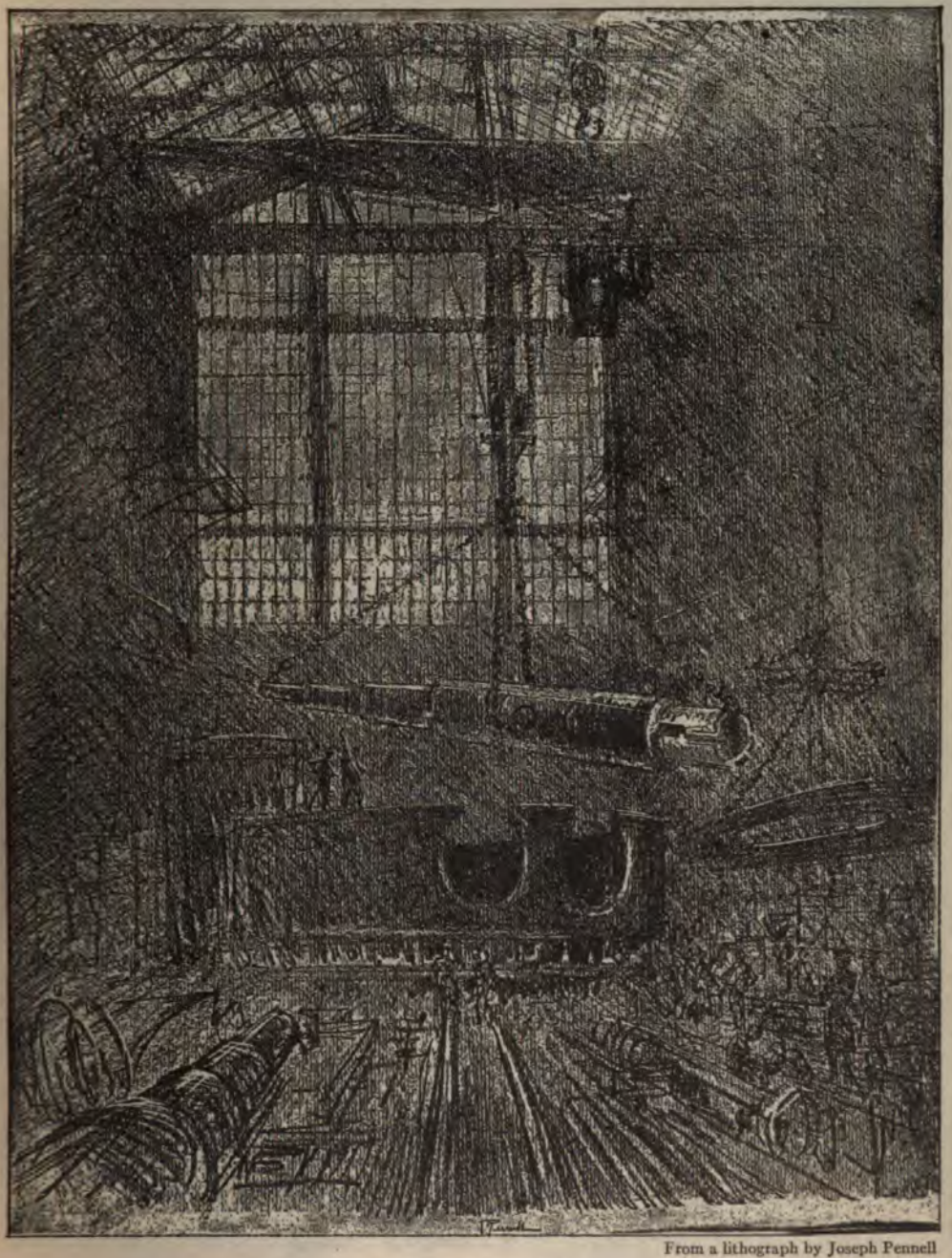
BY

JOSEPH PENNELL

From a lithograph by Joseph Pennell — Courtesy of Frederick Keppel & Company

CREUSOT, THE ARMORY OF FRANCE

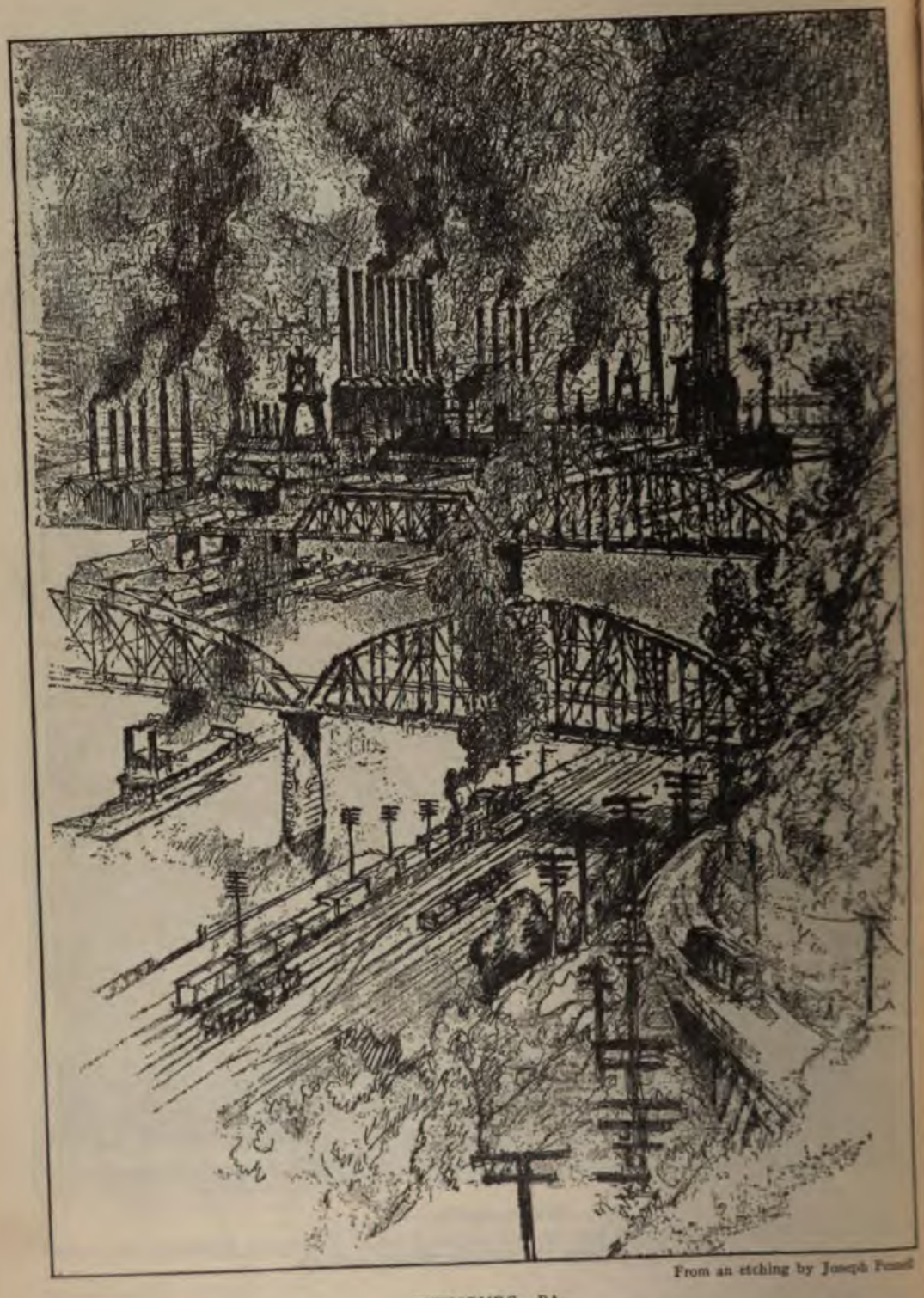
The Schneider factories, where the famous French 75 millimeter guns are made



From a lithograph by Joseph Pennell

ESSEN, GERMANY

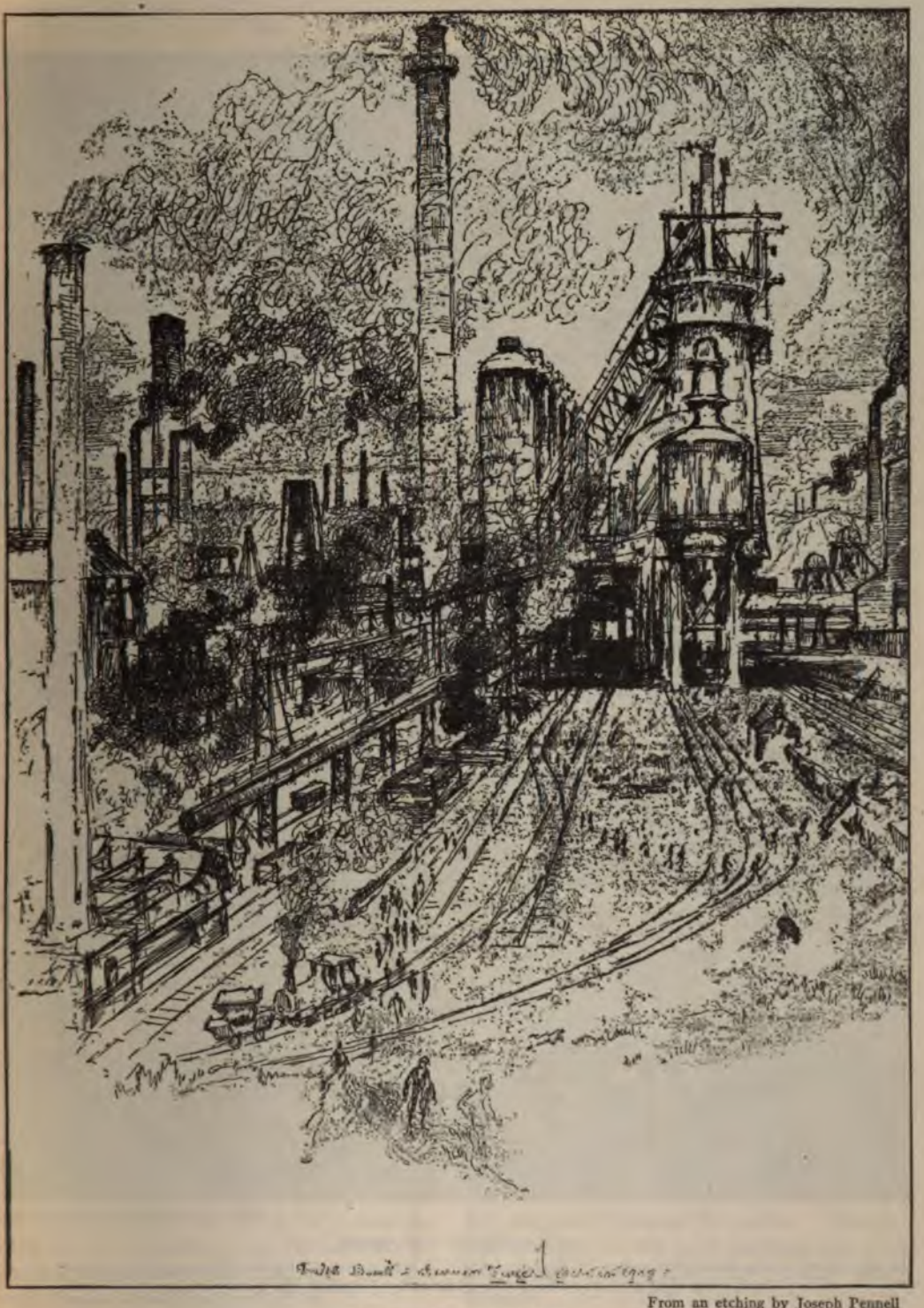
In the Krupp works. The efficiency and enormous output of this plant have been among the chief reasons for Germany's remarkable military successes



From an etching by Joseph Pennell

PITTSBURG, PA.

The centre of the steel industry of the United States. In case of war this district would be of the utmost importance in the task of supplying our Army and Navy with materials of war



From an etching by Joseph Pennell

SHEFFIELD, ENGLAND

Where the Hadfield steel plant, the largest private armor factory in England, is working night and day to supply the British armies with guns and munitions

From a lithograph by Joseph Pennell

CHARLEROI, BELGIUM

In the centre of the great iron region of that country. It was captured by the Germans in August, 1914, and since that time they have turned its output against the former owners

"WE DEMAND"

THRACITE AND THE HIGH COST OF CHEAP LABOR

CTURE OF LIFE IN THE COAL FIELDS AS IT AFFECTS THE DEMANDS OF THE ERS FOR MORE WAGES—HOW THE PUBLIC PAYS FOR UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRA-ON AND ITS TRAIN OF INEFFICIENCY, THRIFTLESSNESS, AND TURBULENCE

BY

GUY W. McCONNELL

"The negotiations at the expiration on April 1st of the existing anthracite wage agreement involve the st of 175,000 mine workers, the biggest financiers in America, and the 10 million families who burn acite coal." So runs the first sentence of a notice to the public issued by the United Mine Workers erica as a preface to a statement of the ten demands which they have insisted should be the basis new agreement. The most important of these demands is for an increase of 20 per cent. in wages. nployers (the coal operators) estimate that this will add 60 cents a ton to the retail price of coal, or 23 n dollars a year to the public's coal bill—for they frankly promise to pass the increased cost of g directly on to the public.

Mr. McConnell has made a first-hand investigation in the coal fields, and his article is a picture of the the miners and their families as it affects the justice of these demands. His assumption of at partial wage increase is based largely on the broad fact that the price of nearly everything, labor ed, tends to rise during "good times" like the present. More important than this, however, is the anization of life that be found in the anthracite country. It is another evidence of the folly of un-ted immigration. "Social evils," says Mr. McConnell, "appear to have done more than the rise cost of living to absorb the miners' earnings." He finds that the coal operators have done some-to correct these wasteful habits; that the union has done little but ask for more wages and has y ignored the opportunity to make present wages go further; and that Society and the Government one nothing at all. The first step toward a permanent solution of the chronic anthracite problem l be taken at Ellis Island; the second step, at the capital of Pennsylvania. "Cheap labor" comes because it is inefficient, thriftless, and turbulent—and the public pays the bill.—THE EDITORS.]

ON THE afternoon of Sunday, the 20th of February, I loitered at the Lackawanna depot at Scranton, in the heart of the anthracite coal ns of Pennsylvania, waiting for the ound 3:47.

one wing of the station, a knot of coal is chatted pleasantly with their secre-. A group of labor union delegates, opposite corner, talked seriously in ones among themselves. The "Lim-arrived. The committee of the ized coal mining companies, repre-ng working capital of $275,000,000, to the Pullmans; the spokesmen for than 100,000 organized coal workers ahead into the day coaches.

onlooker, one of the 50,000 unrepre-d wage earners not members of the rs' union, laughingly saluted the de-parting train. Millions of the unorganized hard-coal users in the land now know that these men were bound for a conference, in New York City, to determine upon a wage and working agreement in substitution, on the last day of March, of the expiring treaty between employer and workman in the anthracite industry, signed May 20, 1912.

In 1902, in these fields, an industrial peace, was sought and established by a commission appointed by the President of the United States, after a six months' strike. The immediate cost of that settlement to the coal-buying public was $75,000,000 in after-strike prices. The immediate gain of the coal workers was a 10 per cent. wage advance, among other awards. A sliding scale, too, was instituted, by which, from 1902 to 1912, practically 4¼ per cent. was added to the workers' pay. When, in 1912, the sliding

scale was abolished, another wage increase of 10 per cent. was granted to the men. And now still another wage concession is probably about to be granted to the statistically stated 20 per cent. demands of the miners' union by the operators who, by fact and figure, the substantial accuracy of which may be accepted, have forewarned the public, in recent advertisements far and wide, to be prepared, therefore, to pay 60 cents more a ton for householders' sizes alone; or, concretely, $23,000,000 is to be tacked on to the already burdensome family coal bills.

So, recently, after a long absence, I have been revisiting the anthracite communities to ascertain how these fuelers of the family cook-stove have fared and what they have been doing with their money during the fourteen years of industrial truce.

We demand that no contract miner shall be permitted to have more than one working place. —Mine Workers' Demand No. 6.

The first, last, and all the time knotty problem of the mining company is that of work (and consequently wage) distribution. At the Oxford mine, for example, I took a laborer's job under a non-union "contractor," whom I shall here call Thomas Lang, instanced to me by a unionist as one of the "hogs" who are enriching themselves at the expense of the man of union principle. The "contractor" holds the best job, non-company, in the mines. About one fourth of the total number of mine workers are "contractors." With the "contractor" the company official makes the "individual lettings and agreements" so strongly objected to by the union, which opposes also the "contracting" of more than one chamber by any one miner.

Lang, I found, was working ten chambers at one time—"discrimination," the union calls it. The chambers of a mine are not unlike the avenues branching from the main street of a town. There were twenty of us, a "miner" and a "laborer" to a chamber, each pair getting out six cars a day. This, ordinarily, is a full day's task, although, under "favorable" car supply conditions, I have helped to mine and load *ten cars* during a nine-hour shift.

Each "miner" received 30 cents and each "laborer" 40 cents a car from Lang, the laborers being higher paid because it was up to them to get out the greatest possible tonnage of the coal mined. The mining company paid $1.18 per car to Lang. His powder and oil cost about $16 a day. These supplies he bought from the company—another union-fought practice. His own working time in the mine hardly exceeded five or six hours daily. His net earnings ran about $12.80.

Counting out Sundays, holidays, and half-time Saturdays, the full mine working year is about 280 days. Figure it out for yourself! Many a small town bank president's salary is less than Lang's earnings.

Small wonder, then, that of this enterprising type of "contractor," of which there are scores throughout the region plodding along at their trade and indifferent to union disaffection, it is whispered about the "locals" by the humanly envious that there is a "rake-off" somewhere to mine foreman or even superintendent for favorite locations and plenty of cars.

UNION VS. NON-UNION

In the same mine, "space" by "space" with Lang, are numbers of single-chamber, union "contractors," each with his one—rarely more—laborer, working under wage terms identical with his, paying the same $1.50 a keg for powder and 20 cents a gallon for oil, making $3.50, $4, and sometimes $4.50 a day. But they cannot emulate Lang's example, because of their avowed allegiance to trade-unionism which uniformly condemns the custom. Yet, paradoxical as it appears, Lang, and his kind, must attribute his prosperity to the wage scales obtained by the union.

One night recently, by design on my part, I met Lang and his wife at their church "social," the former naturally failing to recognize me clean-shaven, English-spoken, and "dressed up." I went with them to their home in a section among hundreds of other self-owned homes where union men and "scabs" live side by side, though not over-neighborly. The house was furnished in good taste. There was a piano and a Victrola, too. A young man from a local dry-goods store was calling on the oldest daughter. The younger children were

studying their lessons for school next day, one in the grammar grade. A half-grown boy told me about the Ford they were to have in the spring. Lang waxed enthusiastic upon Billy Sunday, against drink, and invited me down into the cellar to inspect his wife's canning. Mrs. Lang, with simple pride, told me of her personal savings account in the bank.

"We believe in being prepared," were her last words, as I went out into the street.

Prepared? Against what? Well, for one thing, the ill effects of the troubles of 1902, which thousands of peace-loving, prosperous, satisfied family men everywhere are fervently praying never to come again, have not been forgotten. Approximately $25,000,000 in wages was forfeited by the mine workers in idleness during that strike, with only $1,800,000 in "strike fund" to go on.

"The conservative element have gotten ahead of the game and want to stay there," say the banks and the building and loan associations. "They don't want to give up the comforts of life which they have acquired," say the merchants. "They've been saving against poverty by accident and disease," said my old friend, Dr. Paine.

"On the other hand," grimly declared a trained social worker to me in the Hazleton district, "while the entire hard-coal population has increased 36 per cent. during the last fourteen years, the cost of maintaining the poor and destitute has gone up 138 per cent."

Here is an outgrowth of changed labor distribution bearing directly upon the whole social problem.

A CHANGED TYPE OF LABORER

In my day, the Irishman, Scotchman and Welshman, Briton, and German were the coal miners and of the majority among the laborers. These were the raw, hot-tempered socialists who came over in the '80's or the second and third generation of the firebrand pioneer 'forty-fivers. Now, while [illegible] and daughters comprise [illegible]ommunity population, [illegible]ity of the working- have evolved, so to [illegible]an or engineer; [illegible] the teacher or preacher; the lawyer or doctor; the clerk or auditor or stenographer; the undertaker or baker; the politician or saloon keeper. But I still find them to be, in the main, the secretaries and treasurers of the "locals" and in the higher salaried official positions in the union body.

Driven into their places by the extreme and peculiar hardships of laboring down under the crust of the earth, have come hordes upon hordes of a racial type more physically fit to fight off the rheumatism lurking in the "dog-hole" of a wet chamber and less susceptible to the prevalent miner's asthma and germs of tuberculosis. These are the peasantry of Southeastern Europe, Russia, and Poland. They are the rank and file of the anthracite field where "general conditions have grown steadily worse," said President White, of the United Mine Workers of America, the other day. "Owing to the increase of 17 per cent. in the cost of living during the last few years, many of our men are in debt to the landlord and instalment houses, their children, in order to keep alive and stay in school, subsisting on oatmeal three times a day. Families are frequently forced to live three and four in one house."

SIDELIGHTS ON THE HOUSING PROBLEM

"Over on the west side," said one of the attorneys of the D. L. & W., while we were dining at the Scranton Club, "our company owns a row of tumbling down houses built for the miners in the 'old days.' For eight years we've been trying literally to drive the tenant Huns and Slavs out. They live like rats. They simply won't budge, in the face of our desire to provide them with new and more sanitary homes."

For this shelter the companies charge $3.50, $4, and $5 a month rent. The fault in the unquestionably wretched "housing" problem is not wholly theirs. I worked in one colliery in Luzerne County where the mining company has started a "model" village of twenty concrete, two-story homes. Each contains a bath-room, three bed-rooms, and two and a half rooms on the ground floor, and is electric lighted throughout. Prizes, once a year, are distributed by the company to the most "model" housekeeper and for the best-kept lawns.

There are swings for the children, a public swimming pool, and a library. At Big Run there is another such village and still another at Underwood colliery. The monthly rent is about $8. The 1912 increase in wages to the cheapest "labor" would more than cover the difference in cost of rental between the "shack" or rat-infested "cellar basement" and cleanly, comfortable shelter, if the men would only look at it in that way.

Since the injection of this new, low, and now predominant social type into the labor element in the coal fields, regardless of increased wages of about 25 per cent., the overflowing asylums and almshouses and the county poor board "orders" of from $3 to $8 a month, issued by the hundreds, alone indicate that dependency is on the increase. There are, indeed, thousands of needy mining families to whom more pay will be a blessing—if the families themselves ever see the money after the pay envelope passes out of the paymaster's hands. But will they get it? Where does the money of the coal worker go?

EIGHT YEARS OF CASHLESS PAY-DAYS

A concrete illustration of where much of it goes is furnished by the case of Michael Dubiac, a Slav, of 145 South 7th St., Scranton, a "contract" union miner in steady employment by the People's Coal Company since the strike of 1902. He is forty-nine years old. Of his six children, the oldest daughter is married to a miner in Nanticoke, the oldest boy is in the state reformatory. A girl of thirteen, who cares for the nine-year-old baby, has a juvenile court record for waywardness and immorality. The combined wages of two sons living at home, one a hotel bell hop, the other a mine mule driver, are $40 a month. Dubiac, himself, averages about $80 a month. He pays $5.50 rent every month for four rooms.

His wife died in February, indirectly of starvation, in a free ward in the state hospital. With more than $100 a month coming into the family, he applied for free burial to a charity organization. From the wage advances beginning in 1902, *his increased* earnings have totaled about *$2,500, enough*, surely, with which to buy a good cottage and carry a substantial account in bank to boot. Instead, for eight consecutive years, he has been cash-broke. In this length of time, he has not had one cash pay-day.

"Increasingly high cost of living?" I asked Cinoi, the undertaker, after the funeral, for the cost of which some arrangement binding upon the Dubiac men had been made.

"High cost of rot!" he ejaculated in his own tongue; "high cost of grog and—remnant of the old 'company store' system!"

Now, to the credit of the labor union be it said, a law has been put in effect in Pennsylvania which prohibits coal companies that operate "stores" from making grocery bills a lien upon the wages of the debtor. The fact is established, in Dubiac's case, and in many similar thereto, that for years he has been buying meats and provisions at his company's "store" right up to the hilt of his wages—especially flour and ham, bag after bag of which he has regularly on pay-days and during the interim toted down to the "hotel" on the "corner," thus settling his drink bill, on which no extension of credit is obtainable by any mine worker.

DRAINS ON THE WORKERS' WAGES

The "store," now being eliminated by some companies, and the foreign-run saloons are not the only menaces to the pay increases anticipated and needed in the mine workers' homes. There is the gouging undertaker and his "trust"; his tool and accomplice, the liveryman; his runner, the cheap insurance agent. There has been, besides, the jack-leg negligence lawyer, even the priest and the secretary of the "keg" fund, and, last but not least, there are the petty leeching officers of the powerful aldermanic courts of Pennsylvania—all fleecing the foreigner for what he is worth, and more. Where does the money go? Into their own pockets!

Every mine, without exception, has its "keg" fund. This is the first step taken by the toiler on becoming a "miner" to protect his dependents, should he be killed or die. Every "miner" (not "laborers" in mines) enters the fund. Their powder

, when emptied, are turned over to one heir lot, known as the "secretary," who them and deposits the proceeds to a nd" account. The average share of each icipant eventually amounts to several dred dollars.

next step of many "miners," in which orers" of the same race and faith join, o enter a death benefit "church" ety. In addition to this, industrial rance in world-known companies is erally carried by men, women, and dren, more than 100,000 policies being vogue on the weekly payment plan. so far as the obligation of the coal ing companies is concerned, the work- 's compensation law, now operating in nsylvania, if rigidly enforced, will ially reduce any "illegitimate" fleecing he undertaker and the liveryman. It a maximum of $100 for all funeral ex- es when by reason of an accidental h the employer is liable for this among r prescribed benefits. And as the r union did effective work in obtaining legislation, credit here is accordingly to it. Meanwhile, however, the mine er during his life has paid no trifling out of his wages for lodge dues, union , church benefit society dues, insur- premiums, and this and that. These some of the reasons why the family oard is bare and many widows and ans are reduced to public charity.

he United Mine Workers of America ides no insurance benefits for its mem- —this is not the intent of the organi- n. At the same time one of the largest mining companies, the Lackawanna, yearly to the families of disabled ers in its employ upward of $60,000, hich, under the old employers' liability not more than 2 per cent. has been be- e of technical liability. And other ators do likewise.

GAL ROBBERY BY THE FEE SYSTEM

he "strict" enforcement of some of the more petty laws of the aldermanic o. is a "legitimate" means em- parate a portion of his wages w candidate for citizenship in civilization. These laws, and unchanged, are administered on the fee system. The office-holder usually is an ex-workman graduated out of minedom and is familiar with the habits of these people. One of the twenty-two aldermen in Scranton actually boasted to me that during 1915 more than $200,000, in general "business," passed through his court. "I am so busy," said he, "that I constantly employ a number of clerks and several stenographers."

"Are these practices known to you?" I asked the president of one of the three labor union districts.

"Certainly," said he, frankly.

"Do you do no social service work to eradicate them?" I inquired.

"That's not our business!" he exclaimed. "Our hands are full with the problem of working and wage evils, which is our business."

I asked the same question of one of the leading operators. "The union won't let us 'interfere' in any way, shape, or form with the men," he replied. "We can't even contribute to local charities and humane institutions for fear of the union cry of 'collusion' and 'interlocking interests.'"

THE EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAWS

So there you are! The financial difficulties of the coal worker, other than in the matter of wages, are left to himself to solve as best he can.

What, then, of the future of these hard-up wards of ours, for whom the coal companies every little while pass the hat around to the American people?

Here, at last, there is hope of some relief; again, however, not without expense to our cellar bins at home. Pennsylvania has finally placed a workmen's compensation insurance act upon the statute books which is now operative. This marks the passing of the jack-leg damage lawyer.

"Sue the company!" That has almost invariably, heretofore, been the outspoken advice of the local union walking delegate to the injured or the widowed, regardless of the cause or liability of the accident. To illustrate: John Cusak, a laborer, working for a "contractor," was killed in a mine down in Pottsville. The rock overhanging a pile of coal which he had cleaned was

dangerous, so the "contractor" got a stick of dynamite in order to blast it down. Cusak objected, saying that he did not want to get his cleaned coal dirty. Warning him to be careful about the loose rock above, the "contractor" put away the explosive and went home. While Cusak was loading, the rock fell.

Under the employers' liability law, if any one other than the laborer himself in such a case was liable, it was the "contractor," not the mining company, although the defenses of the employer in such case under that law, in recent years, have been more and more uncertain.

But sue the "contractor"—the fellow-miner? Never!

The mining company offered to pay $800 to the laborer's widow, an average sum voluntarily offered in such cases by most of the mining companies. But no! The New York lawyers said she was entitled to $5,000, that she should not accept a cent less, she was to be sure not to sign any papers. Meanwhile, they were to receive a retainer of $100. She paid this amount out of what was left over from Cusak's "keg" insurance after settling the funeral bills. She never heard of the matter again, despite her crude efforts to obtain satisfaction.

THE SHYSTER LAWYERS

Lawyers of this same type in New York, whose names are well known to the mining companies, operate under what is locally known as the "fifty-fifty" law of that state —half to them, half to their client, if their case is won. They maintain a regular "bureau of deaths" in the coal regions. Under the Pennsylvania "liability" code right of action against an employer is granted only to the parents, the widow, or the children of the deceased. Not so the New York statute, by which "almost any kind of kin, real or false," to use the expression of an anthracite attorney, can sue for damages—brothers and relatives in the old country, for example. "Why!" he exclaimed, "these shysters have brought suits for widows proven in court to have been dead years before the husband was killed. and I have two or three cases on my lay of suits instituted thro we know were dead before the commencement of the actions!"

The "compensation" law aims to stop this "leakage" for which the public has, in the past, paid thousands of dollars in its coal bills. Its workings are still too new to furnish an actual illustration of its provisions, but at last a fixed value has been established by law upon the life, limb, and sight of the worker at work; he can know what to expect when an accident lays him up; definite provision is made for his dependents upon his death; the law states what the employer shall do and a state commission polices its rights; it is an added expense to the coal companies, costing $3.10 per $100 of pay roll more than the old insurance, but it permits of no imposition upon the employer, at the coal buyer's expense, by the outside agencies which for many years have fleeced both through the foreign-hired man ignorant of American customs.

And now—the Conciliation Board, of which we hear so much pro and con. What is it, anyhow, and what does it do?

We demand that the arrangements of detailed wage scales and the settlement of internal questions, both as regards prices and conditions, be referred to the representatives of the operators and miners of each district to be adjusted on an equitable basis.—Mine Workers' Demand No. 10.

In the settlement of the strike of 1902, it was agreed between both warring bodies that all grievances thereafter arising should be adjudicated by a committee made up of three representatives of the mine workers and three operators, an umpire, in the event of a deadlock, to be appointed by the Third United States District Court.

The life of this "board" has not been very happy, for reasons obvious to a third party, nor has the almost-invariably-called in umpire sat in judgment upon a bed of roses. Only the other day, the contract miners of the Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company were overruled in their claim of 36.7 cents an hour instead of 28.2 cents an hour for certain "pillar" work; accordingly as is human, they "went up in the air" their language at least. Probably the defeated suppliants at this col th o r v know th

ıe No. 4, the contention of the company ›rers, engaged in "laying branches" 27.78 cents an hour, against an at- ıpted reduction was sustained. For the ınt of the umpire is to be uniformly fair is personality and methods having ctically everything to do with the men. 'hat the object of this Board of Concilia- ı was the first step forward by operator union for "peaceful parley" is not denied either side; and, if only for this reason, ıt now there is greater need for it than any other period during the fourteen rs of its existence. For a competitor of union has entered the anthracite field: t Greenwood colliery, in and around Forge, the Industrial Workers of the rld have for months past been organiz- and a strike already has occurred. union miners have arisen and are co- ating with the mine owners and the state police in stamping out this flame of unrest started by a "stranger in their midst." Is this not an acknowledgment of the wisdom in the plan adopted and followed during the last fourteen years of settling all family troubles at home?

Here, then, as I found it, is the condition to-day in things anthracite:

1. The long peace has been due to the now firmly rooted principle, if not to the actual practice, of the Conciliation Board;

2. Social evils appear to have done more than the rise in the cost of living to absorb the miners' earnings;

3. The real problem confronting both operator and union is the social problem which both they, Society, and the Government neglect;

4. The workmen's compensation law will knit capital and labor closer together than ever before, for the general welfare.

LEO HENDRIK BAEKELAND

: LATEST WINNER OF THE PERKIN MEDAL, WHICH IS AWARDED FOR DISTINGUISHED ACHIEVEMENT IN THE FIELD OF APPLIED CHEMISTRY—THE INVENTOR OF A SYNTHETIC MATERIAL THAT HAS FORMED THE BASIS OF SEVERAL NEW INDUSTRIES

BY

JOHN A. CRAIG

ON THE evening of January 21st of the present year, Dr. Charles F. Chandler, the venerable dean of American teachers of chemistry and 'essor emeritus of that subject at ımbia University, stepped to the centre ı platform at the Chemists' Club in r York City and faced a quiet-spoken ı, Dr. Leo Hendrik Baekeland.

My dear friend," said Dr. Chandler, gives me the greatest pleasure, as the ...ntative of the affiliated chemical trochemical societies, to place in : this beautiful Perkin medal, as 'he appreciation and affection ... chemists."

...al—the donation of which onor of the celebrated English chemist, the late Sir William H. Perkin, discoverer of the aniline dyes—is awarded, usually once a year, for eminence in the field of applied chemistry. It is presented by the Society of Chemical Industry acting as the representative of all the chemical and electrochemical societies of the United States, and is regarded by American industrial chemists as one of the greatest honors that can be bestowed upon one of their fellows.

The chief reason for the presentation of this medal to Dr. Baekeland was that he has recently given to the industrial world a new and wonderful synthetic material. Rivalling the legendary magic of the medieval alchemists, he has taken two familiar chemicals—carbolic acid and formaldehyde (that pungent-smelling

liquid that smarts the nostrils when its fumes are inhaled and that is so frequently used as a disinfectant in sick rooms)—brought about their chemical reaction, and behold!—a new material was born.

Carbolic acid, in reacting upon formaldehyde, may produce many different substances; there are few instances in chemistry where, using the same raw materials, such totally different substances may be engendered, most of which are worthless. Baekeland, after long preliminary work in his laboratory, devised a way whereby he obtained, first, a new liquid which has the singular property of "freezing" if it is heated. Poured into a test-tube, it soon loses its fluidity and gradually becomes solid, just as water congeals into ice in a freezing temperature. If the tube is now turned upside down, a transparent, amber-colored stick falls out, which has the shape and the gloss of the glass tube in which it was formed. This transparent stick is insoluble and can no longer be melted. It is almost as hard as glass, and is extraordinarily strong: a short piece one inch thick will sustain a weight of more than three tons.

This material is an excellent insulator of electricity, and it is not affected by oils, steam, water, or chemicals. One can readily understand, therefore, its vast range of utility in the industrial world. Cigars and cigarette holders, pipe stems, buttons, umbrella handles, transparent fountain pens, billiard balls more resilient than ivory—are now made from this material. In liquid form it is used as a lacquer for brass which, besides possessing unusual hardness, will stand washing with soap and water or alcohol. Soft wood impregnated with the original liquid and then submitted to heat becomes harder than ebony. Paper-pulp and paper- or card-board may be similarly treated. It gives to these objects increased strength, hardness, and insulating properties, which makes them suitable for entirely new purposes.

But its main uses lie in the field of electrical industries. If a dynamo or a motor is "overloaded"—i. e., if the copper wires are carrying a stronger current than they are intended to carry—they become heated *to such an extent* that the resin between the *windings melts* away and a "burn-out" or a "short circuit" is the result. By impregnating the windings with this liquid and then heating it until it solidifies, the wire coils are now provided with an insulator which will no longer melt in case of an "overload." The same properties have given this new material an increased importance in the manufacture of molded electrical insulators that are to be exposed to heat or moisture. The molded insulation in the lighting and self-starting systems of automobiles is made of this substance.

Finely divided saw-dust can be incorporated with about its equal weight of this material, which gives an unusually well adapted mixture for molding articles of every description. The natural color of this mixture is chocolate brown, but it may be produced in black and in various other colors. In a hot hydraulic press it can be molded accurately to any shape and for any purpose, within a few minutes. Some of the independent telephone companies are now making their telephone receivers of this new material; it can be molded automatically, screws and threads included, without any further operation. Edison phonograph discs are made with this synthetic substance; a camera company is using it in its latest models of folding cameras in place of the leather-covered casings; wireless telegraphic instruments, switchboards for warships, electrical commutators, signaling and other devices, automobile radiator caps, steering wheels, knife handles, electrical measuring instruments, grind-stones, pump-valves—these give a further inkling of its uses.

Industrial chemistry has once again waved its magic wand: obediently, from the boundless wealth of the mysterious regions of the Great Unknown comes a new substance to render its beneficent services to mankind!

THE SCHOOL DAYS OF BAEKELAND

In the quaint old city of Ghent, in the Flemish part of Belgium, back in the middle 'seventies, was a Government high school known as the Atheneum. It contained within its academic portals a sorely discouraged student, Leo Hendrik Baekeland. With the pedagogical methods of the Atheneum, as well as with the subjects taught

therein, young Baekeland had little sympathy. The usual high school studies lulled him into a state of stupor. In one subject, geography, he was able to arouse himself to some interest: only so far, however, as it pertained to a nebulous ambition of some day becoming a sailor.

When the bell of the Atheneum tolled the closing hour for school each day, however, Baekeland came out of his trance. He had one hobby which fascinated him and to which he devoted all his spare moments: photography. The school day ended, he would sling his camera over his shoulder and go hunting his pictorial game. At evening after supper, when the paternal Baekeland noticed the absence of his precocious son from the little family circle, he found comfort in the reflection that Leo was studiously preparing his lessons for the following day. The truth was that young Baekeland, closeted in a darkened room, was diligently developing the results of his afternoon's expedition.

At that time, a new industry was springing up around Ghent as a result of the recent invention of the photographic "dry" plate. This immediately enlisted the interest of young Baekeland. He soon became absorbed in a detailed study of dry-plate manufacture—to the neglect, of course, of his studies at the Atheneum.

A GENIUS IN CHEMISTRY

In Ghent in those days there was an institution conducted upon somewhat the same lines as the present Cooper Institute of New York City—the Ghent Municipal Technical School. Here, at evening, free courses were given in various subjects. Chemistry, physics, and mechanics especially delighted the practical-minded Baekeland. He lost no time in applying for entrance.

Witness now a curious incongruity. The laggard of the Atheneum by day soon acquired the habit of heading his classes at the Technical School by night. In one subject particularly did he astonish his teachers: this was in chemistry. It seemed t he had a natural genius for this st before long, his originality and c ed for him the nickler." At the Technical School he was able to work in the chemical laboratory and to continue, unhandicapped by lack of means, his study of the processes of dry-plate manufacture. It was in this study that he laid the foundations for his reputation, later, as a consulting expert on the subject.

Thereafter he devoted sufficient attention to his studies at the Atheneum to enable him to graduate—in 1880. Simultaneously he graduated from the Technical School, far and away leading his class. He now passed an examination which entitled him to a scholarship at the Government's expense—he was a poor boy—at Ghent University, which he entered in the fall of the same year. At twenty-one years of age and the youngest in his class, he graduated from Ghent with highest honors and with the degree of Doctor of Science. Three years later he was professor of chemistry and physics at the Government Normal School at Bruges. At this time he won in a competition that carried with it a traveling scholarship by which he was able to visit—at such times as did not conflict with his professorial duties at Bruges—the higher educational institutions of England and Scotland, Germany, and the United States. The last trip of his traveling scholarship was to this country in the summer of 1889.

Upon his arrival at New York, Baekeland found that his fame as a photochemist had preceded him. Shortly after landing, he met a manufacturer of films and photographic papers, who offered him a position in the chemical laboratory of his factory. Baekeland accepted the offer.

He stayed with this firm for two years. Then what, in his own words, was "the most fortunate thing that ever happened" to him occurred. This was a severe illness, from which he recovered, after several months, with all his money gone.

HIS INVENTION OF "VELOX" PAPER

"At this time," says Dr. Baekeland, "I had in hand experiments with an electrolytic process for extracting tin, a safety explosive, and a new photographic paper. The tin process had lost all its charms since the swampy meadows of New Jersey, where I was carrying out my ex-

periments, had brought me within close acquaintance of the undertaker. Nor did the manufacture of explosives appeal much to me after I had been for so many months in the hands of surgeons and physicians. So I turned to my old love, photography, ready to manufacture some new kinds of photographic paper."

He now formed a company for the manufacture of several photographic "gaslight" papers of his invention. One of these is the widely advertised "Velox" paper. The company had a rather hectic albeit successful existence until it was bought over by the Eastman company of Rochester. Free now to devote himself to independent chemical research, he at this time turned his attention to the development of industrial processes for the manufacture of caustic soda and chloride of lime by means of electricity.

But the achievements which, more than anything else, have distinguished Dr. Baekeland among the industrial chemists of this country are his discoveries that resulted from a concentrated study of one of the most remarkable of all chemical phenomena—the reaction of formaldehyde on carbolic acid. The facts which he established from his research into this complicated chemical reaction have enabled him to give to the industrial world the new synthetic material already described.

Common—or, as it is sometimes called, laurel—camphor constitutes the bulk of the camphor of commerce. It is the product of the camphor laurel tree, which flourishes largely in Japan and Formosa. During the Russo-Japanese War, in 1904, the Japanese Government, to meet the heavy expenditures necessitated by the war, levied taxes on many of its industries at home, among these being the laurel camphor industry. This sent the price of camphor soaring—in some cases it made the price prohibitive to American manufacturers who used it in large quantities.

These conditions inspired Dr. Baekeland to search for a synthetic substitute for laurel camphor. After many substances and reactions had been tried, he decided to investigate this reaction of *formaldehyde* on carbolic acid. Into a glass *beaker he poured* a small quantity of the latter (phenol, as it is known to chemists) and perhaps an equal amount of formaldehyde. His object now was to cause a reaction of the formaldehyde upon the carbolic acid by an intermingling of the molecules of the two liquids. To produce this reaction he added a small quantity of hydrochloric acid and stirred the mixture.

"A MINIATURE VOLCANO"

Then several mysterious phenomena happened. At times the mixture would gently boil and slowly solidify into a resinous material which, when melted or dissolved, could be used as a substitute —though inferior in quality—for shellac. Again, a grayish, crystalline substance would result, which, when pulverized, resembled powdered salt in its appearance. Upon analysis this proved to be saligenin, a substance found in the willow tree and used medicinally. At other times, however—particularly when the experiment was tried on a large scale—the result was a violent reaction that was strangely suggestive of a miniature volcano. Upon being stirred, the mixture would, as before, start to boil. Instead of the boiling ceasing, however, it now gradually increased in its intensity. Pretty soon the little "volcano" would begin to foam and sizzle and spit into the air intensely hot, steaming particles—just as its gigantic brothers, Etna in Italy and Sakurashima in Japan, belch forth hot, molten lava from the mouths of their craters when they are in eruption.

By this time the entire mixture was in a state of foam, which had risen to the top of the glass beaker or other container and, in spasmodic gasps, overflowed its brim. The boiling had now subsided; the foam—of a dull, grayish color—had gently contracted, just as any other foam does when effervescence ceases.

In a few minutes, after it cooled, Dr. Baekeland examined it. To his surprise he found an intensely hard, irregularly formed mass, gray-colored and porous, that, true to the analogy, looked for all the world like solidified lava. It completely filled the testing-glass; the spasmodic overflow, now solidified, of course, clung to the brim and the outside surface like

petrified barnacles to a sea stone. There was no reclaiming the glass; the only way in which it could be separated from its distorted content was by smashing it.

Another chemist, Kleeberg, had tried the experiment described above and had obtained this same, lava-like mass. After innumerable discouraging efforts Kleeberg demonstrated that this substance could neither be melted nor dissolved by any of the solvents known to the world of chemical science, and finally rejected it as a worthless product.

But in that phrase, "insoluble to all the *known* solvents," lay the gleam of inspiration for Baekeland. What if there existed a solvent that the chemists through the ages had not yet discovered? Suppose, he thought, it were possible to dissolve this mass and reconstruct it to produce the original substance? Here was a liquid that had, before his very eyes, solidified into a substance practically as hard as stone. What if it were possible to halt temporarily the process of solidifying while the mixture was still in its liquid state, apply it as a lacquer or varnish—to mention only one of a possibly myriadic variety of usefulness—and then let the process of hardening continue?

It was a fanciful day dream. But in the long days and nights that followed, days and nights of tireless experiment and patient research for the solvent that did not exist—that at the present day, so far as it is within the ken of industrial chemists to know, does not exist—Dr. Baekeland never for a moment lost sight of the essential potentialities of that dream, nor conviction as to their ultimate realization.

The hope of a solvent reluctantly abandoned, he now attacked his problem of utilizing the worthless substance from a new angle. Hitherto, this insoluble material had resulted from a reaction that took place in his testing-glass, before him. Observe now the tenacity with which he clung to his original dream. Instead of producing the reaction in the glass, suppose, he reasoned, it were brought about inside the fibres of wood? What wonderful ten strength a piece of wood thus imp might possess; what of service it might enter! Might it not, for example, replace stone in many fields, or iron and steel?

Accordingly, he treated several pieces of wood, first with carbolic acid, and then with formaldehyde. Following the order of his first experiment, he then introduced the hydrochloric acid and eagerly awaited the result. To his astonishment the reaction, in some instances, did not take place at all; in others, at best only feebly and very slowly. Contrary to his expectations, the wood, in some cases, instead of becoming neo-petrified actually became softer. Upon investigation Baekeland discovered the reasons for these remarkable occurrences: the narrow, microscopic channels of the fibres of the wood had retarded the reaction; for this very reason, before the formaldehyde had had time to react upon the carbolic acid the latter had destroyed the fibre. Hence the softening, particularly in the hardwoods.

Followed now a period of exhaustive study of every stage of this perhaps most remarkable of all chemical reactions. The facts which he established in this research resulted in his invention described in the early part of this article. The invention itself is one of the most interesting of recent additions to the resources of the industrial chemical manufacturer. The scientific facts are of endless significance to that great body of industrial chemists who, like the synthetic dyemakers, are producing new materials for the use of man that Nature herself had never created in her seemingly inexhaustible laboratory.

Thus has Dr. Baekeland given to the industrial world a new substance, the range of utility of which is still in its stage of development and discovery. It came into the world of materials with a name that is suggestive of its chemical constitution, but that is otherwise impossible: oxybenzylmethylenglycolanhydride! Because of the "baking" or heating processes through which it is put it was given a simpler name: "bakelite."

Dr. Baekeland is a member of the recently organized United States Naval Consulting Board, and a past president of the American Electrochemical Society, of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers, and of the Chemists' Club of New York.

AN EFFECTIVE UNITED STATES

HOW THE GOVERNMENT IS COÖPERATING WITH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE TO IMPROVE THE PROCESSES OF MANUFACTURE AND THE METHODS OF BUSINESS—THE STORY OF A NEW ERA OF MUTUAL HELPFULNESS

BY

CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

THE Government and the rest of the people of the United States are working together for greater national efficiency. Sometimes the corporations take the initiative in this team work, as they did in the wireless telephone experiments in which two corporations and the Government, by pooling their resources in brains and material, were thereby enabled to produce experimentally, a short time ago, a wireless telephone with which it was possible to talk from New York across four thousand miles of land and sea to Honolulu. Again, some commercial organization may lead the way, as the National Foreign Trade Council did in the matter of the ship registry law by which several hundred thousands of tons of shipping under other flags were transferred to American registry after the war broke out. But more often it is the Government, through one or more of its technologic or scientific bureaus, that conducts the economic concert.

The results that have been achieved by this coöperative work range from conservation of natural resources and the establishment of new industries to the creation of new markets for the Nation's products.

For example, oil and natural gas, for years the source of great wealth, increasing from a total value of $183,000,000 in 1908 to $300,000,000 in round numbers in 1915, have at last reached the crest of production, according to the Government's experts, and are now on the decline. Yet in some oil fields only about 25 per cent. of the petroleum is recovered, and the total value of oil and gas allowed to go to waste is estimated at $50,000,000 a year.

Observing this, the Government, on *July 1, 1914,* created the petroleum division of the Bureau of Mines. The first team play of the new division was to collaborate with the Chicago Fire Underwriters' Laboratories in an investigation of fires at oil wells and storage tanks with a view to checking this source of loss. The next was to send representatives through the oil fields of the Central West to meet state committees to discuss legislation. As the Bureau of Mines was a disinterested party its representatives were able to gain the confidence of all concerned; and in Oklahoma, at least, adequate legislation was enacted for the protection of the state's resources in oil and gas, which became effective as soon as it was signed by the governor. And as a mark of appreciation the Bureau received the thanks of numerous organizations for its assistance. Cooperation did not end here. The producers in the Ada field asked the Bureau to recommend an inspector to be paid by them for work in that field under the supervision of the Bureau. Furthermore, the new division of the Bureau gained the confidence and coöperation of the National Petroleum Refiners' Association, the Oklahoma Independent Producers' Association, and the Oklahoma Corporation Commission.

Elsewhere employees of the Bureau devised traps for the separation of oil and gas coming from wells under high pressure and showed producers how to use them; assisted in the prosecution of persons illegally operating on oil lands; standardized the analytical distillation of petroleum; and did a number of other tasks of that sort.

This might have been considered a fair beginning for a new division in its first year, but what has been related is the least of its achievements. One member of the new division's staff was Dr. Walter F. Rittman, a chemical engineer. Dr. Rittman

wanted to do some original research work but lacked the necessary facilities. Not to be baffled, he sought and obtained the co-operation of Columbia University, where he could have the use of apparatus that the Bureau could not supply, and there invented a process for the manufacture of low-boiling gasolenes from kerosene and other distillates. The immense importance of this discovery is indicated from the fact that the Nation's production of crude oil having a high gasolene content is falling off, while much of the new oil discovered does not naturally contain gasolene, and the likelihood of discovering important new fields is diminishing. At the same time the United States had 2,250,000 automobiles on the first of the year using gasolene at the average rate of 500 gallons a year; and this number was being increased at the rate of more than a million machines a year, not to mention 300,000 motor boats and 700,000 internal combustion engines in use on farms, all with insatiable appetites for gasolene. In addition to all this, we are now exporting approximately 400 million gallons a year as compared with one fourth of that quantity eighteen months ago.

Altogether, it may be perceived that the Rittman process, which recovers three times as much gasolene from a given quantity of distillates as any process hitherto used by independent producers, might have made its discoverer a millionaire many times over. But as it was developed on the Government's time with borrowed apparatus, Dr. Rittman dedicated his process to the public, taking the precaution to apply for a patent to enable the Government to retain proper control of it. Now six concerns are producing gasolene by the Rittman process under contract with the Government to coöperate in the same generous way that Dr. Rittman did by dedicating any new ideas or processes they may develop to the free use of the public. This is the sole condition imposed by the Government.

Dr. Rittman next turned his attention to a matter of still greater moment. This was the discovery and development of a method of producing benzol and toluol [illegible] *hydrocarbons* from petroleum. Toluol is an important base for dyes and it is also used in the manufacture of high explosives. Hitherto it has been derived exclusively from coal-tar, and the United States has been dependent upon Germany for its supply. The country is already suffering from a dye-stuff famine; Dr. Rittman's work may help largely to relieve it and to render us independent of Europe both in peace and in war, so far as toluol is concerned, for several concerns are now manufacturing it by the Rittman process. This discovery might have earned at least a competence for Dr. Rittman, but he dedicated it also to the free use of the public, after taking the precaution to patent it. By this means the Government has been able to stipulate that licensed manufacturers shall give to the public any new ideas or processes they may develop.

Other governmental bureaus have pursued the same policy of insuring the greatest good to the greatest number with results quite as notable as those achieved by the Bureau of Mines. Of them all perhaps none has accomplished more of practical value than the Bureau of Standards.

PUTTING SAFETY IN STEEL RAILS

To give some idea of the character of the diversified work in which the Bureau of Standards coöperates, take the case of the steel rail. Thousands of rails break annually, many of them causing wrecks resulting in loss of life and the destruction of property running into millions of dollars, to say nothing of the interruption of traffic, another source of loss to the railroads and to their patrons. The railroads have done their best, both through organizations and individually, to find out what is the matter with the rails, and the steel makers have done the same.

Outside organizations, like the American Society for Testing Materials and the American Society of Civil Engineers, have tried to help. The latter society appointed a committee to draft a standard design for rails which is in general use, and other committees have studied the causes of the rail failures, which have been the subject of interminable discussions in this and other societies. Most railroads in buying rails,

and certainly all the important lines, have their own engineers or representatives of independent testing bureaus test samples from every heat to make sure that all are up to specifications. Yet rails continue to break at inconvenient times and places.

The Bureau of Standards resolved to see what it could do to help solve the rail problem. Samples of broken rails were subjected to chemical and microscopic analyses and physical tests.

Technologists from the Bureau were sent to four of the principal steel mills where, with optical and total radiation pyrometers, they recorded the finishing temperature of a large number of rails as they reached the hot saws. These observations, supplementing the testimony of the analyses and physical tests, indicated that the rails were finished at too high a temperature. When steel that has cooled down to a certain temperature is worked in the rolling mill or under the steam hammer there is a readjustment of its atoms which gives it the strength and toughness that rails need but do not always have.

Results of this investigation were presented before the American Institute of Mining Engineers. Some of the most eminent authorities in the country took part in the discussion that followed, and it ended in a general confession of ignorance of how methods of manufacture affected the properties of rails.

After this awakening the American Society for Testing Materials instructed its rail committee to coöperate with the Bureau of Standards in a further investigation of this important matter and of several allied questions.

Engineers have never had any authoritative data upon which to base calculations for bridges or other steel structures. The result has been a series of disasters, including the collapse of the Tay bridge, in 1879, carrying down with it a loaded passenger train, and the collapse of the partly finished Quebec bridge, in 1907, in which eighty men lost their lives. The Bureau of Standards has undertaken to supply this lack of information by conducting at its Pittsburg branch a series of tests of bridge members *of the actual size* of those in important *structures now* in use. The largest testing machine in existence had to be built for this purpose. In coöperation with the American Railway Engineering Association and the American Society of Civil Engineers a further series of tests of structural steel columns is now in progress. The researches, when completed, will afford data for the formulation of the real mechanics of the column which will be of the utmost value to the engineering and architectural professions, to say nothing of the railroads and their passengers.

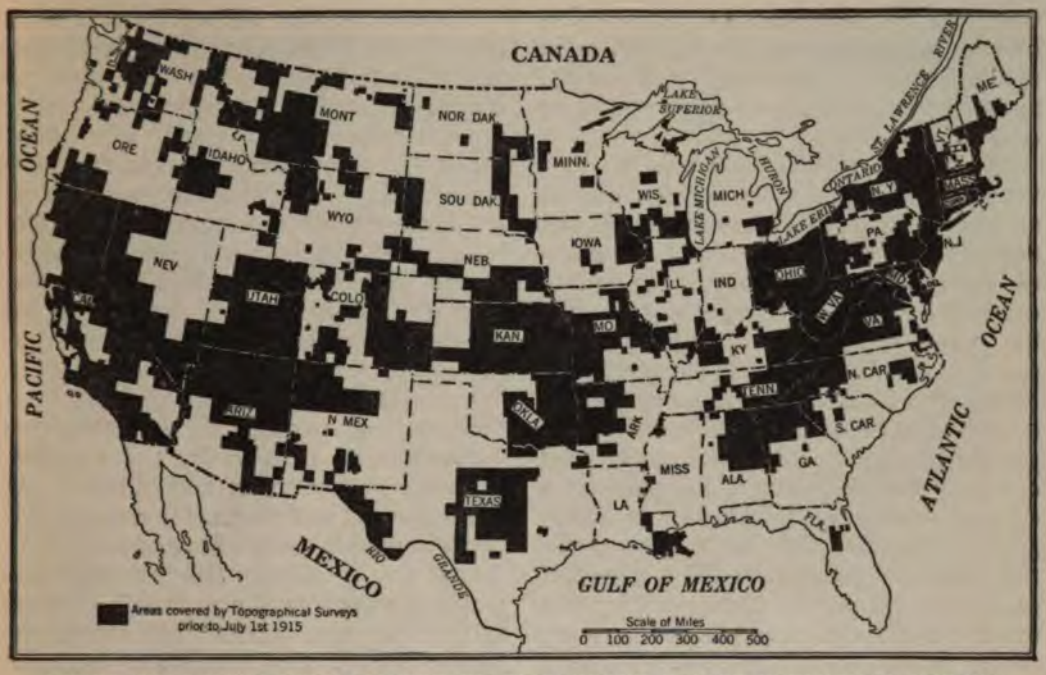
HELPING THE POTTERY INDUSTRY

One of the results of the war was to cut off most of the supply of china and porcelain ware. Heretofore, we imported ten million dollars' worth of these wares a year, and two million dollars' worth of china clays. These clays were imported for the limited amount of fine porcelains made in America because no deposits of such clays are known here. Obviously it would be a fine thing to develop the home pottery industry so that it could supply the goods hitherto imported, but how could it be done when the clay was lacking?

The Bureau of Standards had observed that a wide variety of cakes could be made from the same dough by varying the mixture. Some pottery plants were found that were willing to coöperate with the Bureau and the American Ceramic Society and the investigation began. The Bureau's theory was vindicated. Although no single American clay could be found possessing all the properties of the best European plastic materials, a mixture of several domestic clays produced satisfactory results. A method of purifying clays was worked out, and the fact fully established that a high grade of chemical porcelain and of hard fired tableware of excellent whiteness could be produced from native materials. Next, the Bureau perfected a superior enamel and a number of color compositions for clayware and glass to take the place of foreign supplies that had been shut off by the European conflict.

Another new industry which the Bureau is working to introduce is the manufacture of optical glass, the entire supply of which has hitherto come from Europe.

The work of the Government's oldest



LANDS THAT HAVE BEEN MAPPED BY THE UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Which has already made topographic surveys and maps of 40 per cent. of the area of this country. These maps, together with the Government's geological reports, are so accurate that railroads can be located or armies manœuvred from a study of them

scientific bureau, the Geological Survey, is having a cumulative effect, as the years go by, in a thousand different ways in enhancing the economic efficiency of the Nation. The foundation of the Geological Survey's work is the construction of a great topographic map of the United States. Already 1,200,000 square miles, or 40 per cent. of the Nation's area, has been mapped. The distinctive characteristic of these maps, which are minutely accurate in every detail, is the contour lines, each line representing a certain altitude above sea level, the intervals in altitude represented by the distance between the lines being ten to one hundred feet according to the character of the country. These maps are of immense practical value. For example, when the Lackawanna Railroad decided to relocate thirty-four miles of its main line a few years ago, the engineer of construction got down a Geological Survey map and, sitting comfortably at his office desk, ran all the preliminary surveys and even made the final location for this twelve-million-dollar improvement from the data on the printed sheet. It was only necessary to shoulder a transit and go out into the brush to verify the final location and drive stakes.

Following the topographers comes a corps of 150 geologists who indicate the location of oil pools, coal beds, phosphate beds, iron ores, and every kind of minerals from radium ores to brick clay deposits. The statistical work of the Survey is of vital importance to the ninety thousand producers through whose efforts the earth is made to yield minerals worth between two and three billion dollars annually.

One of the big problems vitally affecting national efficiency was to find an adequate supply of mineral phosphate for use on American farm soils. The prosperity of the country depends very largely on the crops; and the crop-producing power of the farms depends more and more on the replenishment of the soil with phosphates. Hitherto the supply of rock phosphate has been drawn from South Carolina, Florida, and Tennessee; but at the present rate of increase in consumption this supply will be exhausted in less than a generation. Fortunately, the Geological Survey has

discovered and mapped deposits containing billions of tons of high grade phosphates on public lands in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana, assuring an ample supply for centuries to come.

Of immense practical value is the Survey's investigation of the water resources of the country to determine quantities available for municipal supply, manufactures, irrigation, and power. A staff of eighty men has been engaged in this work for years, preparing authentic data for public use. The Survey even investigates the supplies of underground water, though it seems that such data is not to be depended upon. For instance, a railroad company wanted a supply of water at a certain point in South Dakota. A Survey geologist familiar with the region assured the railroad management that abundant good water could be found by drilling to a depth of 3,000 feet. The railroad company drilled until it struck an artesian flow of half a million gallons a day. But the water was found at a depth of 2,985 feet, instead of the 3,000 specified by the geologist: a mistake of fifteen feet!

HELPING THE BUSINESS MAN

While the Government scientific bureaus promote national efficiency by pointing the way to a better utilization of materials, the newly created Federal Trade Commission gives promise of rendering a similar service in the utilization of the human element. To be sure, the Trade Commission is supposed to be chiefly a regulative body. But being blessed with a membership that is very much alive the new Commission gives promise of constructive helpfulness.

Help is certainly needed, for the human element is the most neglected element in the industrial life of the Nation. Though a few enlightened employers have discovered that a good employee is a valuable asset and strive to conserve him as they do their other assets through the medium of so-called "welfare work," which is cold business and not philanthropy as so many imagine, the great majority have not waked up. The result is that, while machinery is nearly 100 per cent. effective, *the workman* who runs it is on an average *not more than 60* per cent. effective.

Yet even at that the workman is more efficient than his boss; for statistics possessed by the Commission show that, exclusive of banking, railroad, and public utility corporations, there are about 250,000 business corporations in the country. Of these more than 100,000 have no net income whatever; 90,000 more make less than $5,000 a year, while only the 60,000 remaining make $5,000 or more. Turning from net income to gross volume of business done by these 60,000 corporations, one third have sales of less than $100,000 a year, another third sell from $100,000 to $250,000, while less than five thousand do a gross business of a million dollars a year or more, and of these only 462 industrial and mercantile corporations do an annual business of over $5,000,000.

One way of helping the inefficient employer is to exhort him to install a proper system of cost accounting. Unless he knows what his product costs to manufacture he cannot know what his selling price should be or whether he is doing business at a profit or loss. Lacking this knowledge he is not in a position to meet competition, but simply invites disaster. Of course the Commission cannot compel men to do business on business principles, but it hopes to attain the desired end by indorsing standard systems of book-keeping and cost accounting, and assisting in devising standard systems, either at the request of individual merchants and manufacturers or through associations representing given industries. The Commission will provide for this work an adequate force of experienced accountants and cost experts.

Another way in which the Commission hopes to help is by collecting and publishing the essential data regarding business. Just the simple statistics relating thereto, never before collected, will prove to be of immense importance as a guide for future action when compiled and distributed. This work is now under way.

A NEW ERA IN OUR FOREIGN TRADE

It is a singular fact that while the selling end of the business always has the greatest fascination for the average merchant or manufacturer, it is just this end of our national business organization that has

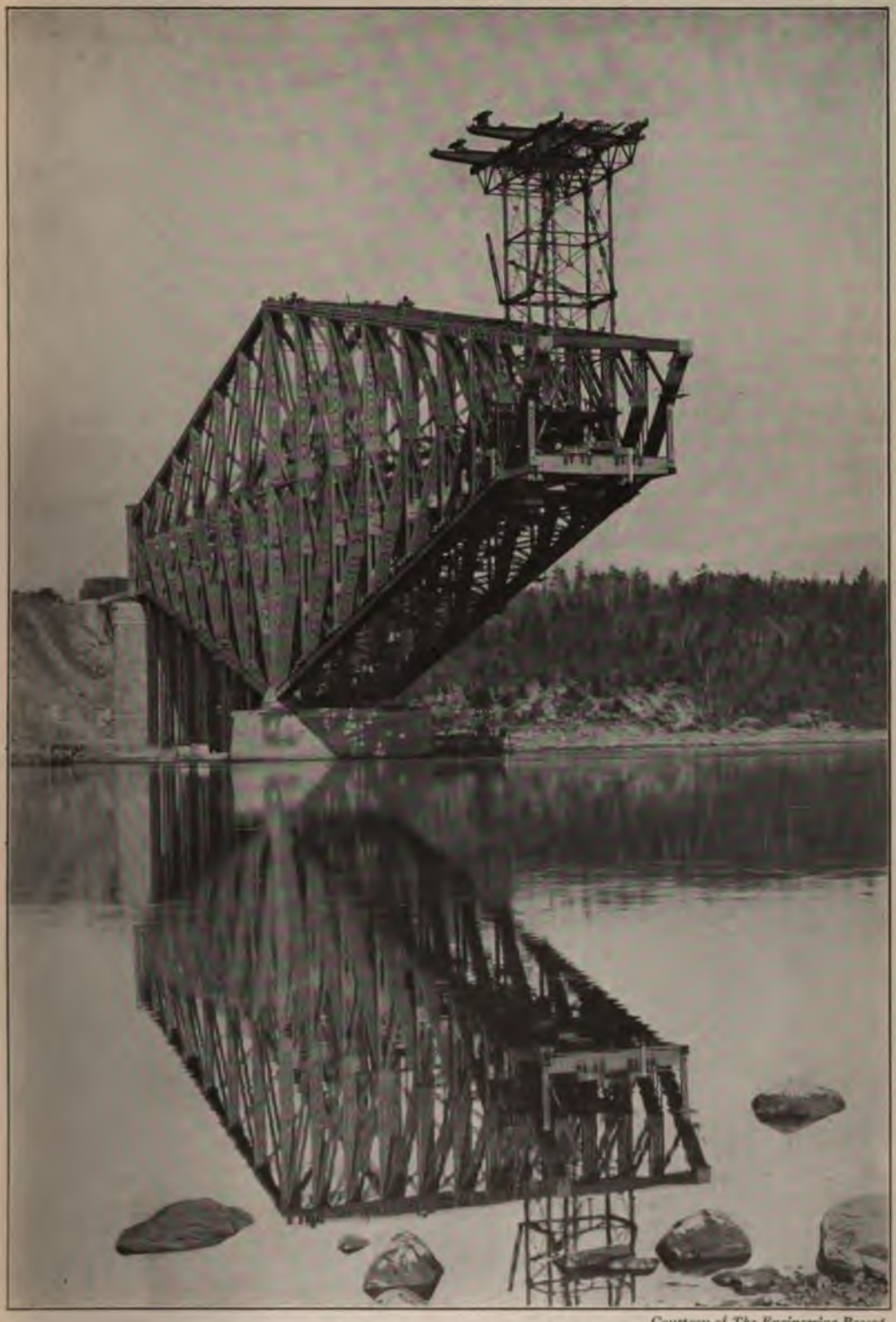
THE INVENTOR OF THE NEW PROCESS FOR MAKING GASOLENE, INSPECTING THE FIRST COMMERCIAL PLANT USING HIS INVENTION

Through the coöperation of Columbia University, which lent him the necessary apparatus, Dr. Walter F. Rittman (in shirt sleeves) a Government chemist, was enabled to invent a process for the manufacture of low-boiling gasolene from kerosene instead of from crude oil with a high gasolene content, the supply of which has been diminishing

I. BUILT WITHOUT PROPER CALCULATION—

II.—WITH DISASTROUS RESULTS

The completed portions of the first Quebec bridge collapsed, on August 29, 1907, with a loss of eighty *men, engaged in* construction work upon the bridge. Tests now being made by the Bureau of Standards *will make such* miscalculations practically impossible



Courtesy of *The Engineering Record*

III.—THE NEW QUEBEC BRIDGE

Which is rapidly nearing completion. The engineers in charge have very little more data to rely on than the builders of the first bridge had, but the new bridge will be constructed with probably more than the necessary strength for the sake of absolute safety

been most neglected in the past. For years readers of current literature have been regaled with tales of the way in which English, French, and German consuls, commercial agents, and salesmen have outmanœuvred the United States in every foreign market and undersold us and taken our few lonely customers away from us. Hereafter it may be the American who is the hero in such tales, instead of the victim.

If this agreeable change in the cast for the international commercial drama is brought about it will be due to the admirable way in which the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is fulfilling its function of enhancing the efficiency of our export trade. Its method of promoting foreign trade is described as "collecting information about foreign markets and distributing the information to American manufacturers and exporters." That certainly does not sound thrilling, but observe how it works out:

One of the new steps recently taken was the creation of the post of commercial attaché. Ten of these attachés have been appointed so far. Mr. C. W. A. Veditz, who was assigned to Paris, went to his post by way of Madrid, where he dropped in on the King of Spain one afternoon. In the course of the conversation Mr. Veditz reminded His Majesty that ever since the Spanish-American war there had been a "transportation tax" of $1.20 a ton on American coal, which by any other name would be just as effective in shutting it out of the Spanish market in favor of the English product. Mr. Veditz suggested that right then would be as good a time as any to remove this prohibitive tax. The King said he would see about it, and he did. In a remarkably short time, measured by governmental ideas of time, Mr. Veditz was informed that the tax on American coal had been removed. As soon as he could get to the cable office, this information was forwarded to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, with the names of some Spanish firms that were ready to handle American coal. The ink was hardly allowed to dry on the

FOR TESTING THE STRENGTH OF STEEL

The Bureau of Standards has constructed the largest machine in existence for testing the strength of steel beams, and it is also undertaking extensive researches along the same line that will afford valuable data for the engineering and architectural professions

cablegram in Washington before the information was distributed to a number of coal export houses. Three days later, one of them wrote to the Bureau that it was then loading the first consignment of coal for a new market that is expected to take about three million tons a year.

Hitherto we have been importing about $50,000,000 worth of tin a year, 90 per cent. of it from the Straits Settlements, where an export duty on ores enforced the reduction of the tin to metallic form before it was shipped out of the country In other words, the United States smelted practically none of the tin it used.

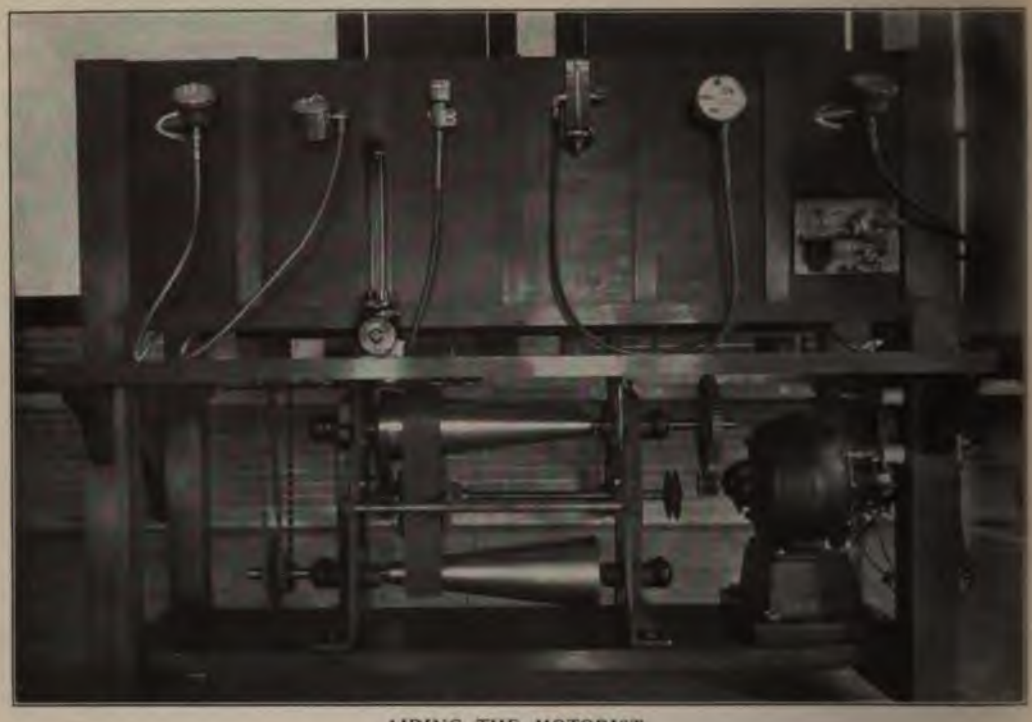
Fifteen months ago it occurred to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce that it would be a good idea to import tin ores from Bolivia to be smelted here. Bolivia is rich in tin ores, but the ores have certain impurities that made them difficult to handle. Besides, there were innumerable obstacles in the way of a deal. One of the new commercial attachés rolled up his sleeves and went at it. When he had smoothed out the preliminary negotiations, the matter was turned over to the American Smelting & Refining Company to finish. The result is that a new industry has been established in America. A tin smelter is now in operation at Perth Amboy, where an electrolytic process handles the refractory ores so well that the tin produced is of even higher grade than that from the Straits Settlements. The value of this new enterprise to the commerce of the Nation is estimated at $50,000,000 a year.

Another commercial attaché procured for American manufacturers orders for $1,000,000 worth of cotton machinery for China. Another million-dollar order from China, obtained through the Bureau, was for machinery for an arsenal at Han-yang. Still another achievement was an order from Russia for 40,000 bales of cotton a year for five years.

The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, however, is more than a mere salesman. Through published information and through confidential information not published, by sending representatives

THE RESULT OF A FLAW IN A RAIL

Thousands of rails break annually, causing a loss of life and a property loss that runs into millions of dollars. The Bureau of Standards makes microscopic examinations of rails for defects and conducts experiments to prevent these defects in the forging of the steel



AIDING THE MOTORIST

One of the many activities of the Bureau of Standards is the testing of speedometers for automobiles

SEEKING A SUBSTITUTE FOR WOOD PULP

Practically all the newsprint paper of the United States and Canada is manufactured from wood pulp, and the supply is limited. The Bureau of Standards employs a small paper-making machine in its efforts to find a suitable substitute

COMPILING CONSULAR RECORDS Copyright by Brown Bros.

The function of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is to encourage foreign trade

A MACHINE FOR COMPILING TRADE FIGURES Copyright by Brown Bros

In addition to the work of consuls in the promotion of our foreign trade, the post of commercial attaché has recently been added to the service. Ten of these attachés have already been appointed, and their reports to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce are available to American business men

ONE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Samples of European hardware sold in South America and gathered by agents of the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce

A UNITED STATES COMMERCIAL ATTACHÉ
Landing in Guatemala

to study foreign markets for certain lines of American manufactured goods and then bringing them back to confer with the manufacturers direct, and in many other ways, the Bureau is conducting a most vigorous educational propaganda on the value of an export trade and how to get and keep it. The Bureau coöperates closely with trade associations and chambers of commerce throughout the country, and it is getting "results," which is the one thing that interests the business man.

The goal toward which the immense and widespread activities of the Government, in collaboration with scientific, technical, industrial, and commercial organizations and corporations, is working is, first, to put American industry on a scientific basis; and, second, to coördinate all industrial and commercial activities into a great national machine that shall work smoothly as a unit for the mutual benefit of all its component parts.

TENTACLES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
An exhibit at the Panama-Pacific Exposition showing how the Department reaches all parts of the world in its development of foreign trade

A NEW WEST

THE ATTEMPTS TO OPEN UP THE NATURAL TREASURES OF THE WESTERN STATES — UTILIZATION AND CONSERVATION VS. MONOPOLISTIC GREED — THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BY

JAMES MIDDLETON

WHEN Mr. Franklin K. Lane began his work as Secretary of the Interior, he announced that he had only one aim—that was to humanize his department. The Interior Department touched closely the every-day lives of millions of people. It had jurisdiction over our national resources —the wealth of public lands, water-powers, oil, gas, coal, phosphate, and other mineral beds that make up our vast storehouse of national capital. His interest in this great inheritance, Mr. Lane said, was primarily not geological, but human. How best could it serve the comfort and happiness of the millions of American citizens who really owned it?

Mr. Lane has been industriously working at this task for three years. He has accomplished several notable things; particularly, he has persuaded Congress to open up Alaska by constructing a Government-owned railroad. He has reorganized the Reclamation Service and obtained a working system for leasing Alaskan coal-lands. Up to the present time, however, Mr. Lane has met insuperable opposition in his greatest work: the unlocking of the national resources on the public domain. Only the absorption of popular interest in other matters has diverted interest from this great national question. The Taft Administration went to pieces largely on the conservation issue. The conviction, founded or unfounded, that the Interior Department, under Mr. Ballinger, was being used to hand over large areas of public property to private "interests" gave it a blow from which it never recovered. In the stress of the European

A VAST CALIFORNIA

The amount of petroleum now in sight at the present rate of consumption will last less than twenty-five
ing our resources is

A LAKE OF OIL

The present cry is for "States' Rights" in the rental of our oil and other resources. Certain communities
set his foot against this idea, which would mean that

OIL FIELD

Courtesy of the General Petroleum Company

years. The United States contains about 50 per cent. of all the oil in the world; the need of husband- therefore apparent

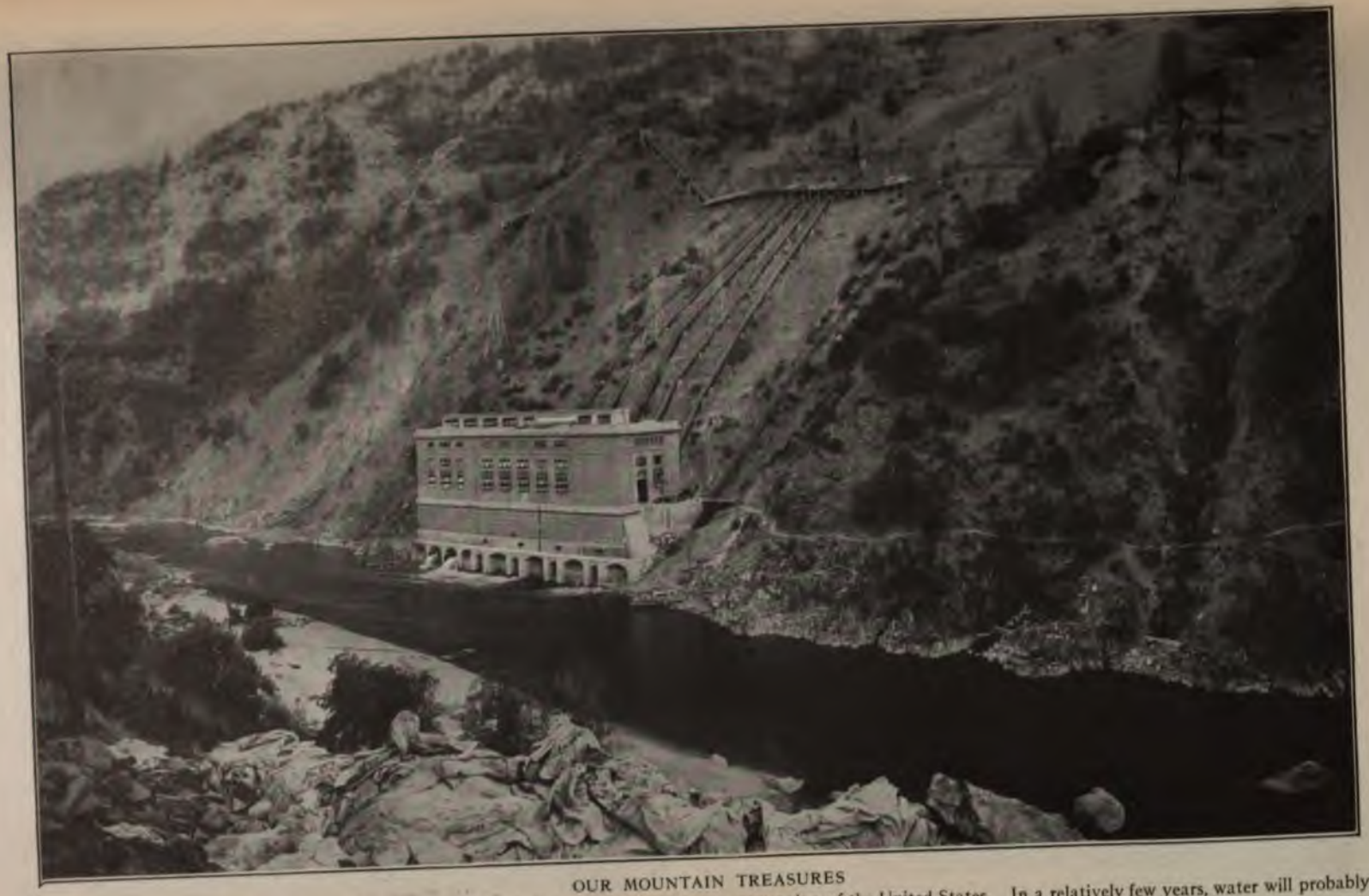
AT OLINDA, CALIF.

Courtesy of the General Petroleum Company

think that the Federal Government should surrender all the public lands to the states. Secretary Lane has these resources would fall into the hands of monopolies

AN ALASKAN RAILROAD

The White Pass Railroad. The construction of the new Government line from Seward to the Matanuska coal fields, through similar country, has already brought a large number of permanent settlers into this great territory



OUR MOUNTAIN TREASURES

The mountains of the Pacific States contain 72 per cent. of all the undeveloped water-power sites of the United States. In a relatively few years, water will probably almost entirely supersede coal for the development of power in these regions

FOREST PROTECTION FOR OUR WATER SUPPLY

One third of our water-powers are located in the national forests. The Administration's policy provides for the fullest use of all these resources by all the people, properly safeguarding them from depletion and protecting the public from monopolies

war and the preparedness campaign, however, we have ignored the fact that the forces of monopoly have been working just as actively in the last three years as they worked under President Taft. They have not gained any headway in Admin-

GRAZING LANDS IN THE FAR WEST

"When Congress passes two bills now under consideration," says Secretary Lane, "there will be no resources in reserve of the Nation's vast treasure in lands, save national forests and parks." Unregulated "sheeping" of forests has been a menace to their welfare

HERDING SHEEP ON A WESTERN RANCH

The sheep herder can now take up 320 acres of Government land provided it is for grazing purposes. Secretary Lane favors increasing this allotment

istration circles, but they have exercised influence in Congress, especially in the Senate. They are not pursuing the same policy that caused such a scandal five years ago. Failing in their attempts to obtain possession of what is left of the public domain on their own terms, they content themselves with preventing any development at all. So far as developing our water-power sites, our oil, gas, and other mineral lands is concerned, the situation is precisely the same as when Mr. Wilson took control.

Mr. Roosevelt "withdrew" millions of acres, containing resources whose development would affect the comfort and well-being of millions of Americans, especially in the Mountain and Pacific states. These properties are still "withdrawn." Probably most people have read or listened to long discourses, the burden of which was that the "conservationists" were deliberately "locking up" these treasures. this is not the truth. For several these same conservationists have working day and night to open u public domain. Some large corpor have steadily resisted these att Mr. Lane, in report after report, has upon Congress for action: he has frequent appearances before Congre committees in the interest of imm legislation. But so far nothing ha done. The explanation lies upon th face. Mr. Lane's programme, while ing abundant returns to capital, protect consumers from extortion. happily, the corporations mainly inte in our water-powers and mineral bed resisted all terms except unrestricted opoly, with all its attendant pr themselves. These two conceptio conservation have been deadlocke for several years. As already said

Picture on right copyright by Brown

SETTLERS ON A HOMESTEAD ALLOTTED BY CHANCE

The old style method of allotting homesteads by chance drawing by a child from thousands of a *tions (depicted on* the right) is almost extinct. Nearly all the remaining land is arid. Great recla *projects are making* much of it tillable through irrigation, and new legislation has made it easier for *to meet the higher* payments for these irrigated lands

our absorption in other matters has prevented this from becoming one of the most active questions of the day.

Last year Congress passed the Ferris bills which provided for the utilization of the now withdrawn water-power sites and mineral lands. The measures were excellent ones, representing the ideas of Secretary Lane, the National Conservation Association, and all forces interested in the honest use of Uncle Sam's rich acreage. The Senate defeated these bills. In early January of this year the House passed these same measures again. Will the Senate succeed in crushing them once more? Are these possessions—practically the last parts of the public domain still in our hands—to be transferred as a free and unrestricted gift to monopolists, or are the public rights to be protected? It is, it will be observed, the old familiar conservation problem once more; and it has now reached a really acute stage.

The question affects all our 100 million Americans, but especially those living in the Far West. The Atlantic region, also, has a great wealth in water-power; but its undeveloped resources do not compare with those of the Far West. The scientists estimate that, of all the millions of horse-power lying unutilized, at least 72 per cent. is located in these Pacific and Mountain states. Three of them, Washington, Oregon, and California, contain nearly one half of all the water-power sites in the whole country. The great basin of the Mississippi Valley has comparatively few water-powers, and this section, as well as the Atlantic Coast, will probably have to depend indefinitely upon coal as its greatest source of power. But, in the Mountain and Pacific States, water will probably become the staff of their economic life.

Up to thirty years ago, the leisurely turning mill-wheel represented the age-long utilization of water-power. This mill-wheel dates back to before the Roman era; its use for other than grinding purposes, however, represents its modern advance. The development of electricity opened up new possibilities, for water, as well as coal, can turn the turbines that generate the electric current. In the last twenty-five years we have developed about 6,000,000 horse-power in this way. It is utilized chiefly for driving street cars and lighting purposes. But in the Far West other uses are already being found. The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway is now equipping 450 miles of its line—the section between Harlowton, Mont., and Avery, Idaho—with hydro-electric power. At present the road is spending $1,750,000 a year for coal on this line—coal which it has painfully to mine and then transport a long distance to its locomotives; the cost of power, under the new scheme, will be only $500,000. This experiment, it is believed, marks only a beginning; in ten years, according to the prophets, practically all the railroads in the Mountain and Pacific states will operate with hydro-electric power. To do this will take not much more than 10 per cent. of all the already known horse-power.

THE VAST RESOURCES OF THE WEST

After running all their long-distance railroads, the Western states will have plenty of water-power left for other purposes. It will operate their street railways, light their streets, heat their houses, and find numerous uses in the ordinary details of domestic life. Already, in some communities, electricity does the family cooking, operates vacuum cleaners, turns the churn, and generally simplifies existence on the farm. But it can accomplish even greater things. The East and South have done most in developing hydro-electric power for manufacturing, but the West has the greatest possibilities. Nature has concentrated great reservoirs in these Mountain and Western states. Here are not only our greatest water-power sites, but our greatest forests; about one third of the hydro-electric powers, indeed, are located in the forest reserves. Wood and water-power are the two essentials for the manufacture of pulp and paper; possessing both these ingredients in large quantities, these states promise to become the great American headquarters of this industry. Norway and Sweden, by combining their forests and their water-powers, have developed a great paper business and annually ship large quantities into the United States. But their resources

the Agricultural Department, "is for more markets rather than for more power." The use of water for irrigating projects, manufacturing, and nitrogen will play a great part in our national development; but the present trouble is not too little power, but too little inclination to use that which we have.

The monopolists, however, have their eyes upon the future. The propaganda takes the form of states' rights. Practically all the undeveloped powers are located on the public domain. The Federal Government owns the sites, though a recent court decision has settled that the states own the water. The demand now is that the Federal Government surrender these sites, as well as the rest of the public domain, to the several states. Such a step would end all attempts to conserve our resources, for they would rapidly find their way into the hands of monopolists. The most active advocate of this policy in the House is Congressman Mondell, of Wyoming. His proposed amendment to the Ferris bill sufficiently indicates the central idea that inspires this agitation. It proposes that water-power sites should be sold, in fee simple, for not less than $1.20 an acre and not more than $20. In other words, Mr. Mondell wishes to return to the old days when water-powers were disposed of under the general homestead law. The Ferris bill, supported by Mr. Lane, ex-Secretary Fisher, Mr. Gifford Pinchot, and the National Conservation Association, and, presumably, by President Wilson, provides that water-power sites shall be leased for fifty-year periods. The money derived from rentals is to go into the reclamation fund—the money that builds the great engineering works which are reclaiming arid lands. After the fifty-year period expires, the Government has the option of renewing or discontinuing this lease. The purpose back of this provision is merely to give it control; if the lessee has used his privilege wisely and honestly, he will probably get a renewal—if not, we can give the right to some one else. In any event he will lose nothing as, in case the lease is cancelled *after fifty* years, the Government will valuation and any additional land he has acquired at cost. Manifestly it would be criminal folly, at this stage of proceedings, to give these water-powers away. At present we only faintly understand their value; in fifty years they may have infinite uses of which we know nothing.

THE NEED OF THE PRESENT PROGRAMME

The present conservation programme applies the same leasing, or royalty, principle to all the remaining national resources—the phosphate beds, the coal lands, oil, gas, sodium, and other minerals. The same reason exists for royalties in these cases as in water-powers. The same opposition is made to the policy, by the same people and for the same reasons. Again the Western Senators lift up the standard of "states' rights." But the Administration is wisely determined to conserve these national possessions for popular use on the most favorable terms. Indeed, there is greater need of protection from monopoly in these resources than in water-powers. Water-power has one great advantage over coal, oil, and other minerals. The word "waste" in connection with water is hardly applicable, for water is a steady resource—it will run millions of years in the future as it has for millions of years in the past. Only such changes in the earth as would make the earth itself uninhabitable to man will ever deprive us of hydro-electric power. But we can easily use up our coal and our oil; once consumed, we can never use them again. Compared with the rest of the world, we have large supplies of these national products. But the supplies are still limited. We have enough bituminous coal and lignite to last perhaps for hundreds of years; but anthracite, unless new beds are discovered, will last for only seventy-five years. Unless we find new oil wells, the quantity in sight, at the present rate of consumption, will last less than twenty-five years.

Clearly these facts force home the ne of real conservation. Unregulated exploi tion has already wasted enormous quan of coal, oil, gas, and other necessaries o T : bill[illegible] ssed by the H[illegible]

'HE VALLEY THAT FOUND ITSELF

STORY OF THE MIAMI AND THE CITIES OF DAYTON, HAMILTON, AND TROY, AND HOW THEY HAVE COME TO THEIR OWN AID AFTER GREAT MISFORTUNE

BY

RAY STANNARD BAKER

NE comes to believe after a time that one of the best things that can happen to a town or community or even, perhaps, to a nation—at this : of civilization at least—is to be pelled from time to time to go through : great disaster, some devastating mis- ne. In the last few years the present r has visited several cities in their s of trial: San Francisco after the quake; Atlanta after its race riot; ark, O., after its lynching and anti- n disturbances; Lawrence, Mass., dur- ts great strike—and in every case the en cheapening or downfall of the solid rial guarantees of life, the stripping ' of property, has produced a re- escence of the spiritual, and has ght quickly uppermost the finest, dest, highest qualities of the human acter. They speak yet in San Fran- , wistfully, of those evanescent days arthquake love" which followed their trophe, in which for a short time peo- ecame almost Christian.

Dayton, O., and other cities of the ni valley which I have been visiting, al- gh many families will never recover losses nor ever forget the friends and bors who perished in the great flood of , although every one has been work- nd sacrificing for the last there years as r before, one will find a pretty general ic opinion that the flood, all things dered, has turned out to be the best ; that ever happened in the Miami y. A leader of Dayton, Mr. E. A. illuminatively compared the social which has been going on in Dayton e flood to a familiar mechanical n known as the "heat treatment." e manufacture of a steel rail the is for the molecules which com- pose it to gather themselves into groups or cliques, very much like the citizens of a town or of a nation. If a sudden strain is now placed upon the rail it breaks along the lines between, not through, the groups. The final perfecting process in the manufacture of a steel rail, therefore, is to subject it to a high degree of heat—the heat treatment—which sets all the molecules in motion and breaks up the groups, so that the rail becomes equally strong throughout. Some such process, the fierce heat of some calamity, or enthusiasm, or vision, seems necessary also to social bodies—towns and states and nations—in order that the groups and cliques may be jarred apart and a new unity established. Witness, for example, how the antagonistic groups in the nations of Europe fused at once into a new spiritual solidarity under the "heat treatment" of war; and it may be that the world itself will, as a result of the present catastrophe, find its narrow nationalism superseded by a new internationalism, a new world unity.

An example such as that of the Miami valley is interesting, and has the widest human significance because it shows what American communities are and can do at their very best. So much of America, and especially, it seems to me, the smaller American cities and towns, gives one the impression of rather smug prosperity, a vegetative comfort, crude self-satisfaction, that if we did not from time to time catch glimpses of ourselves in high emotional moments, when we are really put to it to do our best, we might be discouraged about the American social experiment. The New America, the America which has grown up since the Civil War, is still in process of manufacture, and has not yet been subjected to the finishing fires of the heat treatment.

When a community is finally forced to the point of meeting a great crisis or attacking a new problem, two methods invariably present themselves: one is the Little, Easy, Quick way; the other is the Big, Thoughtful, Hard way. These two methods presented themselves to the flood-torn towns of the Miami valley.

TWO TOWNS OR A VALLEY?

The Little, Easy, Quick way for Dayton and Hamilton was for each city to consider the problem as it affected its own private interests. There were those who came forward immediately with unoriginal schemes for deepening the channel of the river through the city of Dayton and building up higher levees, so that when another flood should come—and these men argued that such a flood would probably not appear again in fifty years—the water could be shot straight through the city and delivered, a raging torrent, to the valley below. Dayton was a rich city and might be able to do this. But how about the cities of Miamisburg and Hamilton in the lower valley, how about the wide-spreading farmlands and villages which would be inundated and probably destroyed? What if the towns in the valley above Dayton should pursue the same policy and shoot the water down on Dayton?

Both of the large cities of the valley, Dayton and Hamilton, at first considered this Little, Easy, Quick way. Hamilton even expended several thousand dollars in securing the advice of engineers regarding the best method of handling its own private problem of channel improvement.

But the advocates of the Big, Thoughtful, Hard way, who are always a little slow at the start-off, because bigness and thoughtfulness are slow, began to see the whole problem in a broader way. The man or the town of really large intelligence and spirit never leaves anything to chance that can possibly be controlled. What if such floods came only once in fifty years, or even in one hundred years? There was always the chance that the conditions might be right for another such flood next spring. Why not do away with chance *entirely and* conquer Nature once for all?

ilton, even though they were rich e
to do it, afford to think wholly of the
interests? Was not their pros
their future, bound up with the int
and future of the whole Miami v
Whatever injured the little towns
farming communities around them
also injure them.

So they began to think in terms
whole valley; they began, and that
ways the path of progress, to get a
of a larger unit of action. They be
see that their true task was not mer
provide temporarily and uncertain
their own needs, but to handle an
watershed and control forever the fl
several rivers. It was a truly artis
spiration that they began to have,
was the complete, sincere, masterfu
of doing the work.

LEAVING IT TO THE GOVERNMEN

Another of the tempting devic
those who support the Little, Easy,
ways of doing things is to look
and see if there is not some big, bene
fellow who will take pity on them a
their work for them. This is one
commonest temptations in recent ye
America. Let Uncle Sam do it!
Sam is rich, good-humored, and
easily hoodwinked—get him to d
There are plenty of jobs so tremen
like the building of the Panama Can
the control of the floods in the lower
sissippi, that only Uncle Sam is big e
or rich enough to undertake the wo
all; but this very ability to do large
leads many communities to attem
throw the burden of tasks which s
be their own upon the shoulders of
affectionate uncle.

As any one knows, it is much easie
pleasanter to vote one's self advan
and scheme through political influen
have one's dams built and ditches
than it is to shoulder the shovel a
out in the heat of summer and get
into the grit and gravel and root
stubborn hillsides and dig on
ditches and build one's own dams.
is rarely the sure, sound, and maste
it never gives such a sense of ho

of the Miami v

aving taken the Big, Thoughtful, ıethod of doing their work..
of the most important of the sub-ttees appointed from the citizens' ttee of one hundred which handled blems of the disaster at Dayton so ıd for its task the consideration of ls for preventing future floods. Its an was Mr. E. A. Deeds, then vice-nt of the National Cash Register ny, and now at the head of one of emost manufacturing concerns of y, which produces a self-starter for biles.
Deeds and his associates took hold work, as they would any great busi-sk, by first securing the best possi-ert advice. By telegraph and tele-they made inquiries as to the best an authorities on hydraulic engi-, and by telephone summoned Mr. E. Morgan, of Memphis, Tenn., to o Dayton and make a thorough f the conditions.
Morgan began his work about two after the flood. Sixty men, engi-nd their crews, were placed in the nd the scope of the investigation de and thorough. The history of rms of the Middle West was studied out why and how so much water nes fell in western Ohio that the ıannels could not carry it away; the of the soil, the conformation of the everything that could possibly af-e problem was considered. Vari-thods of control were then studied mpared, and finally, to make sure r. Morgan's investigations and con-ı met the severest tests of engineer-erience, a consulting board of three rs of national authority was re-to pass upon the work.

ON'S TWO-MILLION-DOLLAR FUND

hese preliminary studies required a eal of money, and at the time the as begun Mr. Deeds and his com-sented the whole matter to the Dayton and asked for a fund gh to carry the work through. 1 for a sum which before the have been considered stagger-mately two million dollars—and although the city was in deep distress financially and otherwise, the money was quickly subscribed by 23,000 citizens, the amounts varying all the way from $500,000, given by Mr. Patterson and Mrs. Carnell of the National Cash Register Company, to fifty-cent subscriptions by the poorest families of Dayton. The knowledge of this fund back of the work—though only a part of it has been expended—enabled the committee to build upon solid ground.

It was the judgment of Mr. Morgan, supported by the board of experts, that the entire watershed of the Miami must be considered and dealt with as a unit, and that the floods must be checked in the upper valleys by means of what is known as the dry reservoir system, a method already in practical use in certain valleys of Europe. Six large earthwork dams were to be constructed, five of them upon the river and its tributaries above Dayton and one upon a branch entering the Miami below Dayton, for the protection of the towns down in the lower valley.

These dams were not to have any gates, nor to be used to produce power, but were to be pierced at the bottom by huge cement tunnels just large enough to permit the passage of the high-water flow of the stream, and no more. When a flood should come, therefore, all excess water beyond the capacity of the channel below would be held back by the dams and permitted to escape only as fast as it could flow through the cement tunnels.

The dams were to be made of a capacity not only sufficient to hold the excess waters of such a flood as that of 1913—the greatest in Dayton's history—but of one 50 per cent. greater, a very wide margin of safety. The reservoirs would thus be filled only upon rare occasions, and then only temporarily, so that most of the land above the dams which was flooded could still be used for agricultural purposes. It was calculated by the engineers that this enterprise could be carried through at an expense of about $17,000,000. This included, also, the improvement of the river channels and the building of dikes to protect certain of the smaller towns and villages.

It was a very complete plan; it was the

masterly and scientific way of doing the work: but the real struggle began when the attempt was made to secure the human co-operation necessary to bring it about.

OHIO'S CONSERVANCY LAW

In the first place, there were no state laws which would enable the people of the Miami valley, divided as they were by the artificial lines of municipalities and counties, to join in a common effort to protect themselves. They had to begin at the bottom, therefore, to lay the necessary legal foundation. The committee had at its head perhaps the most distinguished member of the Dayton bar, Mr. John A. McMahon, a former member of Congress, who undertook the work in his eighty-second year as a final service to his fellow citizens. The statute known as the Ohio Conservancy law is a fine work of legal pioneering and will serve as the model for similar legislation in other states.

After the law was drafted, the next step was to get it passed by the state legislature. Here it began to meet opposition. Many of the residents of the upper Miami valley whose farms would have to be taken for dam sites or for flooded areas, although the law provided for the full payment of their losses, were opposed to the law. Moreover, the upper valley and the farming districts were suspicious of the cities; they thought the flood control work was only a blind to secure water-power; and they also shared that suspicion of experts which is one of the passing phases in the development of American democracy: they had never heard of reservoir dams, and distrusted the whole plan.

Themselves stiff individualists, with the pioneer confidence that what they had always known was the only truth, it was hard for them to catch the vision of a great new social and community work. And, as in all communities, there were local politicians eager to take advantage of these suspicions and keep alive the discontent, in order to advance their own fortunes. In short, it was an example of the commonest of all struggles in our legislatures —narrow private interests against some *larger public good.*

Fortunately for Dayton, the governor of Ohio at that time was Mr. James M. Cox, a resident of Dayton, whose party was strongly in control of the legislature. The Conservancy law was passed—perhaps too easily; for the fight, now made more determined by political considerations, was carried forward into the next legislature, where a desperate and almost successful attempt was made to have it repealed, or at least strangled with amendments. The manner in which the people of Dayton and Hamilton and some of those of Troy and other towns made the fight for the law was another example of the strong community spirit which had been developed.

After the legislative battles were over came the courts, and it was only on June 4th last that the Supreme Court of Ohio finally passed favorably upon the fundamental propositions of the law. Few people can realize the energy and steady persistence necessary to carry through a great new social undertaking like this; and now that the legal bars have been removed the great work itself must be organized, the land to be used for dams and flowage condemned and paid for, and the whole expense met, not by the Federal Government, not by the state, not even by the counties affected, but exclusively by the property owners and the towns and cities which are to be protected. In other words, the main burden of the undertaking will fall upon the cities of Dayton and Hamilton; and the equitable distribution of the taxes and the arrangements for raising, by bonds, the large amount of money needed are in themselves great tasks.

In all this work, almost from the beginning, Dayton has had the hearty and whole-souled support of Hamilton in the valley below. The leaders have also made campaigns from schoolhouse to schoolhouse in the upper valley, explaining the work, trying to impart a vision of its greatness and its necessity, and are slowly making converts from among the former opponents. The leaders in all this great undertaking have served wholly without payment, taking their time and energy from their private affairs.

Under the law the actual work of building the dams and carrying through the en-

terprise will be in control of a commission of three men chosen by the county judges of the nine counties affected by the work. The members of this commission who were appointed in June, 1915, are Mr. E. A. Deeds of Dayton, Mr. Gordon Rentschler, one of the able younger manufacturers of Hamilton, and Mr. Henry M. Allen, a leading manufacturer of Troy.

To the outsider, the most impressive aspect of all this work is the way the Miami valley has come through difficulties to its own aid, and has solved with fine gallantry its own problems. The valley has found itself and will from now on be a better and safer place for human beings to live in. Every time there is a flood in the Ohio, the Mississippi, or the Missouri rivers, there is a sudden outburst of talk, mere talk, about some grandiose scheme for a wholesale handling of the situation. We have a liking for grand strategy, vast schemes, and undoubtedly the United States Government will be compelled, more and more, as time passes, to undertake comprehensive enterprises for flood control. But the Federal Government moves slowly, and the problems are so gigantic that many small valleys must come to their own aid if they are to survive. And when all is said, in a great war "nibbling" is as important to success as the grand strategy.

BENEFITS FROM DAYTON'S ADVERSITY

I cannot close this article, even though I intended to speak chiefly of flood prevention, without referring, at least, to some of the collateral benefits which have come to Dayton from the struggle to capitalize its adversity. The new social spirit resulting from the heat treatment of the flood has expressed itself in every department of the life of Dayton and, in a wider sense, of the whole Miami valley. Just as the device of commission government for cities grew out of the flood at Galveston, Tex., so the flood at Dayton developed the best example we have in America of the new city-manager plan of government.

Before the flood, Dayton, like many American cities, had been seriously studying its own problems, trying to devise a better and more efficient method of self-government. The flood enormously increased the responsibility of the city officials, and immediately a new and progressive charter was adopted, providing for the initiative, referendum, and recall and an elective commission, which was to employ a trained city manager. They were to get an expert, not a politician, and like any progressive business concern, pay the adequate salary for an expert, namely $12,000 a year. The man chosen was Mr Henry M. Waite, a trained engineer from Cincinnati, who has made a really remarkable record of efficiency in his work. He has not only applied modern business methods in the saving of money, but he has adopted the most modern humanitarian devices for handling the social problems of the city

Another great activity has been the Greater Dayton Association, which sprang into being immediately after the flood and was a strong expression of the new social spirit. Dayton, like many cities, had long had a more or less moribund chamber of commerce, the chief concern of which was to increase the business of the city; but the new association, with a membership of more than 7,000, including men (and women, too) from all walks of life, has quite changed the emphasis in its work: It has divided its activities so that 68 per cent. are for the benefit of all the people and only 32 per cent. for the business man. Through committees, and committees that are really alive, they have taken up all sorts of enterprises of civic interest—schools, health charities, police, the social evil, taxes, bill-posting, lighting, "safety-first," Fourth of July celebrations—in fact everything which concerns the welfare of the people. The president of the association is Mr. Fred H. Rike one of the leading merchants of the town

I came away from the Miami valley and from Dayton and Hamilton feeling that if I were a manufacturer or a merchant or a working man I should like to live in the stimulating atmosphere of such a spirit I should feel confident that when hard community problems presented themselves they would be handled in no superficial or picayunish way, but with imagination and courage. Towns, like men, so often never learn that it pays to be big and broad, and to have a vision of a community purpose.

THE VOICE OF THE NATION'S BUSINESS

HOW IT SPEAKS THROUGH THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—THE SYSTEM OF REFERENDA BY WHICH THE JUDGMENT OF AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN ON NATIONAL ISSUES IS OBTAINED

BY

R. G. RHETT

(PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)

THE progress which the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America has made in the four years of its existence is almost incredible. Beginning with high ideals and high purposes, but with no funds, and with a fixed determination to accept only such as came without selfish or ulterior motives, it was no easy task to keep such an organization going on a plane that would command respect, and to inaugurate a service which might hope to hold a membership. It was only because masterful men planned wisely, saw clearly, and led boldly that the great Chamber we now have became a reality. In fact it is well recognized by all who participated in the work that it was only through the self-sacrifice and devotion of two of the biggest hearted and broadest minded men in the country to-day—Mr. Harry A. Wheeler and Mr. John H. Fahey—that the Chamber occupies so high a place in the public esteem and confidence.

Four years ago, the need for such an organization became apparent. Business success had become a badge of suspicion. "Captain of Industry" was no longer a title of distinction in public estimation. Legislation was being directed against Big Business. The Executive and the Judiciary were alike being pressed for action against successful industry. The confusion of law arising from decisions of the Supreme Court on cases brought under the Sherman Law in its early days, contrary to the interpretation of like cases under the common law, which is the fundamental law in most of the states—decisions which it has since reversed—made it impossible for any one to *do a large business* and not transgress some *law. Many men* violated the law as now interpreted without any evil intent. On the other hand, there were others who took advantage of the confusion, and did unconscionable things which outraged the moral sense of right-minded people of all classes. Congress was beset with lobbyists of special interests and seekers after special privileges. It became suspicious of every representative of business, and the ears of its members became more and more deaf to appeals in its behalf. Honest business was suffering to a degree that demanded prompt action.

It was evident that business had first to establish its status upon a high plane—free from all possible taint of sordid, unfair aims and purposes—in the minds not only of Congress but of all men.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America is founded upon principles that appeal to the highest and purest motives. Its voice is the voice of no section, of no special interest. It is the composite voice of the constituent members of the Chamber, large and small, scattered all over the land. Its judgment is the deliberate judgment of 711 chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and trade associations after having the benefit of a carefully prepared analysis of each question with the best arguments obtainable on both sides. Its purposes cannot be narrow or sectional, because they are the united purposes of these 711 organizations covering every part of the Union.

At the organization of the Chamber there were two opposing forces, one contending for a concentration of power in the Board of Directors, the other contending that the power of the board should be limited to determining whether the question proposed for submission by any constituent

member was national in its scope and ripe for consideration, while the decision of the question itself should in all cases be left to a vote of the constituent members, i. e., the local chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and national associations that compose the organization membership of the National Chamber. The advocates of the latter course won and the by-laws were passed accordingly. Thus originated the well-known referenda of the National Chamber on national issues that affect business, by which the business sentiment of the country on these issues is sounded and expressed.

REFERENDA ON NATIONAL QUESTIONS

It has been a constant study of the Board of Directors of the Chamber and of its officers to make these referenda, containing the cases to be submitted with the ballots to be cast, draw forth the true opinion of the rank and file of the various organizations to which they are sent. It is a matter of education. In the first place, the board learns from each referendum something which enables it to make some improvement in the succeeding one.

A committee is carefully selected to make an investigation of the question and to prepare a report of its findings on the subject submitted to it. The Board of Directors then has the ballots prepared, and incorporates in the referendum not only the conclusions reached by the committee but also the best arguments obtainable adverse to those conclusions. The organizations are urged to study the questions upon their merits and to regard the report of the committee only as the opinions of the individuals composing it, based, however, on their careful investigation of the subject.

With each additional referendum there is a growing interest manifested by the organization members. We have, in fact, reached a point where we can feel assured that the replies represent the business sentiments of communities in which the organizations are located, or, in the case of national organizations, the sentiments of the members composing them. Each organization has its own ideas as to how such sentiment may best be reached, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America has not as yet thought it well to make any suggestions along this line. It is studying that question, however, just as it is studying the form and substance of the referendum itself, with a view of trying to reach the enlightened opinion of the rank and file of every organization on every subject submitted. It must be an enlightened opinion, however; that is, every individual who votes upon a question in his organization must be given some explanation of it, and be made acquainted with the reasons for and against it. In some cases special committees are put to work upon these referenda. They report the results of their deliberations either to boards of directors or to the organization's membership at large. This has generally been found very satisfactory. In other cases abstracts of the arguments are made, attached to the ballots, and mailed to the members. The replies are tabulated and recorded. The idea is gaining a stronger and stronger hold upon the members as it is becoming more and more realized that these opinions mean something.

A VAST MEMBERSHIP

Of course there are many more chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and national organizations than the 711 which constitute our membership to-day, but these represent nearly 400,000 individuals, firms, and corporations; and it is remarkable that so many have been secured in so short a time. A systematic effort to enlist the remaining organizations whose coöperation is desirable will be inaugurated during the present year.

One of the most difficult tasks of the Board is to select the subjects to be submitted to referenda. Of course, numerous questions are being propounded at all times by our organization members. Unless the subjects are of wide interest, however, and are at the time occupying the public attention, referenda upon them will not receive proper consideration from the associations to which they are sent. Up to the present time only twelve referenda have been issued. These are on the following subjects: (1) National Budget; (2) Tariff Commission; (3) Class Legislation; (4)

Banking and Currency; (5) Department of Commerce; (6) Legislative Reference and Bill Drafting Bureaus; (7) Federal Trade Commission; (8) Unfair Business Practices; (9) Merchant Marine; (10) Department of Commerce; (11) International Peace; and (12) the Seamen's Act.

GETTING AN INFORMED OPINION

The vote has not always followed the recommendations of the committee, which goes to show that the subjects have been studied and voted upon intelligently. There is probably no other organization in the world which attempts to submit the whole question to its constituent members as does the National Chamber. There is probably no other organization that undertakes to inform its constituent members so thoroughly and completely as to the merits of the questions submitted for decision. Its educational character in that respect is of inestimable value. What other opportunity has a small community in the interior of the country, for instance, to understand the significance of the Ship Purchase Bill or the Seamen's Act? And yet, each of these seriously affects the price of its wheat or corn or other products and has a direct bearing upon its prosperity. Every community should know the merits of the case on both sides and should give independent thought to it.

The Chamber wants this thought; the President and Congress want this thought. How much better it would be for the country if legislation on industrial and commercial matters could be founded on opinions based upon such information and study! With each referendum there has been a distinct advance. The high purpose in view and the wonderful progress which has been made toward its attainment is seizing upon the imagination of the business world and carrying the organization forward to greater influence and achievement.

The referenda taken upon the activities of the Department of Commerce need explanation. The Department of Agriculture is doing magnificent work for the farmer. It is equally important that the Department of Commerce shall perform a *similar service for* the merchant, the manufacturer, the jobber, the banker—in short, the business man. Such service is particularly important to the smaller business houses that have not the means to make investigations and researches which are essential for the development and expansion of our commerce, both domestic and foreign. A more thorough investigation of opportunities for the extension of our foreign trade is particularly desirable, as is also better training for our representatives abroad in the knowledge of our own resources and of the best methods of adapting them to the various foreign demands. An improvement of our consular service—which, under the jurisdiction of the State Department, is a most important element in our commercial expansion—is equally essential.

The sentiment of the membership of the National Chamber on the extension of these services to the business men of the country was practically unanimous, and it has been very gratifying to note the progress already made in that direction. Much, however, remains to be done, and it is hoped that Congress will afford every opportunity for further extension of the service, especially abroad, at this time when the field is so inviting.

The work of the Chamber on the subjects submitted to referenda only begins with these documents. When the vote comes in it is carefully tabulated and sent to the President and his Cabinet, to members of Congress, or to whomsoever it ought to go in order to make effective the decisions of the Chamber as expressed in the referenda. Committees are appointed to follow these matters up in such manner as may be found most advisable. The activity of the committee on a non-partisan tariff board is illustrative of what can be accomplished if properly done.

A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE LAW

The Chamber appointed a Committee on Federal Trade Relations after the passage of the Federal Trade Commission law for the purpose of keeping in touch with the activities of that Commission and with the Attorney General's office. It hoped to bring about a better understanding between them and business men who wanted to go ahead in accordance with the law, but who,

confused state, due to recent reversals
d decisions and conflicts in the de-
ıs of lower courts, were unable or un-
ıg to do so in the face of possible pros-
on, even criminal prosecution, for a
ıterpretation of the law. The recent
ished interview between the Attorney
ral and that committee has cleared
much misunderstanding, and the
ıess man who has an honest purpose
ın honest desire to keep within the law
go ahead with the assurance that if he
staken or ill advised he may be stopped
ıe will not be punished for his mistake;
eas the deliberate lawbreaker will be
cuted with all the more vigor.

ıe Chamber has recently opened a
ıu for the study of local chamber work
ountry over, with a view of collecting
as to methods which have been found
successful. It wishes to stimulate
erative community work in the com-
ial field, and to do this it must study
uestion itself from the experience of
ssful local organizations. We have
just begun to understand the great
of coöperative community work
based upon the principle of contribu-
ervice—upon the thought of how much
an give to the common cause and not
much one is to get out of it. Every
ınunity of any size ought to have a
ıber in which should be considered all
ers which affect its welfare in the
by common counsel and common
ıvor to secure for the benefit of all
ever may make for their happiness and
ntment. It is the purpose of the
ıber of Commerce of the United
s to lend its aid to that end. Its
ıu, organized to look after the interests
individual members, has already done
did work. It is always at the service
ese members, and a letter or a visit
reveal the resources at its command.
e work of our Committee on Statis-
nd Standards is of inestimable value.
of it has been appearing in our
tins and in the *Nation's Business*. Its
ılness in the Departments has also
quently acknowledged.

e weekly bulletins on the proceedings
ess and on commercial matters
ning more and more valuable to
those who are directly interested in them. They are carefully prepared, succinct, and arranged so as to inform the reader at a glance whether any subject in which he is interested is referred to.

The *Nation's Business*—the monthly publication of the Chamber which every organization and individual member receives—is an exceedingly attractive magazine. Its form and substance have both elicited much commendation, and it has begun to find a substantial circulation outside of the membership of the organization.

HOW THE CHAMBER IS FINANCED

To maintain the service which the Chamber has been giving both its membership and the country, it was found necessary to supplement its revenue from annual dues with an organization fund. This fund has been generously contributed by many who have become deeply interested in the work and have realized that it could not be properly conducted upon its income from membership dues for some years at least.

Its dues from organization memberships are one half of one per cent. of the annual fees of such organizations, with a minimum of $10 and a maximum of $700. They aggregate now about $30,000. The individual membership—the annual dues of which are $25—is limited in the constitution to 5,000, of which about 3,000 have thus far been secured.

The magnitude of the work cannot be realized at all without a visit to headquarters. The staff must be composed of the ablest men in their line obtainable, and no better staff is to be found anywhere.

The manner in which the organization is seizing upon the imagination of the business men of the country is amazing. The confidence it is inspiring by reason of its fair, impartial methods, its high ideals, and its broad, patriotic purposes is exceedingly gratifying to those charged with its affairs. That it is destined to grow to far greater proportions and to assume a larger place in the Nation cannot be doubted.

The recent Fourth Annual Convention of the Chamber was a busy and an inspiring scene. Question after question of great national importance was presented and pressed for action; but it has always been

the policy of the Chamber to act with deliberation and as far as practicable through referenda. Most of the questions were, therefore, referred to the Board of Directors for such action as it may think best, or with instructions to send them to referenda.

The Committee on National Defense strained every nerve to have its report in such shape as to enable the board to issue a referendum on that subject with as little delay as possible.

Other subjects, such as the maintenance of retail prices and the power of the President to veto items in the appropriation bills, will be sent to referendum later.

The present shipping bill, in some important respects, differs from that upon which the Chamber expressed itself last summer. The convention received as information the report of its committee reiterating its views on the question of the proper method of permanently upbuilding an adequate merchant marine and recommending that the board follow the course of the present bill, which appears to contemplate meeting a temporary emergency, but which at present is somewhat confusing, with a view of sending out a referendum upon it if at any time it may seem advisable to do so. The board has had this matter under consideration.

Based on information given the convention that there was impending a breach between the railroad corporations of the country and certain of their employees which might tie up traffic and travel over a wide area, the Chamber charged the board with the duty of instituting an inquiry into the facts and of taking such steps as might be found advisable to avert what threatens to become a national calamity. This the board intrusted to a committee, which was carefully selected with a view of inspiring the confidence of the public, and, as far as possible, of the contending parties. It is of the utmost importance that differences arising between men engaged in public service—as are both the officers and the men elected and employed by the railroad corporations—should be settled in some manner that does not seriously injure the public which they serve. The shippers and the public generally have ultimately to pay all losses resulting from interruptions. Surely the public has the right to insist upon a settlement of all questions arising among those engaged in its service in some manner which will not interrupt that service. How this can best be done is the task set before the committee.

The purpose of this brief sketch of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America and its activities is to give some idea of the magnitude of the work upon which it is engaged, and some insight into its methods of operation. Its success has grown out of its firm adherence to the principles upon which it is founded; and its future will depend largely upon how faithfully it continues to pursue this course.

SOME MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT FOREIGN TRADE

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

ONE reason for the comparatively small number of manufacturing exporters in the United States is that so many manufacturers misconceive what foreign trade really is. To one, it *is mentally linked* with savages; to another, with ship subsidies; to a third, with the intricacies of foreign exchange.

The following five questions represent, probably, the chief misconceptions concerning the real nature of exporting:

1. To obtain foreign trade is it not necessary to manufacture entirely different

products from those in demand in the United States?

2. Is it not necessary to spend years in studying foreign countries and making goods known before sales begin?

3. Does it not make necessary an addition to one's business of a new and extraneous department, thus increasing overhead cost of production?

4. Does it not require the sending to these foreign countries of young men from the United States to grow up and become permanently a part of the countries in which they locate?

5. Is it not certain to be less profitable than business here at home because of lower selling prices and higher percentage of bad debts?

Taking up the first of these questions, it is not necessary in the great majority of manufactured articles to make changes to secure foreign trade. It is a fundamental truth that human nature does not recognize boundary lines. For example, some years ago a small manufacturer of pianos, whose desire for export trade was matched only by his impetuosity to secure it overnight, sent me a water-color reproduction of a "special export-model piano" with which he expected "to win out abroad" as he put it. In place of the conventional mahogany finish he had a sea-green background, on which (displayed with the tactful grouping of a tattoo artist) were depicted mermaids, a tiger pouncing on a fawn, a sky-blue ocean with a sailing ship on it, a pair of lovers in a sixteenth century garden, and the Goddess of Liberty. It would have been useless as well as brutal for me to tell him that, except for a few concerns abroad, like the merry-go-rounds, saloons, and street fairs here in the United States, which would welcome the monstrosity, it had no market whatsoever.

Some goods, of course, require surface changes to make them salable in foreign countries, due to minor differences in taste. Some other goods require great changes, but they consist largely of parts applied to a parent article supplied from European sources. The great majority of goods which sell here because of merit or merchandising skill can be sold in every market of the world without change. French perfumes, it is to be observed, do not change their labels into English for the user here or in Canada.

In the second query, regarding time needed to investigate foreign markets, another misconception is apparent. The individual manufacturer need not be an explorer. Cities such as Canton, Bombay, Cairo, Christiania, Copenhagen, Yokohama, Sydney, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, or Milan are not the homes of some strange race of cliff dwellers with requirements beyond understanding. The individual manufacturer who, in 1916, seeks export trade can even rely on carefully prepared commercial reports on the lesser but highly valuable markets of Medellin, Dunedin, Mendoza, Hobart, Foochow, and literally hosts of cities already accustomed to import luxuries and novelties as well as necessities and staples. Take, for example, South America. Every country, every city, has been visited by trained market investigators. The United States Government, the Pan American Union, the several excellent export service institutions supported by public funds and coöperative bodies, have made individual investigation all but unnecessary at the start. To increase sales on that continent as at home the manufacturer must expect to rely on his own ability to understand local conditions and profit by them. In these markets the problem of popularising brands and trade-marks is again not different from the same problem in Toledo or Seattle. The old principle of attracting attention, creating desire for acquisition, and securing purchasers knows no change because of climate, race, or tongue.

To the third question, relative to the need of adding an extra department and the increased expense of maintaining it, the reply is that no department is needed and that overhead cost should be lowered. It is perfectly possible for the same local inside sales force, the same credit, advertising, production, and collection divisions which care for home trade to do the same for foreign trade. The colossal Steel Corporation, with an export business so large that it is a business in itself, may profit by a separate entity for export. The

concern whose domestic business is under 10 millions of dollars a year often combines every function of domestic and foreign manufacture and merchandising, adding only one man to supervise. He is by no means an added and "extraneous" expense, as he keeps down the domestic pay roll by his presence. Thus the increased sales from exporting usually diminish average overhead cost on the business as a whole by reducing the relative percentage of executive cost to sales volume.

There are ardent believers in separate units for domestic and foreign sales, billing, and statistics. Others even insist that the domestic business be kept entirely apart except as regards manufacture, selling the product to the export end and leaving the latter to work out its own salvation without further relationship. This does increase overhead expense and is justified in very few instances.

With reference to the sending out of young men into foreign fields for life there is the legend of the loving German paterfamilias bidding a tearful farewell to his young son who is setting out to make his way in the world. This son invariably goes to South America, enters the employ of a native firm, grows to partnership by marrying the proprietor's daughter, and thereafter that firm buys nothing but German goods. It must have happened at least once, just as the unrelated cases where young graduates from our big electrical manufacturing concerns have remained after the installation of machinery in the same countries and naturally specified American supplies when buying, with whose merits they were familiar, but as a controlling force in foreign trade it is no more important than the hundreds of American flags which once waved proudly from our vanished merchant marine in ports where we now sell hundreds of times the amounts we then enjoyed. Value, plus selling skill, is the controlling force now as it was centuries ago. Be it in Chicago, A.D. 1916, or Cairo, B.C. 2000, that element is immutable.

The final question which we are called upon to answer has been all but answered in previous articles of this series on foreign trade. There are two reasons for selling goods abroad at lower prices than here at home. The first is the sound one. When a product is manufactured of imported materials on which duty is paid, 99 per cent. of that duty is refunded on suitable proof of exportation by what is known as the "draw-back" process. This, of course, lowers cost and often increases the profit margin to an extent permitting price concessions, and yet leaving a greater profit on foreign sales than on domestic ones. The second reason arises from another misconception. It is not safe to rely on the saying that "The English," "The French," or "The German" can make things more cheaply than we can and that therefore we must be content with little or no profit in order to meet their competition. If this theory is sound, the maker of a five-thousand-dollar automobile or of a five-dollar safety razor could not reasonably exist. The consuming public desires the best in any class of merchandise and recognizes leadership as a quality to be incorporated in the selling price.

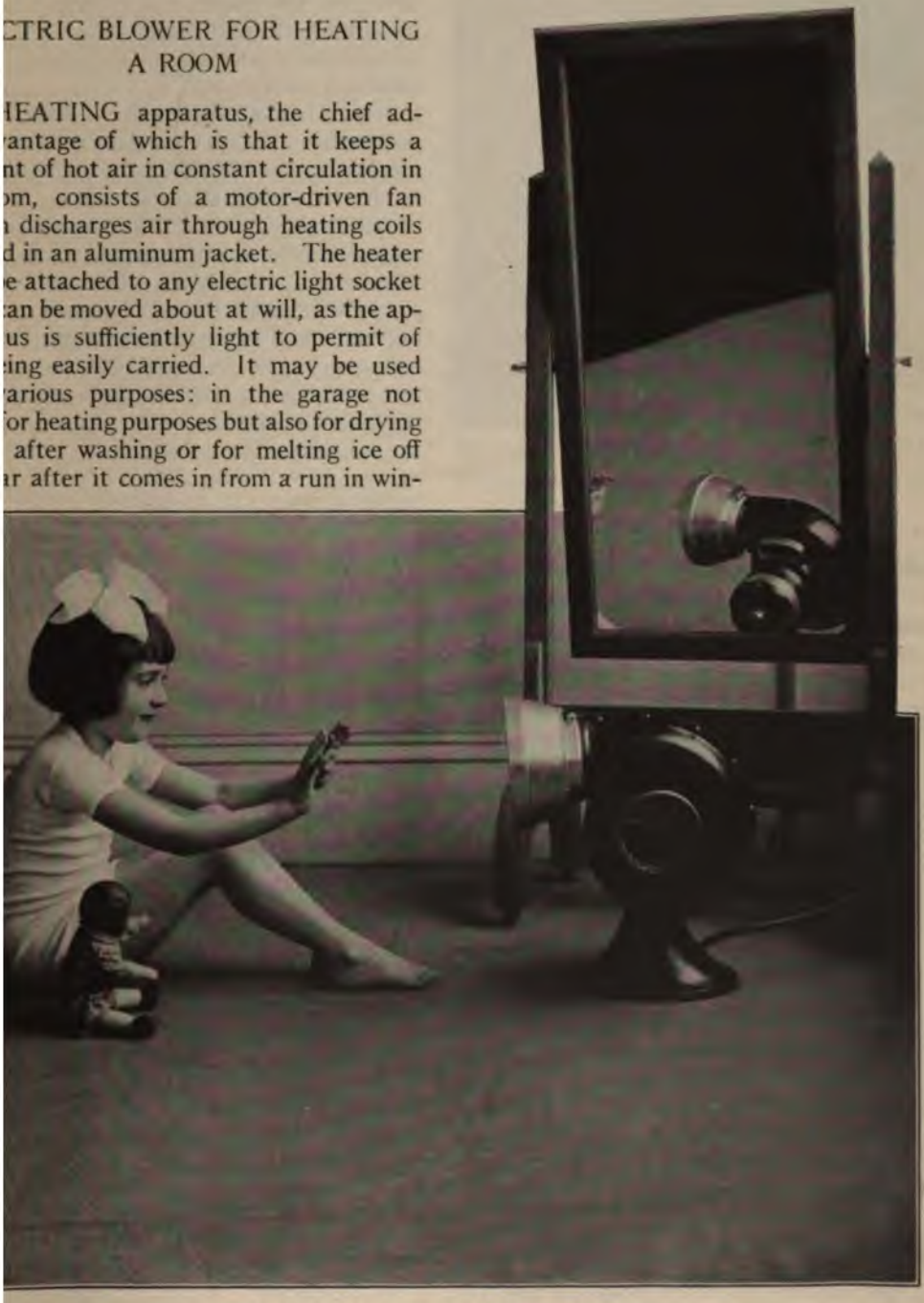
The danger of losses from bad debts is a real one in foreign fields. So is it here. The same common-sense precautions against fraud need to be observed. The same weighing of a prospective buyer's financial resources, his ability to conduct his business, and, finally, his honesty, must be made in the case of the merchant in Penang as in Portland. The merchant of another country is possessed of relatively the same capability and character as his counterpart in the United States. The means of determining the foreign buyer's credit are offered, and he is willing to produce proofs of his reputation for prompt payment.

Exporting is not a fraud, a gift, nor a delusion. It is a very tame and commonplace way of selling goods, subject to the same risks and requiring the same kind of intelligence as local selling. No one need export to prove his patriotism or his bravery. The sole excuse for exporting is to make the same kind of net profit that is desirable here at home.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

CTRIC BLOWER FOR HEATING A ROOM

HEATING apparatus, the chief advantage of which is that it keeps a nt of hot air in constant circulation in om, consists of a motor-driven fan h discharges air through heating coils d in an aluminum jacket. The heater e attached to any electric light socket an be moved about at will, as the apus is sufficiently light to permit of eing easily carried. It may be used arious purposes: in the garage not for heating purposes but also for drying after washing or for melting ice off ar after it comes in from a run in win-



FOR WARMING A ROOM QUICKLY

A portable electric heater which warms a room in a short time by blowing hot air into it

PNEUMATIC SCARIFIER FOR MENDING ROADS
Which tears up and levels unevenly worn streets and completely renovates them

ter; in photographic and blue-print rooms for drying plates, photographs, and blue-prints; in laboratories and doctors' offices to insure, by drying the air, satisfactory operation of static electric machines; and, finally, in the household for drying the hair after washing, to provide extra heat in cold weather, and to take away the damp chill in rooms which is so unpleasant in the spring and fall seasons.

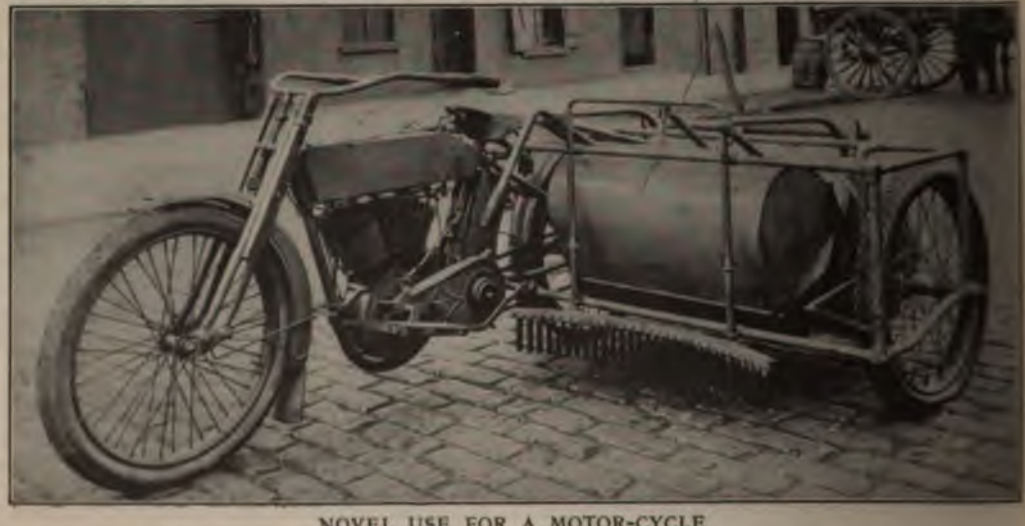
A PNEUMATIC SCARIFIER

MOST cities and counties have some worn out or partially worn out gravel and macadam streets and roads. In most cases these roadways are full of ruts and holes, but there still remains plenty of good material in the road-bed.

This pneumatic scarifier, designed to be attached to the rear end of a steam- or gasolene-driven roller, and receiving compressed air through the power of the same, quickly goes over these worn streets and roads, loosening the top surface to the proper depth and at the same time pulling material from the high places in order to fill the ruts and holes. On each trip a strip six feet wide is cut, at a speed of from one and a half to two miles an hour. After the scarifying is done the engineer reverses the lever, the scarifier is disengaged, and the roller begins its work of compressing the rearranged materials.

MOTOR-CYCLE STREET SWEEPER

A MOTOR-CYCLE equipped with apparatus for cleaning the streets and propelled and operated by the same motor is an efficient and comparatively inexpensive aid for the street cleaning department. The refuse in the street is loosened by a steel brush fastened in front, picked up by a rotary brush, and finally deposited in a receptacle carried on the machine.

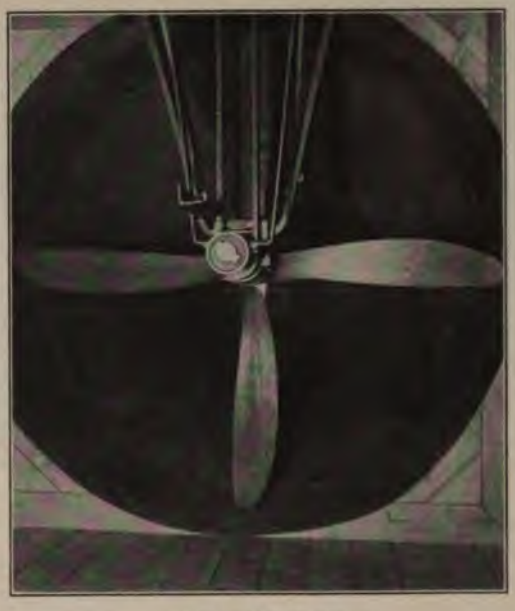


NOVEL USE FOR A MOTOR-CYCLE
A motor-cycle street sweeper designed to do away with the street cleaner with his push-cart and broom. *Its small size* makes possible its use in crowded streets where large vehicles could not manœuvre

ENTIFIC AEROPLANE TESTS

E Massachusetts Institute of Tech-ology has erected in its dynamics atory a "wind tunnel," the first of its to be installed in America, for the se of testing models of aeroplanes a view to applying the results obtained ll-sized aeroplanes. Air is forced gh the tunnel, which is fifty-three feet by a propeller driven by a 10-horse- motor. The models to be tested are ted in the middle of the tunnel on the of an aërodynamic balance, which is o rock on its pivot in any direction. wind blows upon a model the com-its of force exerted are measured by g weights on the horizontal arms of the ce. To prevent the wind from swirl-round in the tunnel and to keep the nt straight, the air, before entering the h of the tunnel, passes through a comb of three-inch conduit pipes.

course, these tests can always be made ilding a series of real flying machines, his procedure is extremely costly in and money, and requires a pilot to himself in experimental flights on -powered and unstable machines. On ther hand, it is well established that erformance of an aeroplane can be cted from experiments on a small l geometrically and dynamically sim- Model tests are easy to conduct and



A MODERN BOREAS

The propeller which generates the wind in the tunnel in which the aeroplane models are tested

afford the great advantage that radical alterations of the model may be made without loss of time or risk of life. It would seem, therefore, that the testing by models offers the greater advantage. Furthermore, in model testing, the various parts of an aeroplane may be tested separately to determine the effect of each part on the performance of the complete machine, and

AN ARTIFICIAL CAVE OF THE WINDS

propeller shown above generates various currents of air in this tunnel, in which models of aeroplanes tested for the purpose of applying the results obtained to the construction of the full-sized machines

if it be accepted that aerodynamic forces depend on the relative motion of air and the object under test, it is immaterial whether the object is towed in still air at a given velocity or held stationary in a uniform current of air of the same velocity.

A HANDY ELECTRIC DRILL

AN ELECTRIC drill which may be used as either a bench or portable tool, according to the nature of the work to be done, is a handy contrivance for the machine shop. The machine will drill through steel one half of an inch thick and is provided with extra wiring, ready to attach to any electric light socket.

A CONVENIENCE FOR MECHANICS
A handy electric drill which can be used as either a bench tool or portable tool

RECLAIMING SCRAP METAL

AN EASTERN railroad has evolved a new and efficient plan for reducing the amount of wastage in its scrap metal. Every month a supply train equipped with a powerful electric magnet for picking up the refuse material travels along the lines of the railroad collecting the scrap, which it deposits in one main bin. Here from four to six trained operators sort the material and separate it into various classified bins, where it is either reclaimed for the railroad or sold to customers. In this way an average of more than a hundred tons of metal a day is handled, about 40 per cent. of which is reclaimed and put back into service.

RECLAIMING SCRAP METAL
By rummaging the scrap heap with a powerful electric magnet. An Eastern railroad handles more *than a hundred* tons of scrap metal a day, 40 per cent. of which is reclaimed and put back into service

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ORLD'S WORK

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FOR ADEQUATE NATIONAL DEFENSE

Victrola

The instrument for the world's best music

The best music in the world is the mus which is rendered by the *greatest* artists.

And there's just one way to enjoy all t world's best music in your own home— the Victrola.

The world's greatest artists make recor exclusively for the Victor—and only on t Victrola can you hear their superb renditio with all the distinctive personality and char of interpretation which make them famo the world over.

Hearing is believing. Any Victor dealer in any city in the world will gladly play any music you wish to hear and demonstrate the various styles of the Victor and Victrola—$10 to $350.

Victrola XVI, $200
Victrola XVI, electric, $250
Mahogany or oak

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal
Canadian Distributors

Always use Victor Machines with Victor Records and Victor Needles —*the combination*. There is no other way to get the unequaled Victor tone.

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

The Strongest Man in the World

is only a baby when he lies on his back and takes orders from a Doctor and a trained nurse. The best food to coax back the digestive organs to natural vigor is

Shredded Wheat

the food for invalids and athletes, for youngsters and grown-ups —contains all the body-building material in the whole wheat grain made digestible by steam-cooking, shredding and baking.

In making Shredded Wheat we use only the choicest selected whole grains of wheat. The shredding process compels us to discard all broken, small and defective grains, as well as all foreign material. Endorsed by all pure food experts.

Two Shredded Wheat Biscuits, heated in the oven to restore crispness and served with milk or cream, make a complete, nourishing, satisfying meal at a total cost of five or six cents. Makes delicious combinations with berries, sliced bananas or other fruits. Triscuit is the Shredded Wheat wafer-toast, a crisp, delicious "snack" for luncheon, picnics, or excursions by land or sea. Try it with soft cheese, butter or marmalade.

Made only by

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

THE COUNTRY LIFE PRESS, GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

The PEN is still MIGHTIE
than the Sword
Waterman's
Ideal
Fountain Pen
Regular, Self-Filling and Safety Waterman's Ideals at the Best Stores the World Over
L. E. Waterman Company, 173 Broadway, New York
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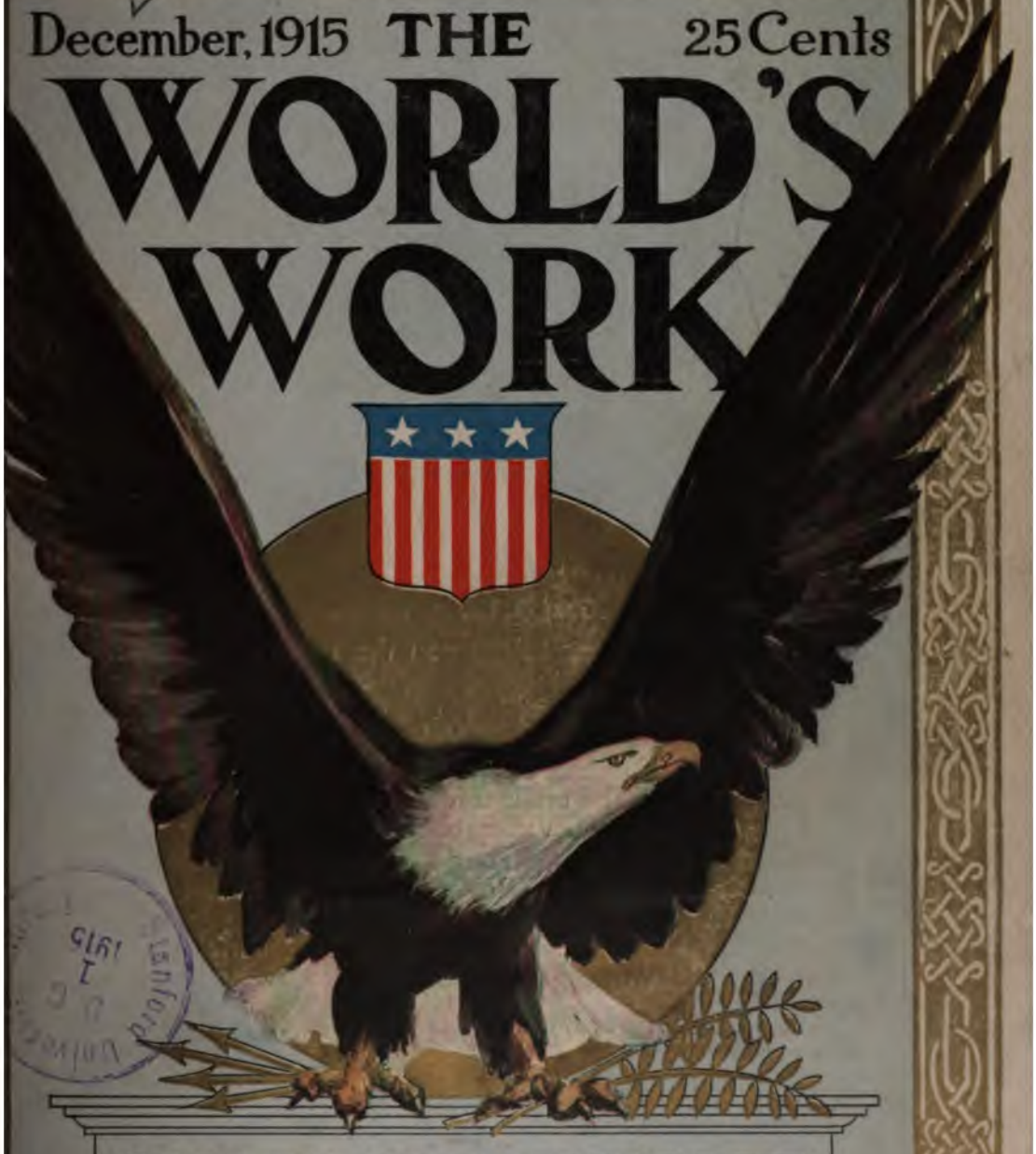
MORTON·FULLERTON·ON·ITALY

December, 1915 THE 25 Cents

WORLD'S WORK



SHALL WE CHANGE OUR GOVERNMENT?

Victrola XVI, $200
Victrola XVI, electric, $250
Mahogany or oak

Other styles of the Victrola, $15 to $350
Victors, $10 to $100

Will there be a Victrola in your home this Christmas?

The instrument that brings you the world's best music in all its beauty.

The actual living voices of Caruso, Farrar, Gluck, McCormack, Melba, Schumann-Heink and other famous singers. The superb art of Elman, Kreisler, Paderewski and other noted instrumentalists. The brilliant music of Sousa's Band, Pryor's Band, Vessella's Band, Victor Herbert's Orchestra and other celebrated organizations. The inimitable witticisms of Harry Lauder, Nora Bayes, De Wolf Hopper, Raymond Hitchcock and other leading comedians.

Only the Victrola brings you all this wonderful variety of music—a delight every day in the year to every member of your family.

Any Victor dealer in any city in the world will gladly demonstrate the Victrola and play any music you wish to hear.

$15 $25 $40 $50 $75 $100 $150 $200 $300

Always use Victor Machines with Victor Records and Victor Needles —*the combination*. There is no other way to get the unequaled Victor tone.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal
Canadian Distributors

***New* Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month**

Takes the Grand Prize

at the great International Exposition, at San Francisco

For purity and excellence of product
For clean, hygienic factory
For welfare work among employes
For high commercial standing

Shredded Wheat

Also a gold medal for unique shredding and baking machinery;

Also a gold medal for completeness of operating exhibit in Food Products Building.

Millions of men and women have awarded Shredded Wheat first place among all cereal foods for purity and nutritive value. It is first in the favor of youngsters and grown-ups; first in the affections of men who do the work of the world with hand or brain.

If you haven't seen the Exposition at San Francisco, you have missed a rare opportunity to enrich your mind and soul.

Our factory, now building at Oakland, California, will be "The Pride of the Pacific".

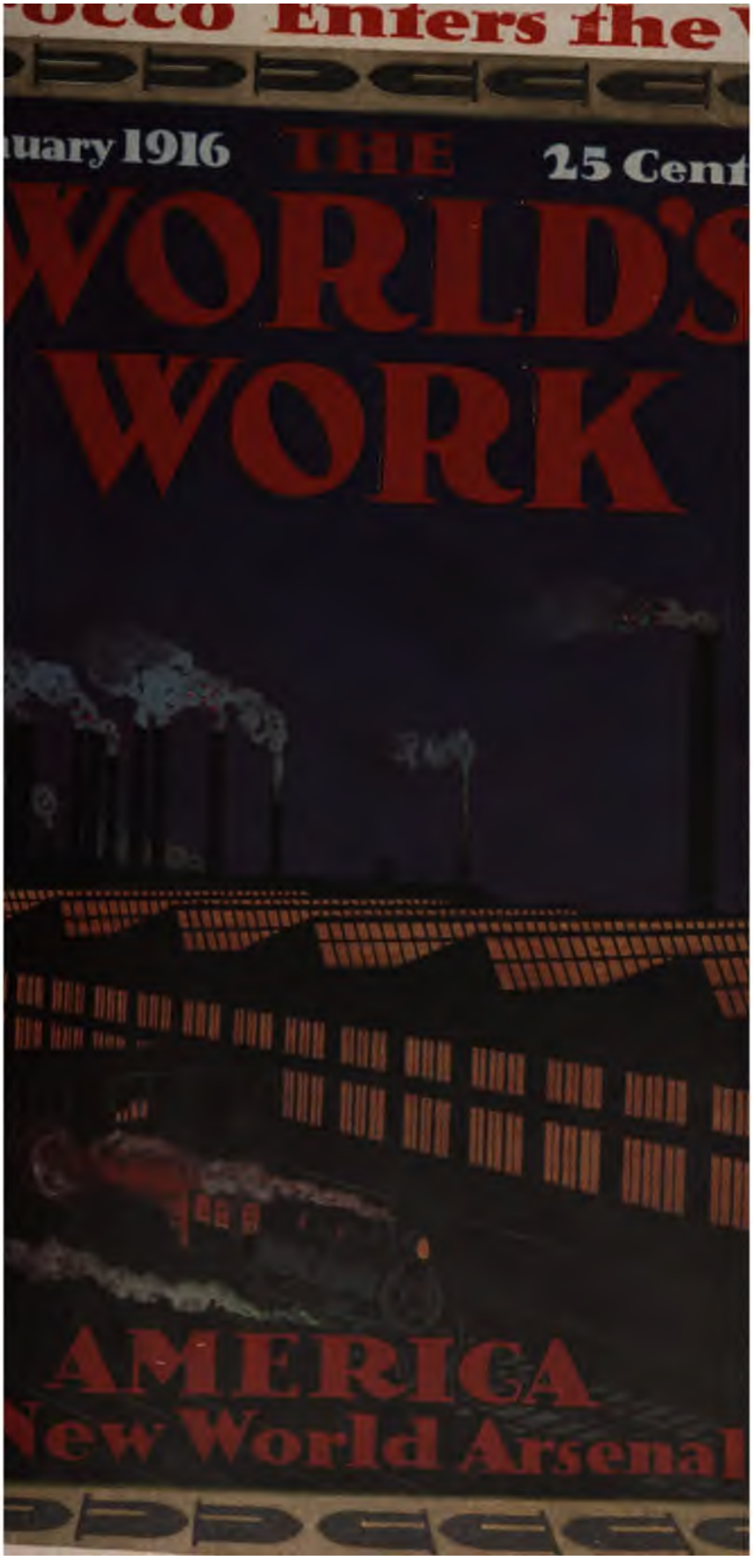
Shredded Wheat is made in two forms—Biscuit, for breakfast with milk or cream, or for any meal with sliced peaches, bananas or fruits of any kind; Triscuit, the Shredded whole Wheat wafer-toast, eaten with butter, cheese or marmalades.

The Shredded Wheat Company

Four Factories—two in Niagara Falls, N. Y., one in Niagara Falls, Canada, one in Oakland, California

Pierce-Arrow

A car that looks equally good from the curbstone
from the driver's seat or from the tonneau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THE
25 Cent
WORLD'S
WORK
AMERICA
New World Arsenal

The Victor Record catalog is the most complete catalog of music in all the world

and tells you exactly what a Victor or Victrola will bring into your home

It gives you a volume of information about operas, artists, and composers, and contains numerous portraits and illustrations.

It shows you how easily all the music of all the world can become an entertaining and instructive part of your every-day life.

This 450-page book lists more than 5000 Victor Records, and is of interest to every one.

It costs us more than $150,000 every year, and we want every music lover to have a copy.

Any Victor dealer will gladly give you a copy of this great catalog of music, or send to us and we will mail you a copy free, postage paid.

There are Victors and Victrolas in great variety of styles from $10 to $400.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

Always use Victor Machines with Victor Records and Victor Needles— *the combination.* **There is no other way to get the unequaled Victor tone.**

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

ne Presidential Campaign

February 1916 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

Budget or Pork Barrel?

America's War-Born Trade

34 Illustrations

Our New Gold Goes Adventuring

Victor Records

The master interpretations of the world's greatest artists

Victor Records are the consummate art of the greatest singers, instrumentalists, bands, orchestras—their own superb renditions exactly as they interpret them.

All the distinctive personality, all the individuality of expression, all the beauties peculiar to the performance of each artist are ever present to charm you in their Victor Records.

Victor Records *are* the actual artists—the greatest artists of all the world. The greatest artists at their very best. The greatest artists just as you want to hear them.

There are Victor dealers in every city in the world who will gladly give you a complete catalog of the more than 5000 Victor Records and play any music you wish to hear.

Always use Victor Machines with Victor Records and Victor Needles —*the combination.* There is no other way to get the unequalled Victor tone.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal
Canadian Distributors

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

Have You a Boy Problem?

The best boy ever born is a serious problem. The brighter the boy the greater the problem. And you can't solve it by arithmetic, algebra or geometry. It is largely a question of food, hygiene and exercise. The food problem is easily solved with

Shredded Wheat

the most perfect ration ever devised for growing boys and girls. It contains in proper proportion all the elements for building muscle, bone and brain and in their most digestible form. The crispness of the shreds encourages thorough chewing which develops sound teeth and healthy gums.

For breakfast heat one or more Biscuits in the oven to restore crispness; pour hot or cold milk over them, adding a little cream. Salt or sweeten to suit the taste. A warm, nourishing meal to study on, to play on, to grow on.

Made only by

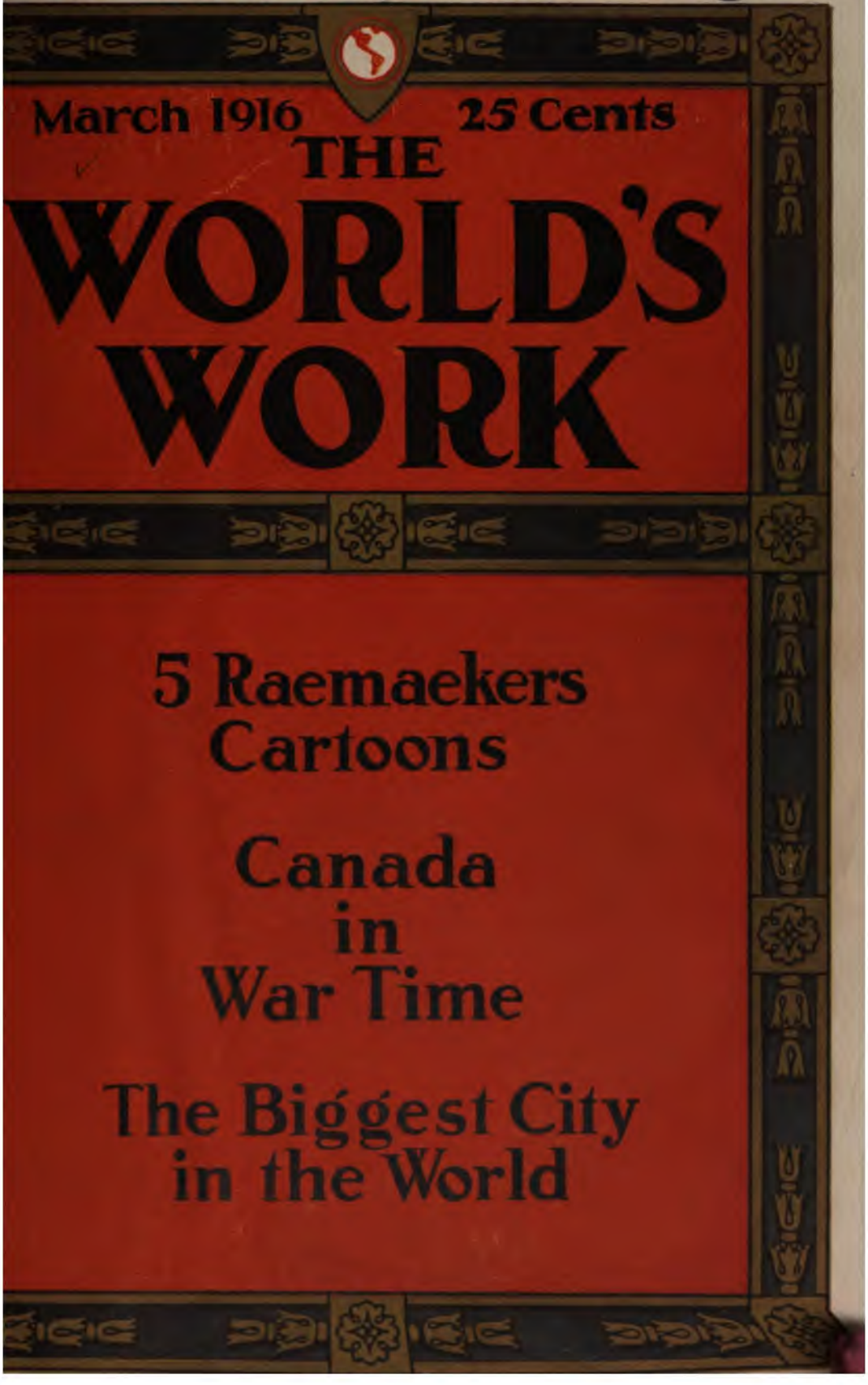
The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Pierce-Arrow

The average purchaser of a Pierce-Arrow has a wide experience in motor cars, acquired not only in this country but also abroad. His purchase is the logical result of his experience.

The Pierce-Arrow Motor Car Company
Buffalo, New York

Our Soldiers Are in Nicaragua



March 1916 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

5 Raemaekers Cartoons

Canada in War Time

The Biggest City in the World

Victor Records

The superb interpretations of artists famous in the world of song

Victor Records bring you not only the actual living voices of the world's greatest opera stars, but the art and personality of concert singers famous the country over.

These talented artists who charm thousands of music-lovers on their concert tours are also the delight of countless other thousands who know them mainly through their Victor Records.

Victor Records *are* the actual artists absolutely true to life—ever ready to entertain any one at any time.

There are Victor dealers in every city in the world who will gladly give you a complete catalog of the more than 5000 Victor Records and play any music you wish to hear.

Important warning. Victor Records can be safely and satisfactorily played only with ***Victor Needles or Tungs-tone Stylus*** on Victors or Victrolas. Victor Records cannot be safely played on machines with jeweled or other reproducing points.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal
Canadian Distributors

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

On the Highest Shelf

When a cereal food has reached the top-shelf of public favor, showing an unbroken record of increasing sales for fifteen years, there must be more than one "reason" for it. The finest sales organization and the cleverest advertising ever devised will not keep a food at the top-notch unless it has behind it other merit than mere palate-goodness. As a matter of fact there are six good "reasons" for

Shredded Wheat

Here they are: cleanliness of manufacture; purity of product; easy digestibility; high nutritive value; thoroughly cooked and ready-to-serve; fair and honorable "selling policy." There are many other "reasons," but these are the cardinal causes for the unchallenged leadership of Shredded Wheat over all other cereal foods.

For breakfast heat one or more Biscuits in the oven to restore crispness; pour hot or cold milk over them, adding a little cream; salt or sweeten to suit the taste. Deliciously nourishing for any meal with stewed prunes, sliced bananas, baked apples or other fruits.

Made only by

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Williams

"Gentlemen—The Big Stick"

HERE is the mightiest and yet the gentlest weapon that ever beat a stubborn beard into submission and left a smile of contentment in its wake.

It is built for men of action—ready to the hand, gentle to the skin and a steam roller to beard resistance.

A pull—and the top becomes a holder for the fingers. Dropping it back in the box after use is as natural as dropping it anywhere, and there it stays till tomorrow, protected from dust and germs.

Such, fellow shavers, is the Williams' Holder-Top Shaving Stick—a soap that comes down to you through three-quarters of a century without an impure strain; a lather that feels like cream a carries moisture like a sponge, a a box that's as handy as a valet

Try this super-soap tomorr morning. It is no farther aw than the nearest dealer.

Stick, Powder, Cream, Liqui

Send 10 cents in stamps for a trial size of four forms, and then decide which you pre Or send 4 cents in stamps for any one.

Address THE J. B. WILLIAMS COMPANY, Dept. A, Glastonbury, Con

Add the finishing touch to your shave with Williams' luxurious Talc Powder

THE COUNTRY LIFE PRESS, GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

Villa's Raid and Its Aftermath

April, 1916 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

The President Among the People

A New West

The Mastery of Pellagra

make records for the Victor

Victor Records have familiarized millions with the masterpieces of music

A comparatively few years ago the soul-stirring arias and concerted numbers that have immortalized the names of the great composers were hidden mysteries with only an occasional opportunity, at rare intervals, to hear and become familiar with them.

Today millions of people are familiar with them through the wonderful achievements of the Victor. The Victor Records of these musical treasures have revealed their sublime beauty to music-lovers in every part of the world.

They are presented in all their grandeur by the world's greatest artists whose exquisite renditions are the standard by which the artists' actual performances are judged.

They are noteworthy achievements in the art of recording **that have established Victor supremacy on a basis of great things actually accomplished.**

Any Victor dealer in any city in the world will gladly play any music you wish to hear and demonstrate to you the various styles of the Victor and Victrola—$10 to $400.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

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Important warning. Victor Records can be safely and satisfactorily played only with *Victor Needles or Tungs-tone Stylus* on Victors or Victrolas. Victor Records cannot be safely played on machines with jeweled or other reproducing points.

The Famous Sextet from Lucia
by Tetrazzini, Caruso, Amato, Journet, Jacoby, Bada (96201)

Victrola

***New* Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month**

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